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NINETEENTH CENTURY.

No. XCV.—JANUARY 1885.

CÆSARISM.

Most people will by this time have read Mr. Drummond's book, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. Some consider that its publication begins a fresh era in the history of theological study, and that its author has really discovered an entirely new way of approaching the subject. Even those who doubt whether he has succeeded in showing, as he professes to do, that the study of the Christian religion is only a higher branch of natural science, have been fascinated by his work. It certainly presents spiritual truths in a new light, and brings them home in a manner which we have long ceased to expect from either commentary or sermon.

I am not, however, about to review this book. I only wish to call attention to a particular chapter, and to consider it as an illustration not of religious, but political life. I mean the chapter on Parasitism. We find there a description of a creature which once had eyes and ears like other animals, legs that could walk and swim, and jaws with which it could eat, but which, by fixing itself into the body of a shell-crab, and acquiring the habit of drawing all its sustenance, ready digested, from the creature to which it has attached itself, gradually loses all its limbs, all its organs of every description, and becomes a mere bulb. Mr. Drummond makes use of this image to depict the character of the indolent unreasoning adherent of a popular preacher; but, my head being full of politics when I read it, I could not help applying the description to a large number of those who take part in public life, who attend monster meetings,

consent supposed to end, and modern history to begin. I refer to the time of the discovery of America, the Reformation, and the revival of classical learning. I will take this as my starting-point.

I began this article with reference to our own country, and I now return to it. Let us consider at what period in the history of a nation we have arrived, and whether our history up to the present moment adapts itself to my theory.

Starting from the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may say, speaking roughly, that we have run the usual course: first through monarchy not only nominal, but real; then through aristocratic government, tempered indeed, both from above and from below, but sufficiently marked not to remove us from the common type, and latterly further and further into democracy, till, if it is not yet altogether our form of government, it promises to be so in a short time. Such has been our course till now, and every change that has taken place hitherto appears to me to have been inevitable. I will not enter into an argument as to what is the best form of government. In my opinion a democracy, if it can only last, and if law and order can be maintained under it, has at least as much to recommend it as anything else. But whether we like it or not is a matter of small importance. It has come upon us in the course of nature, and nothing could have prevented it. Looking back through the last three centuries, we see no point where the stream could have been dammed, or where any attempt to dam it was otherwise than productive of evil. On the other hand, any effort on the part of our rulers to hasten the course of events produced a temporary reaction. If the power of the monarch was prematurely put an end to in the time of Charles the First, the result was after a few years to increase for a moment the authority of Charles the Second. But when public opinion had definitely decreed that the centre of power must be shifted, nothing could have prevented the change. If the revolution against James the Second had been deferred, it would only have been more complete, and the supreme rule, having once slipped away from the Crown, never was and never could have been restored to it.

Next followed what I have called the period of aristocratic government. But it is only we who look back to it who call it by that name, and only when we speak rather loosely. Because authority was centred in the House of Commons, men imagined at the time that they lived in a free country, and the oligarchy, whom we now look upon as having pulled the strings, took care to disguise their power by speaking in the name of Liberty. There was still a great deal of latent strength in the Crown, as George the Third discovered when he began to draw upon it. In times of excitement the people could already make their voices pretty distinctly heard. But after making these admissions in favour of the king on the one hand, and of the people on the other, we may say that during the whole period

between the Revolution of 1688 and the first Reform Bill, the government was, on the whole, in the hands of the upper classes. It was they who had to be conciliated by William the Third, and who occasionally thwarted him. It was they who ruled under Anne. It was they who were bribed by Walpole; and in the middle of the century they were led by a few great families whose quarrels and coalitions constitute the political history of that epoch. Even the monarchical reaction at the end of the century may perhaps be considered as an insurrection, under the auspices of the king, of the mass of the upper classes against these few great families.

Let us now consider how the aristocratic period came to an end. It was briefly thus. Attention was for a long time diverted from home matters by a desperate and all-absorbing war. Soon after the peace the great families which I have mentioned, who now formed the nucleus of the Whig party, had the happy instinct to ally themselves with the people. The people were beginning to demand the free exercise of the rights which they had always in theory possessed. The importance of the alliance between the Whigs and the people in facilitating the transfer of power, in mitigating class-bitterness, and in preserving constitutional continuity, cannot be over-estimated. But even if there had been no Whigs, the transfer would have taken place. It would have come a little later, but it would have been attended with greater violence, and we should by this time have been at least as far advanced into democracy as we are.

The Reform Bill of 1832 may be considered, roughly speaking, as the end of our aristocratic period. Is it to be wished that this period had lasted longer?

- There is something fascinating at first sight in the government of an enlightened oligarchy like the Spartans of old, the Romans at the time of the second Punic war, or the Venetians of the Middle Ages. The grand tranquillity of their movements, and the lofty atmosphere of patriotism and statesmanship which surrounds them, captivate our fancy. We admire the spectacle of a certain number of ruling families animated with a high sense of honour, accustomed to the give-and-take of politics, taught by tradition never to push party feeling to the serious detriment of the country, trained from their earliest years to the conduct of business, and always ready to produce a certain number of men of more than ordinary cultivation. The ministers of state chosen by natural selection from among these families, if there is sufficient competition to keep them in order and to stir them to exertion, are sometimes administrators of a very high degree of merit. But there is one fatal weakness in an oligarchical government. Even supposing that the high sense of honour is maintained, that indolence and luxury do not creep in among the governing class, that the field is wide enough to secure the forthcoming of a sufficient number of able men—supposing all this, which is to suppose

a great deal, nothing compensates for the fatal want of public spirit which this system almost as much as a despotism engenders among the masses. Indeed, the tyranny of an individual is, for some reasons, less hateful than the absolute supremacy of a class. I would consider, then, that in a perfect state an oligarchical government has great merits and great disadvantages. Our oligarchy was far from perfect. There was, in the first place, a constant and easy flow backwards and forwards between the ruling caste and the masses below, and the boundaries were very vaguely defined. In the next place we must remember, what I have before stated, that the power of the aristocracy was indirect and veiled from the public eye. Both the merits and the disadvantages of our oligarchy, if we may call it by that name, were less than in Venice or in Sparta. On the one hand the dominant class were less thoroughly trained, less highly braced for exertion, in less perfect condition for all the duties of public life. On the other hand they were less unpopular with those below them, and there was more public spirit among the main body of the people. It must be confessed that the history of England during our aristocratic government was a glorious one. The chief blot upon it, the disgraceful and disastrous manner in which we parted from our American colonies, may be imputed to the king during the temporary revival of monarchical power. It may be observed, too, that the patriotism, the integrity, the political intelligence, and the public virtue of the class which then governed the country, increased with every year of their ascendancy. Those who regret these days have much to say for themselves. On the whole I differ from them, but I will content myself with repeating that the change which took place could not have been avoided. According to the form of the Constitution, from the moment that the chief power had been vested in the House of Commons it was vested in the people. The authority of the aristocracy depended upon a restricted and irregular franchise and a grossly and ludicrously unfair distribution of seats. This could not long be maintained when once it was seriously threatened. The middle class, growing daily in wealth and numbers, in energy and intelligence, must, under any circumstances, have before long obtained supremacy. They did so in 1832, and in their turn they have had since to submit to the inevitable, and first to divide, soon probably to transfer, their power.

It is not my business to enter into the transition period of the last fifty years. It will no doubt in the future be considered a very interesting part of our constitutional history, and will probably fall naturally into a chapter by itself between the aristocratic and the democratic periods. We have certainly made progress. Whether up or down, I will leave to be argued by the historians of our two rival schools, the followers of Macaulay and the followers of Carlyle. I have always considered myself one of the former, but on one thing

only have I ventured to give a decided opinion, which I once more reiterate: no change that has taken place in our Constitution could, I say, have been prevented. But this, it may be said, is after all only an opinion, and many of my readers may disagree with me. Everybody, however, must admit that we cannot now retrace our steps. In politics what is done cannot be undone. Let us look before us instead of behind, but do not let us look forward too far. Let us, in the brave and wise spirit of our best and ablest statesmen of all generations, try to discover and to meet the dangers that are immediately in front of us, leaving the far future to take care of itself, and having confidence in the destiny of our race.

I do not know that I am not rather breaking this good rule and looking forward too far when I allude to some form of Cæsarism as one of the dangers that may possibly threaten us. But we must remember that this is the step which would come next in our history if it continued to follow the ordinary course. I am not alone in my apprehensions. They have been for some time in the air, and I have seen a great deal about the subject in the newspapers, even since I began to put my thoughts together for the purpose of writing this article. Before it is printed its remarks may have been forestalled, or they may already have been answered. I will however complete it. The worst that can happen to me is that it should be cast aside by the reader as one more of the many fantastic and fanciful productions to which the recent political excitement has given birth. But if anybody should show my apprehensions to be groundless, I shall be thankful.

I have not, I am happy to say, any fears at all of Cæsarism in its worst and commonest shape, that established by an able and unscrupulous general at the head of a victorious army. There has never been much danger of this, and all modern changes in our army, by separating the soldier in a less marked manner than formerly from the citizen, tend to diminish what little danger there was. But there is another kind of Cæsarism, founded not upon arms but upon the affections of the people, which, though far preferable to the first, is not pleasant to contemplate. It would, to my mind, be a great evil that everything requiring sudden and immediate action should depend upon the judgment and perhaps even the caprice and temper of a single man. I have great belief in the proverb that in a multitude of councillors there is wisdom. I do not like to feel that everything depends upon a single brain, even in its soundest and healthiest condition, and the possession of unlimited power is apt after a time to turn the strongest head. I do not like, either, to see those who are trusted with political power systematically shirking thought, abandoning all attempt to grapple in their own minds with even the simplest questions, not even putting themselves into the hands of those whom they personally know and trust, but confining

their political action to voting blindly for whoever will promise to support the favourite of the hour.

The first faint symptom of the approach of this mitigated but still pernicious form of Cæsarism that I can recollect was when Lord Palmerston appealed to the country in 1857. It struck me at the time, and it strikes me still more in looking back, that the manner in which nothing more was then required of a candidate for almost every constituency than to pronounce one magic name was unlike anything I had read of as happening before—that, in previous elections, it had not been Lord Derby, or Lord John Russell, or even Sir Robert Peel, that had been mentioned, or in earlier days Lord Melbourne, or Lord Grey, or the Duke of Wellington, but the Reform Bill or the Corn Laws, or other matters of public importance. This, however, was at the time attributed to the recent Russian war, and to gratitude on the part of the nation to the old statesman whose disinterestedness and magnanimity had seemed to furnish so strong a contrast to the intrigues and the selfishness around him, who had so fearlessly taken the helm in the very middle of the storm, when so many others seemed to shrink from it, and under whose auspices the good ship had been taken safely into port. Though Lord Palmerston remained in a high position to the end of his life, this exaggerated personal popularity soon passed away, and the spectre of Cæsarism for a time disappeared. Have we not, however, since his death, and particularly since Lord Beaconsfield's Reform Bill, seen very marked signs of its return? Did not party conflict during a few years almost assume the aspect of a duel between two men? There had been nothing like this in previous history. The names of Pitt and Fox may occur to us, but it was only in the House of Commons that political warfare assumed the appearance of personal rivalry between them. In the country it was a question not between Pitt and Fox, but between war and peace. Since Lord Beaconsfield has been removed, has not the weakness of the Conservative party been owing more than anything else to the fact that they have no name which they can put forward with the least chance of success against that of Mr. Gladstone? Mr. Gladstone's position in his party and in the country is the object of so much invective, and has been made to point so many morals, that it may seem as if I had been leading up to something of the same sort.

Not so. If I did feel impelled to attack him, it would be not that I loved Cæsar less, but Rome more, and it would be with the greatest reluctance; for few people have, in this instance, a greater regard and admiration for Cæsar than I have. But I do not think there is any danger from Mr. Gladstone. If he has been invested with the purple, it is at the end of a long career in the service of the Republic. He has reached that point in the life of a statesman which is perhaps the most beautiful of all to contemplate, when, though the faculties are still in full vigour, ambition has burnt itself out. The

habits of a lifetime, and a modest humility of nature which is rarely to be found united with such transcendent abilities, have never allowed him to be unmindful of the opinion of those whom he has gathered round him. Long may he live to enjoy the popularity which he bears with such simple dignity! If I see something to inspire alarm in the exaggerated worship of so large a part of the nation, and in the tremendous power which it might place in the hands of an individual, it is not that I think him likely to make a bad use of it, but because I dislike and distrust the spirit which inspires such worship.

It must be remembered that the individual must pass away, but not so the spirit. It is not easy for men to stand alone who have been once accustomed to lean upon another for support. The power of judging for themselves about public matters, and of grasping all parts of each question before coming to a decision, is supposed to be engendered among the people by a free government; by philosophers it has been considered one of the chief advantages of a free government that it does this; and people are fitted for a free government according to the degree in which they possess this power. It is, however, only by long training that this power can be developed, and it is easily lost. Will our present electors retain as much of it as they now have, and will the new electors ever acquire it? The object, I have said, of popular worship must in the course of nature disappear, but the spirit that prompts that worship will remain. If the British public has really been debauched, successor after successor will take advantage of the fact.

A man may arise with all Mr. Gladstone's popular talents, but less real ability, far less scrupulous and more ambitious of personal rule, not immediately perhaps, for I am not particularly alluding to any one yet living, but when self-reliance and discrimination and all the qualities that are necessary for forming an independent opinion have gradually disappeared from among the people. Such a man, by taking advantage of the false hero-worship which I conceive to be on the increase, may obtain far more power than can be safely lodged in the hands of any single human being. True hero-worship may be a very fine quality, though I always rather distrust it and dread its being carried to an excess; but it should be accompanied by great care and great insight in the choice of a hero, and I very much prefer it when it is directed towards the great men of other days instead of towards any contemporary however eminent. But there is surely a false hero-worship, chiefly distinguished from the true by the badness of its choice and by the excess to which it is carried. The more glittering and superficial beauties of platform eloquence, one-sided passion, even mere scurrilous personality, may some day become terribly prominent among the means by which this pernicious idolatry may be obtained. In short, among the dangers in front of us may be the too great concentration of authority in the

hands of one man, which I consider in itself an evil ; and the evil may be aggravated by that man being injudiciously selected.

It remains to consider what safeguards there are against this danger. I will begin by repeating the apparent paradox that one of the chief bulwarks of our liberty is the Crown. I do not lay much stress upon any actual remnants of its former power with which it is still invested. I allude rather to the indirect effect which it has, and which we may hope that it will continue to have, in drawing to itself much of the popular enthusiasm which would otherwise be accumulated upon the favourite of the moment. The very strong and deep-seated feeling which there is for the Queen and Royal Family is of unmixed advantage. It is by a most fortunate combination of circumstances that this feeling has arisen. Hereditary association and high personal qualities have combined in producing it. May no short-sighted economy dim the lustre of the institution towards which so much loyalty exists ! Let us thoroughly distrust any ambitious man who may seek to weaken its hold upon the affections of the people, and let us feel sure that any aspirant to inordinate authority will make it the first object of his attack.

Side by side with loyalty to the Crown as a preservative against the too great power of an individual is the spirit of patriotism. Patriotism may be defined as an earnest desire for the welfare of the community. This is the greatest virtue that a statesman can have, but we want something warmer and more vivid than this to influence the masses in the direction I have indicated. We may perhaps find it in that patriotism of the good old-fashioned sort which personified England as the ancient Romans personified Rome, and erected her into an object of enthusiastic devotion. This may be called sentiment, but it must be remembered that we are pitting one sentiment against another. What I am anxious to keep within bounds is the undue amount of sentiment likely to be entertained towards the popular favourite, and I would do so by substituting an ideal idol for a real one. And my ideal idol is one that in the days of our forefathers has inspired many a bold deed as well as many a stirring song. When Nelson signalled 'England expects every man to do his duty,' he knew well that he was appealing to a very strong motive for exertion. Campbell's *Mariners of England* has made many a heart beat in his own country as well as south of the Tweed. And here let me in passing express a hope that other Scotchmen will some day imitate his example in adopting the name of England for our common country, and that the grotesque and unpoetical appellation of Great Britain may be gradually dropped. This is a small matter, but there is something in a name. Let us retain that round which so many sacred associations have been gathered.

I now proceed to consider a more practical safeguard. I mean the institution called the Cabinet. This part of our political system

is of recent growth, and is, I believe, by some writers not even yet allowed to be, strictly speaking, a part of our Constitution. It has, however, taken such firm root, that it may be expected to endure for 'a long time. Many things in this country were deliberately started or developed with the intention of preserving and extending our liberties, but this is not among the number. In its beginning it was the result of the consolidation of factions, and was closely connected with the establishment of a regular system of party government. It gradually became the rule during what I have called our aristocratic period that each of our public departments should be administered by one of a circle of political allies who among them were possessed of the control of the House of Commons. The heads of these departments with their most powerful friends were in the habit of meeting privately to discuss their measures, and what we now call the Cabinet was the result. It might then in its commencement have been considered as a means of concentrating authority rather than a safeguard against its monopoly, as it has now become. But it is an old observation that an institution very often ends by having a totally opposite effect to that for which it was designed. In our present position it may be looked upon as a very valuable check upon the too exorbitant ambition of an individual. As it is the goal towards which all our politicians are striving, it may be considered in general to consist of all the most capable men of the majority. As it deliberates in secret, and as there is no report of its proceedings, the opinions and the passions of the outside world have only an indirect influence upon its councils. It is too small to be affected by eloquence. The abilities which carry weight in so select a circle are very different from those which dazzle the multitude; and if ever the same man who has dazzled the multitude can establish a complete control over the Cabinet, we shall at all events have a master of varied and consummate powers, solid as well as brilliant; but it is not probable that such different qualities will be found united in a single man.

The effect of the Cabinet in preserving us from the despotism of a single man may possibly in the future be something faintly resembling that of the Council of Ten at Venice. Perhaps the comparison will be thought odious. We have been accustomed to dwell too much upon the dark side of the Council of Ten—its assassinations and the terrorism which it exercised. We forget that these were common to the whole of Italy at the time, and that the only difference between Venice and other states was, that in the latter these crimes were perpetrated by an individual against his private enemies, and that in Venice they were generally directed against those who were likely to endanger the republic. The bright side of the Council of Ten was that for century after century it

absolutely averted individual tyranny, and it is in this respect that I picture the institution of the Cabinet as possibly destined to present some small resemblance to it. One hopeful sign to those who look to the Cabinet as a check is, that its independence, so far as an outsider can judge, has steadily increased during the last hundred years. It was probably at its lowest in the days of the second Pitt, who had filled it with nonentities whom he scarcely deigned to consult.

But circumstances are very different now. It has ever since those days been growing more and more impossible for the Prime Minister to exercise any real supervision over the different departments. The overwhelming and steadily increasing amount of labour which each department involves makes it every year more independent, and increases the necessity for a man of first-rate ability to be at the head of it. A Prime Minister who has acquired such control over the constituencies as to be sure of a personal majority whenever Parliament is dissolved, will indeed be powerful enough to choose his Cabinet very much at his own discretion; but he will always, as I have shown, be compelled to place very able men at the head of the different departments, in order to make it possible for him to carry on the business of the country. His power of choice, therefore, will not be altogether unrestrained.

My fears for the future have been somewhat mitigated by these thoughts about the Cabinet, but they come back to me when I turn my attention to the House of Commons and reflect that it is upon the independence of that assembly that any hopes that we can really entertain of resisting Cæsarism must ultimately rest. The independence of the House of Commons will be decided by how far our strongest and most intellectual men continue to have seats in it. For these are the men to whom we must look as the most likely to resist becoming mere instruments in registering the decrees of an individual. Will, then, our best men become candidates to the same extent as up to the present moment, and will they have the same chance of success? Experience only will enable us to give an answer, but I do not always feel very sanguine as to what that answer will be.

As to the first part of the question, there is no doubt that the life of an ordinary member of Parliament has become very wearisome, partly owing to obstruction, which we may hope is only a temporary evil; partly owing to another evil originally connected with obstruction, but which will long survive it—the increased number of dull empty commonplace speeches which have to be endured. The obstructionists contributed to this evil by breaking down the old traditional defence against bores and bad speakers, but the increased brilliancy and activity of journalism would, under any circumstances, have diminished the interest of Parliamentary debates. The best men of all may still be attracted into the House of Commons by ambition, and a very valuable class may seek admission from a sense of

duty ; but the average quality of candidates will, I fear, deteriorate, partly because the life is so wearisome, and partly because an increasingly good field for ability is to be found elsewhere. Nor is my hope more certain of there being as good a chance in the future as now of the worthiest candidates being selected. The choice seems every day to depend more and more upon the single quality of eloquence. And the spirit of exaggerated admiration for the one man who has once succeeded in getting his head up above the rest—the mixture of indolence and passion which shirks detail, and for convenience concentrates all political action into shouting for a single name—this pernicious tendency, which is one of the diseases to which democracy is liable, and of which the symptoms are already manifest—this very evil, which I have all this time been endeavouring to call attention to, will have as one of its most immediate effects the keeping out of independent men from the House of Commons. In other words, the faults and weaknesses from which Cæsarism may be expected to result will begin by undermining what we must look upon as our principal defence against it.

There is one other safeguard in the shape of a strong Second Chamber, which I have omitted to notice, and on which I lay no stress ; for though useful in moderating personal power when it is only beginning to be exorbitant, it would be of no use whatever against it if it once passed a certain point.

My hopes, then, of resisting Cæsarism are very small, if the disease which produces it once becomes deeply seated in the country. Let us trust, however, that this may, after all, perhaps not be the case. The Americans are at present almost entirely free from it, though they are of the same race as ourselves, and are more advanced into democracy than we are. It may be only a passing ailment. The next few years will perhaps enable us to judge. We are no doubt on the eve of a crisis in our national life. It may be confidently predicted that the addition to our constituencies of 2,000,000 voters belonging to the most ignorant and impulsive of our population will for the moment intensify the evil of which I have spoken. But there may prove to be something in the Anglo-Saxon blood which will only allow the poison to act in a mild and mitigated manner, and our vitality may be strong enough to throw it off before it has taken real hold of us.

There are, I believe, some who do not consider Cæsarism a disease. With such I do not argue. I only address those who are in favour of a free government. Surely it is of the essence of a free government that people should think for themselves. Of course it is not to be expected that each unit of our vast population should form an original and independent opinion. All we can wish is that there may be as many different centres of thought as possible, and that every man of vigour and intelligence may have his due weight, to the end that as

much as possible of the brain-power contained in the nation may be brought to bear, directly or indirectly, upon the making of her laws and the management of her affairs. The country should be in so sound a condition, and should have such an abundance of ability to draw upon, that she should hardly feel the difference if at any moment she lost not only her Prime Minister, but her whole official staff. Her safety and her glory should be entirely independent of even the greatest of her statesmen. This has been our proud boast during many periods of our history. But we shall be able to boast of this no longer if democracy takes a wrong direction and ends in a repetition of the old story. On the other hand, if democracy takes a right direction and keeps clear of Cæsarism, it ought, by bringing more ability into the field, to make our position better than it is now, or than it has ever yet been.

COWPER.

THE NEW REFORM.

AMID all the discussion which the Redistribution Bill has excited, it is no slight consolation to know that the enfranchisement of two millions of men no longer depends on the fate of that measure. The Franchise Bill has been converted into the Representation of the People Act, and from the 1st of January every man in the United Kingdom who occupies a house, however humble, or, indeed, a distinguishable residence of any kind, will be entitled to vote in the election of the people's representatives. This is a great and easy victory for the persons most interested, the newly enfranchised themselves, and it is a result on which the Government may be very cordially congratulated. If they have not been able to effect it so soon as they intended, they have brought it about in the way they desired and without making any greater concessions to their opponents than might have been fairly expected in any case if an Act for the redistribution of seats must also be passed before the expiration of the present Parliament. Now, every one is asking what the new voters will do at the next election, and the majority of those to whom the question is put content themselves with the safe and prudent, if somewhat unsatisfactory, answer, 'We shall see.' But for some of us it may be too late to see when the elections are all over, and one may be excused therefore for indulging in a little harmless speculation.

The new voters have, no doubt, different interests in different parts of the country, the mining districts of the North, for example, as compared with the agricultural districts of the South. Nevertheless I do not hesitate to affirm that the key to the political action of the new rural electors is to be found in the land question. Just five years ago, I gave, in the pages of this Review,¹ a forecast of the trouble then impending in Ireland on the same question, and suggested certain legislative remedies. The bitter struggle between landlord and tenant in that country, which followed, and the provisions contained in the Land Act of 1881, have shown that my predictions were warranted, and that the measures I suggested, every one of which was embodied in that Act, were deemed necessary

¹ December 1879.

by Parliament. I do not suppose for a moment that the fight for the land in Great Britain will be so fierce as it has been in Ireland, or that it will engender such bitter hatred and animosity between classes, or involve such a disruption of social bonds; but it is coming for all that, and public men must be prepared to declare their attitude in regard to it.

The agricultural classes are suffering from prolonged depression, which the state of mind induced by uninterrupted prosperity in former times makes it difficult for them to bear, and each section has its own peculiar remedy with a view to its own relief. The agricultural labourer seeks higher wages and better housing; the farmer, who finds it very hard to pay the wages now given, calls loudly for a reduction of rent, and the landlord, who knows that he cannot extract any more than he now receives from the classes below him, turns round on the community at large and demands relief through the medium of a protective tariff, denominated Fair-trade. These classes, who clamour for land legislation, have been reinforced lately by the town artisans, who have learnt that they too have an interest in the land, and that it can perhaps be subserved by the application of Mr. George's doctrine, without putting them to the hardship of either occupying or cultivating the soil.

It would be foreign to my present purpose to inquire into the merits of any of these indications of opinion, but I think it may be safely predicted that whatever legislation respecting the land the immediate future may have in store for us will be directed from that quarter which possesses the largest amount of political power. The ideas which are backed by votes will assuredly make their way to the statute-book. And if much of the voting power in the counties will henceforth rest with the agricultural labourers, the land legislation of the future will be conceived largely in their interest. Something may be done for the landlord by lessening the burden of local taxation, and for the farmer by fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements; but the actual cultivator will be the special ward of the new Parliament, and legislation will not be wanting to sanction the doctrine that he has the first claim on the produce of the soil. It is not unlikely that his enfranchisement will give an impetus to the movement for the disestablishment of the Church, concerning which he may now appear to be cold and somewhat indifferent. He will learn what a burning question that is in the minds of many of his fellow-countrymen, though, for the moment, his political horizon is bounded by the farm on which he daily labours, and his hopes are centred in the prospect of a comfortable cottage rising up on a little plot of land that he can call his own.

Although the extension of the franchise on so wide a basis as that of the new Act must undoubtedly lead to important legislation, and although it almost doubles the size of the present electorate, it is a

measure of far less significance than the Redistribution Bill which has yet to be passed into law. I do not speak so much of those provisions of the Bill which effect an enormous transfer of power by the partial or complete disfranchisement of the small boroughs, and by which an increase of power is given to the larger constituencies. It is true that the abolition of no less than 160 seats, and the consequent extinction of boroughs many of which are as old as Parliament itself, is a sweeping measure; and the distribution of ninety-six of these seats over the large counties, and of sixty-four of them over the large boroughs of the kingdom, is a change of considerable magnitude.

But the essential character of the Bill does not lie here; it lies in the clauses by which the future representation of the people is to be created out of one-member constituencies. It is calculated that out of the whole 670 members of the new House of Commons, not more than fifty will be elected from undivided boroughs; the remainder, excluding the members for the Universities, being elected for single divisions of boroughs and counties. This is a change the consequences of which it is of course impossible to foretell with certainty; but I believe they will be on the whole beneficial, and I can see no solid ground for the alarm with which some good persons regard the proposal.

First, as to its effect on the position of parties, my impression is that both in Scotland and Ireland it is the only plan, short of proportional representation, which gives the minority any fair chance. Where popular opinion goes almost entirely to one side, a natural counteracting influence is to be found in local considerations or personal character; and the smaller the constituency, the greater the chance of anyone who appeals to these influences rather than to popular sympathies. As regards England, it seems to be generally admitted that the single-member plan will work out loss and gain reciprocally to both parties. The Liberals have generally carried all before them in the large boroughs, because in them the great body of opinion has been on their side, and the Conservative minority, having been merged in the Liberal mass, was unable to assert itself. For a similar reason the Conservatives have largely monopolised the county representation, and the Liberal minority in the counties has been overborne. The single-member constituency will help to redress the uneven balance of superior numbers in boroughs and counties alike, and as far as it affects party prospects, neither party, it seems to me, has any right to complain.

It is contended, however, that the single-member plan will have a deteriorating effect on the character of future parliaments, that candidates of an inferior description will be elected in single districts in preference to better men, and that the new representation will be proportionately degraded. If this were so, there is nothing in the other provisions of the Bill, nor in the Franchise Act by which it has been preceded, that could compensate the country for the injury about to be

inflicted upon it. If this were so, it were better that the question of Parliamentary reform had not been reopened at all in our day. The evils of a restricted franchise and an unequal distribution of political power are little in comparison with the calamity of a degraded legislature.

But it is not so. Our small constituencies have hitherto returned to Parliament members quite as well qualified in every way for their position as those sent up by the large constituencies. I am aware it is said that the small ones have had hitherto a distinctive position and character. Were they never so small, each was an organised community with a history and character peculiar to itself. True; but it is not always for good that a town should have a history and character of its own making. It is well sometimes that its history and character should receive their strongest impressions from the general life of the country and the general current of public affairs. Between centralisation and decentralisation, let us stand on the medium line. It will be well then to merge the small boroughs in the counties to which they belong, for what is required here is more centralisation. In the large boroughs and counties division can do no harm, for here we require less centralisation, and division is a good in itself, as a means of enabling the minority to be represented. The truest development of public character may be looked for where there is a happy mixture of local and national feeling. The one is as necessary to quicken individual sympathies as the other is to broaden patriotic aspirations. The unit of electoral power may therefore be too large as well as too small, and perfect representation is most likely to be had where the unit is neither the one nor the other. Small towns have attracted good candidates hitherto, not because candidates have been struck with the beauty of the distinctive character of the towns of their choice, but for the more prosaic reason of avoiding trouble and expense. The worry and anxiety inseparable from a contest in a large constituency have deterred many excellent men from becoming candidates; and a still larger number have been deterred by the enormous expenditure which, prior to the passing of the Corrupt Practices Act, such a candidature necessarily involved. These are the circumstances, together with others that may be described as purely local and accidental, which have enabled small constituencies to secure the services of capable representatives, and they will operate as powerfully in the same direction in the small divisions of the future as in the small towns of the past.

Now, a word as to the single-member plan in its relation to the caucus. No one who values the character of public life would wish to see the electorate controlled mechanically by the party agents, either Liberal or Conservative. The electors are not to be drilled like soldiers, or whipped like schoolboys, before they can learn to discharge their duties.

If the word 'election' does not imply freedom absolute and unfettered, the boasted privilege of an enfranchised citizen is a sham and a fraud. But our choice, unfortunately, does not lie between the caucus and freedom, but between the caucus and the coterie. Shall the candidature for our electoral division be determined by a few mutual friends assembled in a bar parlour, or in the library of the rich man's house, or by the elected managers of the party to which we belong? The former method is nomination by the coterie, the latter nomination by the caucus, and I have no hesitation in saying that I prefer the method of the caucus, if I must choose between the two; but what I most desire to see is a state of things in which the constituency will have some protection against undue influence proceeding from either quarter.

A large constituency is more easily managed by the wire-pulling of political organisations, a small one by the power of local coteries. The new single-member divisions, excluding the small boroughs whose lease of power is renewed temporarily by the Redistribution Bill, will have a population averaging 50,000, a number not so small as to be favourable to the growth of coteries, and not so large as to make the electors indifferent to the proceedings of the caucus. There is a greater variety of political opinion in England than is to be found either in Scotland or Ireland, and it is distributed geographically. The Conservative lines are generally traceable in the counties, the Liberal in the boroughs, and the single-member system seems well adapted to produce an even balance of the two parties. It cannot be denied, however, that the single-member system may leave a very considerable minority unrepresented in many divisions, and this brings us to the demand put forward by the advocates of proportional representation. I take it for granted that if a minority be so small as not to be able to make a stand anywhere throughout the whole country, it is not desirable that exceptional means should be adopted to give it exceptional opportunities for declaring itself. The proposal to enable small minorities, scattered all over the country, to give a joint national vote in favour of a particular candidate does not demand serious attention. It is admitted that it would not accomplish the object its author had in view, and that it might be used so as to produce a result the very opposite to what he desired. The scheme advocated by Mr. Courtney, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Albert Grey and others is of a different character, although it has been described as not only impracticable but unintelligible. I suspect that this description was conceived out of downright good humour, to raise a laugh on beaming faces which might otherwise be shaded in the too prevalent gloom of political controversy.

'Life,' it has been said, 'would be tolerable but for its amusements.' Be this true or not, I know politics would be intolerable but for its amusements. And it does one's heart good to see

the Prime Minister poking fun at the minority men. Imagine Mr. Gladstone puzzled by figures; I mean real figures, not figures of speech; and try to realise his seriously hesitating at a *pons asinorum*! Unfortunately for the cause of proportional representation, the humorous epithets of its adversaries have not been taken by the general public in the spirit in which they were applied. The great bulk of the members of the House too are under a tremendous deception for the same reason; witness the burst of laughter which interrupted Mr. Courtney when he declared that the proportional system was very simple. Members thought he was joking, when he spoke the language of sober truth, and they thought the Prime Minister was quite serious when he said that he didn't understand Mr. Courtney's scheme! A great majority positively refuse to look at it, because they have been told by high authorities, speaking under a disguise of gravity, that they could not understand it if they did.

Now, I hold that it is almost impossible for any educated person to read Mr. Courtney's recent speech in the House, or Mr. Albert Grey's article in this Review,² and to assert that proportional representation is either impracticable or unintelligible. It may be a *pons asinorum*, according to the Prime Minister, but it is no more a *pons asinorum* than vote by ballot was in 1874, when it was first introduced into Parliamentary elections. I remember very well the difficulty which we had then to make the voter understand the secrecy of the ballot, and how to mark his voting paper, without rendering it null and void in the operation. My recollection of the *pons asinorum* at school is that of a passage on a scientific frontier, which having been once crossed the way was smooth and clear ever afterwards. The supporters of proportional representation need not despair of winning over the Prime Minister, if the hardest thing he has to say of their scheme is that it is like the fifth proposition of the first book. As Mr. Grey well says in his article, 'whatever complications there may be in this system, they are not felt by the voter, they do not appear until the work of counting the votes is begun in the returning officer's room. All that the voter has to do is to write the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. against the names of the candidates in the order of his preference.'

It is not necessary that he should understand the duties of the returning officer. As a matter of fact, he knows nothing, as a rule, of the duties performed by that official at present, and they don't concern him in the least. Proportional representation, then, must be dealt with on its merits, and it won't do to say that it is a sort of Chinese puzzle, or that its authors are the inventors of some unhallowed mystic science whom all good Christians ought to avoid!

The only experience we have of proportional voting, in this country, is that of the cumulative system in operation at School

² December 1884.

Board elections. This gives a compact minority the power of securing on the Board at least one representative; and so far it works well, but its imperfections in other respects would prevent its introduction into Parliamentary elections. Though it secures to the minority their share of representation, it does not always render equal justice to the majority. Voters among the majority find it difficult to distribute their voting power according to their particular preferences for candidates all of whom they wish to support, but in varying degrees. Then the cumulative vote is not available when only a single vacancy has to be filled up, at a by-election; and it involves large undivided constituencies, and the *scrutin de liste*. This is not the system which Mr. Courtney and his friends wish to see adopted for Parliamentary elections. The only part of it which he would transfer is the general list, together with the undivided constituency, and in order to secure true and complete representation he would use what is called the single transferable vote, and give the voter the power to indicate by figures the candidates of his choice, and the degree of support he desired to give to each. There can be no doubt, in my judgment, that such a system is workable, but whether its results would be satisfactory can only be determined by actual experiment, and where most people will be disposed to differ from its advocates is in their demand that the experiment should be tried over the whole of our national electoral system. Why not begin on a smaller scale, in some School Board or other local election? and then, if the system works well there, it will not be so difficult to secure its adoption on a wider area. It is not likely that the House of Commons will consent to try a novel experiment on itself until the success of the experiment has been proved elsewhere to its complete satisfaction.

It may be admitted that neither of the modes of election now in general use, neither the *scrutin de liste* nor the single-member system, secures an adequate representation of the electors, but it does not necessarily follow that this desirable result would be secured by the proportional system. The resources of the wire-puller and the vote-manipulator are not so easily exhausted. If anything is to be done for the representation of the minority, it must not be at the expense of the majority; but a great many things have to be shown before an attempt in that direction can be made with any hope of success. It has to be shown that any given system will so operate, that while the minority shall be represented, it shall not be over-represented, a result which would obviously be unjust to the majority. It has to be shown that the system would not introduce into the representation greater evils than that which it is intended to remedy; that, for example, it would not lead to the formation of cliques united by no common principle, but solely for the purpose of imposing their will on the majority, and so harassing it as to

speaking for themselves. But Mr. Agnew has put down an amendment which demands special notice. He proposes that at every general election, all elections in the United Kingdom shall be held on one and the same day. This is a blow at faggot-voting. The Bill as it stands prevents the manufacture of faggot-votes in the future, but does not touch existing ones. If all the elections were held on one day the faggot-voter would not be able to record so many votes. It bears also on the question of the use of carriages which the rich candidate's rich friends are so ready to place at the service of voters gratuitously, but which would not be equally available if this amendment were in force. Perhaps the best effect of it would be to prevent opinion in one part of the country from being influenced suddenly by the declared opinion of another part where the election had taken place and the result of the polling was made known.

It is confidently anticipated by Liberals that their majority in the new Parliament will be as large as it is in the existing one, and if their anticipations be fulfilled the new House of Commons will be expected to undertake, immediately on its formation, legislative schemes of a very sweeping character. In addition to the Land Question, the question of County Government, including Local Option and Local Taxation, Disestablishment in England, as well as in Scotland and Wales, the devolution of Parliamentary Business, and the reform of Procedure in both Houses of Parliament, the question of Home Rule not only for Ireland, but for England and Scotland also, together with the constitution of a Second Chamber, will have to be dealt with by the new representatives of household suffrage. In what order these shall be taken will, no doubt, depend a great deal on the strength of parties, and the amount of pressure which can be brought to bear on the Government by particular sections of the House. If the Land Question is the most urgent, the question of self-government for the different divisions of the United Kingdom is undoubtedly the most important. Anything more unscientific than our existing legislative arrangements it is impossible to conceive. To have one and the same assembly occupied, it may be on the same day, with the consideration of foreign or colonial affairs of the first magnitude, and a protracted discussion on the merits of a turnpike bill, is surely the very climax of legislative folly. And this is what we may have any day under our present methods of transacting business in the House of Commons. I trust it is not too much to hope that one of the earliest results of the New Reform will be such a thorough change in our legislative system as shall extend the blessings of self-government to every part of the United Kingdom, and free the Imperial Parliament, for ever, from the worry and embarrassment of local business, thereby enabling it to discharge, without too great a sacrifice of the time and strength of its members, its great Imperial responsibilities.

J. O'CONNOR POWER.

WILL RUSSIA CONQUER INDIA?

I.

GREAT events are casting their shadows before them, the unmistakable signs of historic revolutions silently progressing are thickening around us, and if, nevertheless, we refuse to give credence to facts irrevocably accomplished and full of significance, it must be ascribed not to the dullness of our senses, but to the prevailing rigidly conservative character of the great majority of politicians.

‘It cannot be that the Russian Empire but lately decried as barbarous, rude, and unwieldy, should be able to menace Great Britain? No! it is impossible that politicians belonging to a society but half European should threaten, in her existence as a great power, a nation whom we have been accustomed to look upon as the very embodiment of the Western mind, Western institutions, and Western power.’ These are the remarks that meet our eyes in the press, and which we get to hear at discussions on public occasions, whenever the question of the rivalry between England and Russia is mooted. The assertion that the former state is greatly threatened in her innermost being by the latter power will find but reluctant believers. The circumstance is pointed out amongst other things that this question of rivalry had been on the *tapis* of public discussion for well-nigh half a century, that it is but the offspring of a heated political fancy, and that the difficulties arising in Asia will be settled in the most amicable manner without any injury to either of the two states.

Well, then, there never was optimism more replete with danger and less justifiable than that exhibited in the present case; for neither all the distance that separates our European world from the scene of action, nor the great variety of the burning questions of the day which engage our attention at home, and the indifference with which we are in the habit of viewing occurrences transpiring far off, will do away with the fact that Russia is steadily advancing, not indeed with one mighty leap, for the stealthy gait of the bear is a rolling one, but with slow and sure steps, towards the British lion in Asia; that he has already driven him to the wall; and that the lion in

an inconceivably short period of time—it can be only a question of a few decades—is threatened with a struggle of a rather doubtful issue.

The great question whether the Russian State, after the overthrow of the Golden Horde and the conquest of Kasan and Astrakhan, undertook the expedition to the South with any premeditated and far-reaching plans for the future, I shall not investigate here. Nor can I undertake to enter, within the narrow limits of a periodical, upon the discussion of the question whether the schemes of Peter the Great in the Kirghis steppe and on the shores of the Caspian Sea were in any way connected with ulterior views as to the rich countries of India.

It is quite probable that the vague and fabulous accounts of the abundance of gold to be found in the Khiva mountains on the right bank of the Oxus, and to some extent perhaps also the interests of Russian commerce which then already may have gravitated towards the south, did not fail to produce their effect on the imagination of the founder of modern Russia; but there can be no doubt that the disastrous failure of the Bekevitch mission later on, if it did not extinguish, considerably damped his zeal in the matter. In the same way we are not disposed to discover in the laborious and expensive experiments of Catharine a background for far-spreading combinations looking to the possession of India. It is at best a species of adulation and fulsome flattery to impute to a particular prince or statesman a political forecast calculated to affect centuries to come. Least of all can this be done in Asia, and we are not exaggerating in the least if we risk the assertion that Russian plans as to India did not begin to mature more than two decades ago. They date from the time when Russian soldiers succeeded in breaking through the sand-belt of Central Asia on the north, defeating with a small band of adventurers the hostile array of the natives who outnumbered them twenty, nay thirty times, and captured by a clever *coup de main* Tashkend.

This happened in 1864, and very soon afterwards General Tchernayeff, who had been at the head of that venture, wrote to a friend of his the following remarkable words: 'The mysterious veil which has hitherto covered the conquest of India, a conquest looked upon until now as fabulous, is beginning to lift itself before my eyes.' It may be therefore asserted that it was then only that the Indian light began to burst upon the eyes of Russia.

The consolidation of newly acquired territories is a matter of great difficulty, especially in Asia, where the social and political circumstances of the country are in an unsettled state; and as, by a law of nature, an avalanche rushing down cannot be arrested, so it will be found quite natural, too, that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, in spite of the assurances it had given in relation to the firm foothold obtained at Tashkend, saw itself partly compelled, partly urged on by circumstances, to push forward farther south in order to be better able to

watch and rule the Kirghis steppe. In this manner followed in 1868 the overthrow of Bokhara, and had it not been for Russia a question of the expenses of administration, it would have been an easy thing for the Czar to incorporate the conquered Khanate into his gigantic empire. Emir Mozafareddin was permitted to remain on the throne upon the banks of the Zerefshan, a mere shadow of a prince, and, grateful for the mercy shown him, he has since proved a faithful and devoted vassal. Russia is the virtual owner of his principality; she may do there as she pleases, but she has the additional advantage in this arrangement that the treasury of the State is not burdened with the yearly deficit shown in the administration of Russian Turkestan. The present Emir is a sickly man, he is sixty-two years old, and will probably continue wriggling at the thin thread of his independence to the end of his days. His son, the heir to the throne, who is a Russian both in thought and speech, may succeed him; for Russia proceeds warily and cautiously, and is not in the habit of consummating the complete annexation of a country until the minds and the soil have been well prepared for it, and the Czar is asked on bended knees to bestow his paternal care on it, as was abundantly shown in many instances in the beginning of this century, and still earlier in the case of other countries.

Khiva was overtaken by the fate of Bokhara in 1873. In this instance, too, Russia preferred leaving the conquered prince in possession of the government temporarily, instead of annexing the wide-stretching and thinly inhabited Khanate. The youthful Medrehim, a pleasant-looking but moderately gifted man, was deemed less dangerous even than the Emir of Bokhara. His State treasury, which was never in a flourishing condition, was additionally saddled with the war indemnity, amounting to nearly three millions of roubles, thus crippling the small country on the Lower Oxus, and rendering it a pliant tool in the hands of the Russian authorities, although Medrehim Khan himself would be the last man to think of making any independent move at all. The poor man esteems himself fortunate if, after having with great trouble collected the taxes and paid off the annual instalment due on the war indemnity, there is enough left him from the revenues of the country to cover the expenses of his household. He is very little concerned about what will happen after he is gone. He will probably be the last on the throne of Kharezm, as there are reasons of a commercial, political, as well as economical character, which would justify its incorporation rather than that of Bokhara. The Uzbek population is here milder and more pliant in disposition than on the Zerefshan; and leaving out of the question the future line of communication, which promises to enter into the very heart of Asia *viâ* the Bay of Kindirli, the Ustyurt, Kungrad, or up the river from the Sea of Aral, it will be impossible for the Russian Government to leave the administration and reduc-

tion of the Turkomans in the north of the Hyrkanian steppe for an indefinite time in the hands of Khiva. The Yomuts, Tchaudors, and Imrailis cannot cross Russian plans in the steppe; but considering the lot of the remaining Turkomans already subjected to the Russian sceptre, the taming of the no less wild sons of the steppe in the north-east of the Caspian Sea has become an unpleasant duty which can no longer be delayed.

Khokand's (the ancient Ferghana's) turn came in 1876, three years after the overthrow of Khiva. The earliest Russian hostilities had in reality commenced against this Khanate, which lies most to the east; for the conquered territories on the right shore of the Yaxartes had formerly belonged to Khokand. Here, too, Russia proceeded at first in a conciliatory manner; for after having hoisted the double-headed eagle in Tashkend and Kodjend, and torn Khokand from Bokhara, Khudayar Khan was left in possession of the throne of the former Khanate, the Russians flattering themselves that, sustained by the fidelity of their vassal, their government would be able to save the expenses of the administration of that Khanate. In this expectation, however, they were destined to be disappointed at St. Petersburg. Matters in Khokand had always been in a most unsettled condition; and upon the Russians securing a foothold in the central basin of the Yaxartes, everything became disorganised to such an extent that the maintaining of the *status quo*, the upholding of the throne of Khudayar Khan, had become an utter impossibility. A wild and savage struggle ensued between parent and children, and between the different nationalities and classes of the country, so that Russia was at last placed in the disagreeable position of stepping in and making *tabula rasa* of everything, crushing and silencing all the pretenders to the throne, and incorporating the ancient Khanate under the name of the Gubernium of Ferghana into the Russian Empire. It was an acquisition without any special moral or material value. It was of no moral value, because, after the overthrow of Bokhara and Khiva, this eastern member of the Turkestan family was *ipso facto* rendered helpless, and could in nowise interfere with Russia's future schemes. It was of no material value either, for the possession of Khokand could become important only with regard to Russian plans directed against Chinese Turkestan; and these plans, as has been shown by the surrender of Kuldja, have not ripened as yet. On the other hand, concerning the Russian positions in the north of the plateau of Pamir no definite opinion can be formed at the present time as to the availability of the road across the Alay mountains to Tchitral and Cashmere. This road, of which nothing is known as yet, may possibly offer opportunities for the establishment of a secret understanding between the Russian authorities and Cashmere, but a military surprise from this point is at present, according to our geographical notions, quite out of the question.

Russia having thus obtained possession of three Turkestan Khanates in the course of rather less than ten years and subjected to her sceptre those peoples who, as the very incarnation of Asiatic barbarism and Moslem fanaticism, were the terror of the boldest traveller, the question naturally suggests itself what may be the result of this costly enterprise?

A couple of years before 1870 Tashkend was looked upon by Russian society as a sort of Peru; adventurers flocked to the south in great numbers, and the consequence was that the expectations founded upon all sorts of agricultural, commercial, and industrial ventures very soon turned out to be illusory. Tashkenetz—that is, a Tashkend man—became in the Russian language a synonym for a swindler and a braggart, and the high hopes entertained at first as to the inexhaustible wealth of gold sank very soon as rapidly as they had risen. Central Asia proved to be no America, except for the officials who practised the most impudent extortions, and thus succeeded in enriching themselves to some extent in their new field of action. It had cost the State several millions of roubles annually, and towards 1876 a general sobering down had already taken place.

It is true that in my sketches of Central Asia, published in 1868, I spoke of the three Khanates, referring to their capability for cultivation, as gems set in sand; nor can their wealth, considering the climate and local circumstances, be denied even now. The country contains large tracts of land with a soil capable of cultivation, and produces, with proper irrigation and the benefit of a southern sun, silk, cotton, and fruit in considerable quantities. Yet the quantity produced can never be large enough to satisfy the boundless expectations of the Russian politicians. The capacity for production may increase, but never to the degree anticipated in Russia in the beginning. As an instance, let us mention the production of cotton, of which from about 8,000 to 9,000 tons in weight have been exported to Russia yearly to this day, whilst Russian factories, according to the last census, are consuming annually 112,000 tons of the raw material, being thus compelled to still look to America for their chief supply of that article.

Similar disappointments became soon apparent in various other fields of industry and commerce; and as the Turkestan possessions had turned out to be anything but an Eldorado, some new mode had to be discovered by which the recent conquests should be turned to good account in another field. This new field was the field of political and strategic scheming, and henceforth all energies were bent upon reaching the frontiers of India, and no efforts or sacrifices were deemed too great to attain this object. In furtherance of this object the movement towards the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, especially against the Turkomans, has taken place. Russia, having made repeated attempts in the course of this century to draw nearer, did not succeed in gaining a firm foothold there

until after the fall of Khiva. Here were quietly issued, with a cunning and crafty hand, threads reaching far and wide; for although General Khruleff had already said in 1856, 'It would be easy for us to march 30,000 men to Kandahar, and by inciting Afghan hostilities against the English to break down the power of the latter,' and General Krishanovski had spoken of the land of the Turkomans, in 1866, as the second Caucasus, yet Russian plans against the Hyrkanian steppe date only from the subjection of the Yomut Turkomans on the right bank of the Etrek, and the consolidation of the Russian power in the Bay of Krasnovodsk.

From this time forward, from 1874 to 1882, the Russians succeeded, after a series of almost uninterrupted struggles, in advancing by slow steps as far as the spurs of the Kubbet mountains. Much money and blood were wasted before the wild sons of the steppe were reduced and made to submit to the Russian sceptre. A circumstance to which attention has not been hitherto drawn, contributed largely to facilitate the exceedingly arduous task of the Russians: at their landing on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, both at Krasnovodsk and at Tchekishlar they most carefully avoided any encounter with larger masses of Yomut Turkomans, and selected for the starting-point of their conquests the coast-land lying on the right bank of the Etrek between the Hyrkanian steppe and the Balkan mountains. In this part of the country, which is less grassy and only thinly populated, the Turkomans stay only during certain seasons of the year, for the bulk of the Yomuts, the tribes of Djafars and Atabais, live inland between the Etrek and the Görghen and beyond on the other side of the last-named river close up to Astrabad. It would have been anything but an easy task to engage in a struggle against these forty thousand tents, numbering about 200,000 souls, nomads inured to the hardships of war and practised in pillage; but Russia acted the magnanimous, and abandoned this restless element to the crown of Persia by acknowledging the Etrek as the boundary-line of Iran, thus, as we often have occasion to experience, conferring a very doubtful favour on the Court of Teheran with this Trojan horse, and saving herself a great deal of useless trouble. Lesser engagements have taken place from time to time between the Russians and the Yomuts, but the vicinity of the double-headed eagle did not fail to produce its disheartening effects upon the latter; for whilst to this day these Yomuts are always ready without the least fear to organise a pillaging raid into Persian territory, carrying away herds of cattle and prisoners, they never dare to show themselves on the other side of the Etrek, still less to attempt doing the least harm to a Russian. Unsolicited neighbourhood grew even, in course of time, into relations of amity, so that when the Russians, advancing from the coast towards the spurs of the Kubbet mountains, were about to engage in the arduous task of subjecting the Tekke Turkomans,

these very Yomuts, entirely oblivious of the interest they had in common with their brethren in the East, and animated by an ancient grudge against them, and no doubt allured by Russian roubles, entered the Russian service as volunteers, gratifying the rancour they had against their ancient enemy at the same time that they were advancing the cause of the foreign conquerors.

But the assistance thus gained was of comparatively little help to the Russians. The country extending from Tchekishlar to the Akhal territory, where for two centuries since the wars of the Khans of Khiva no foreign enemy has set his foot, is one of the most desolate and impassable parts of the Hyrkanian steppe to the south. The camels of the Yomuts, which had been either bought of them or impressed by force, perished in the deep sands by thousands along roads where there was no drop of water. The poor Russian soldier, as he marched on, caught a glimpse of the infernal regions here below; whole regiments were swept away by death, General Lazarew, one of the leading generals of the expedition, falling also a victim to this dreadful march. Surely in the annals of Russian warfare the tract of land, hardly 240 miles long, between Tchekishlar and Bami, will be marked with black letters.

In order to avoid the tremendous hardships of the communication between the Akhal territory and the eastern coast, the Russians conceived the undoubtedly bold idea of building a railway there, the first on the bottomless sand steppes of Central Asia. It was first planned as a tramway, and afterwards changed into a narrow-gauge railway 217 wersts in length, and was constructed at a cost of 648,000*l.* sterling. On a territory where formerly even the wing-footed Turkoman steed would hardly have dared to tread, there now rushes on the snorting and puffing steam-horse. It is almost incredible what tremendous exertions had to be made, not to mention the enormous cost, in order to build the substructure of the road, to lay down the sleepers in the drift sand, to bring the rolling stock piecemeal to the shore, and finally to open the road for the traffic; but Muscovite tenacity overcame all obstacles. It was a question of bringing into the field a well-equipped army with a corresponding park of artillery against the brave and warlike Akhal Tekkes, and neither General Skobeleff who was at the head of the expedition, nor General Annenkow who had planned and constructed the short railway, were the men to shrink back from any sacrifices.

Abundantly supplied with water, provisions, and ammunition, Skobeleff struck the blow against the Akhal Tekkes near the famous fort of Gök-Tepe, called also Yenghi Shehir (New Town). The touching heroism with which the almost defenceless Akhal Tekkes opposed their bare breasts to an army boasting of the best training and equipment which the advanced military science of our century could afford, is still too fresh in the memory of most of us to dwell

upon it here at any great length. The aged, the sick, and the very children took part in the defence; unarmed women fixed their sciss^urs on the points of long poles and thrust with them at the storming Russians. But these superhuman efforts were of no avail. The fort thronging with human beings was blown up, and those who attempted to save their lives by flight were cut down by thousands. About 30,000 Turkomans paid the penalty of death for having ventured to cope with the might of the white Czar.

The power of the tameless and confessedly indomitable sons of the desert was destroyed, the dauntless spirit which set death at defiance was broken, and it was reserved for the military art and science of the nineteenth century to achieve, not without some trouble to be sure, an object which Rome in her time had fruitlessly striven to attain against the Parthians, the daring and wonderful expedition of the Arabs under Kuteibe had but partially accomplished, and which had baffled the efforts of the Seldjukides, Ghaznevides, Timurides, Sefides, and Kadjarides. The protecting barrier to the south of Central Asia was broken down, and the foolhardy adventurers who had deemed themselves invincible, and had never been humbled by anybody until then, cowered in the dust, bruised and crushed before the northern conqueror.

The triumphant spirit of occidental civilisation made its entry into the northern edge of Iran, which had been locked up for a thousand years, and although only in the sorry garb of Muscovite culture, yet withal powerful enough to effect the most astonishing changes. There, where the panting camel used to painfully toil on, the railway train glides smooth and swift. Russian postillions, carolling gay songs, pass along the Kizil-Arvat route, about 136 miles in length, without being molested; and solitary merchants traverse with their wares regions where formerly even the shadow of a Western man would not dare to show itself. At the very time I am writing this, plans are maturing in Russian circles, not only to continue the railway line between Kizil-Arvat and Ashkabad, but to extend it from the former place to Sarakhs, and in due time to lay down the rails between Sarakhs and Herat.

The road thus contemplated is about 520 miles long, and would involve, taking the cost of similar former constructions for a basis, according to Marvin's estimates, an expenditure of about two million pounds sterling. Decidedly the most difficult portion of the road is the one lying between Michailovsk and Kizil-Arvat; but it is known that the obstacles in this direction have by now been all overcome. The remaining part of the line passes through a region well adapted for railway building; the northern spurs of the Iranian plateau, which stretch into the desert, passing alternately through valleys and hills well watered and capable of cultivation as far as Sarakhs, present no difficulties worth speaking of. It was thought at one

time that mountains from ten to fifteen thousand feet in height, lying between Sarakhs and Herat, would frustrate the plans of the railway engineers—at least Englishmen fondly hoped so; but the imaginary Alpine regions dwindled into shabby little hills 900 feet high, and now the only interference with the Russian design of extending the line of Michailovsk-Kizil-Arvat as far as Herat might come in the shape of some protest from Great Britain—protests to which the Russians, from politeness, occasionally pay some regard, but which in no wise shake them in their settled purposes, a matter to which we will advert later on. As to the flank movement of the Russians towards Merv and its subsequent seizure, it is an event the importance of which has been considerably exaggerated, and which did not by any means justify the noise that was made about it at the time in Europe. Merv, the Meru or Maru of the *Zend-Avesta* (the Turkomans call it *Mar* to this day, a proof that these nomads have lived here for thousands of years), represents to-day nothing but a miserable heap of historically celebrated ruins, and the only importance it possesses for the Russians strategically is that they can feel safe from this side in case of a movement on their part from the Caspian Sea towards Herat. Merv, left to itself, might, on the one hand, be exposed to external machinations, and, on the other hand, exercise a disturbing influence on the chain of Russian possessions in the north of Iran. In this manner the Turkomans are cut off from their last loophole, and should the oasis on the lower Tedjend be made to flourish again by means of the restoration of the ancient system of canalisation, Merv may easily grow to be what it was in the times of Djenghiz Khan—a commercial emporium between Iran and Bokhara, and, as a corollary, between India, Afghanistan, and Southern Russia—that is to say, Europe. About this economic future there can be no doubt whatever; but the Russians for the present are bent on other objects, and their attention now is chiefly engrossed by the communication to the south. This their *desideratum* they have already established in part, and its completion will be delayed but for a short time.

II.

Having described in the foregoing pages, as concisely as possible, the course of the Russian conquests in Central Asia, we may now address ourselves to the question whether the policy of Russia has already reached its final end, or whether, drawn on by circumstances, it will push further south, and not pause until it shall have reached the briny waters of the Indian Ocean and extended the gigantic possessions of the Russian Empire from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to Cape Komorin. If we reflect on the everlasting laws of

nature, resorting again to the metaphor of an avalanche breaking away from the mountain-top and rushing headlong downward, and take into consideration the ambition and appetite for new acquisitions of growing states, especially of a state like Russia, whose tendency to expansion knows no bounds, we are compelled to answer the latter alternative of the question with a decided 'Yes,' and must admit that the advance of Russia towards the south has become a logical necessity.

History teaches that the device of 'Thus far and no further' has never been voluntarily adopted by conquering states, and that moderation and self-restraint with nations are virtues which had to be invariably inculcated by force. The question, therefore, we have propounded at the outset, whether Russia wants or is able to conquer India, is quite a legitimate one. To will and to be able are quite different notions— notions the proper distinction of which falls heavily into the scales of historical events, and which I am all the more free to examine into, as, being neither Russian nor English, I am not amenable to the charge of either partiality or prejudice, and at most feel interested, as the spectator of a great and remarkable event from the standpoint of humanity and the spreading of European culture in Asia.

Nobody will entertain any doubt to-day that Russia intends to advance to the south and conquer India in spite of the fact that Russian statesmen deprecate such a design, and that European politicians, pointing out the enormous extent of the Russian territory in Asia, speak of such a diversion to the far south as an incredible and impossible matter. The conditions upon which the existence and life of states depend are almost always closely connected with the fundamental elements from which these states have sprung, and only by the continued pursuit and development of the processes of their primal formation can they secure their future.

The State of Russia, founded, according to its inherent nature, not upon the ethnical unity of a common population, but the amalgamation of smaller fragments of races of people surrounding it, employed the time from its infancy to its youth in the absorption of the Ugrian, Turkish, and Greek populations in its nearest vicinity, and began to extend its frontiers to the north-east and north-west as far back as eight centuries ago. The temporary revolutions brought about by Mongolian and Tartar wars of conquest acted no doubt as momentary checks upon this expansion; but the State, thoroughly imbued with northern tenacity and resting upon a Christian-Byzantine foundation, understood how to get rid of these checks. The difficulties raised by the wild Kumanians and the hosts of Djenghiz and Timur were after a severe struggle overcome, and hardly had Russia gained a firm foothold on the northern coast of the Caspian Sea, when her pioneers were already advancing into the heart of the virgin forests of Siberia and extending the authority of the Grand-Duke of Moscow as far as the Tobol and the Sosva. Here the Russians had barely commenced weaving the web

of future plans, when they became involved in a quarrel with the nomads of the Kirghis desert, and profited so well by it that they managed to enrich the State by annexations in the south-east.

There has been no standstill in the Russian State from its infancy to this day. We have seen that whilst processes of crystallisation were going on in one part of the gigantic empire, there were already springing up new formations in other parts of it caused by the accession of new and fresh elements.

The influence of ancient Rome in revolutionising the ethnical relations of Europe can alone be compared to a certain degree with the russianising influence of the Russian State on Europe, with this difference, however, that the results attending the process of transformation under Russian agencies, whilst they are not more rapid in developing than in the case of Rome, are far more intense in their effect.

We have no authentic statistics at our disposal concerning the progress of population in Russia during the last century. But if we consider that there were, at the most, thirty millions of Russians in the beginning of this century, and that their number has risen up to within recent times to eighty millions, it will not be difficult to guess where the Voguls, Ostyaks, Tchermisses, and other nations, about whose large numbers travellers of the last century have given us information, have got to. We neither wish to, nor can we, speak here of all the particulars of the process of amalgamation; the process remains for ever the old one.

First appear on the stage the merchant and the Cossack, they are followed by the Popa with his superstition and worship of images, and the rear is brought up by the Vodki and the Tchinovnik (officials) with their train of Russian peculiarities, and they all manage very soon, with due regard to local circumstances, to insinuate themselves into the good graces of the natives, an achievement which but seldom meets with any resistance, owing to the prevailing Asiatic characteristics of Russian society. In due course of time the natives, continually imposed upon in their dealings with the crafty Russian merchant, fall victims to pauperism, the holy-water sprinkle and the brandy-flask inaugurate the process of denationalisation, a process which is hastened by the cleverly inserted wedges of Cossack colonies, and half a century of Russian reign has proved sufficient to turn Ural-Altaians of the purest Asiatic stock into Aryan Russians. The physical characteristics alone survive for a while, like ruins of the former ethnical structure; but even these last mementos become obliterated by the crossing of races which results from intermarriage, and we meet to-day genuine Russians in countries where in the last century no traces of them could have been found.

It is not our intention to shed any tears over the russianising of Asiatic barbarians, for Russiandom is decidedly a step forward on the road of civilisation. All we wish to do here is to put on record the

fact that the Russian State has, within historic memory, absorbed, and is still going on absorbing, the most diverse ethnic elements in its vicinity. The process of amalgamation is of course considerably accelerated in our age by the superior facilities of communication and the vast improvements which have taken place in the art of war.

The most recent state of affairs in the Kirghis steppe furnishes an eloquent proof of this. The complete subjection of this people, the most numerous nomadic population on earth, dates only from the beginning of our century, although several civilising experiments had been started already in Catherine's time. To-day, after the Khanates have been subjected by the Russians, the desert is entering on an era of pauperism. The spirit of Moslem cosmology which formerly drew its nourishment from the Zerefshan is being gradually crowded out by the efforts, although timid as yet, of the Greek Church. Young Kirghisians are taught Russian in the State schools of Tashkend, Vyernoi, Aulia-Ata, &c., and trained to labour afterwards as zealous apostles at home. The number of Djighits, a species of Russo-Kirghis militia, and of Russian servants has astonishingly increased; the Volosts (native Kirghis chiefs) are highly esteemed if they are familiar with the language of the rulers; and as it belongs to the *bon ton* of the budding culture to ape the Russians in everything, we find a respectable number of genuine Russian words in the Kirghis dialect of to-day, and Russian usages and customs domesticated in the tents of the nomads lately so rigidly conservative. The rail-track which is to connect Orenburg with Tashkend is the only thing wanted to facilitate a greater influx of Russian colonists into the land, and then the work of russianising these children of nature, devoid of all culture, will rapidly draw to its completion.

We may see an additional proof of these suppositions of ours in the changes which have taken place in the Khanates of Central Asia during the last two decades of Russian occupation. In spite of the tight reins of Moslem religious teaching and a cosmology purely Asiatic and thousands of years old, we encounter at the present day already in the cities on the middle Yaxartes, the Zerefshan, and the Amu-Darya, such features of Russian culture as may well provoke our just surprise. In some regions the number of Russian colonists has strikingly increased, the element supposed hitherto to be most intolerant of change has shown a growing susceptibility to the impressions of foreign culture, and not thirty years will pass over the land before we may see these ancient seats of Asiatic Moslem culture wear the same general impress which is noticeable in the Caucasus of to-day, where Russia, even before the introduction of railways and the telegraph, had succeeded, by means of the interjection of a Russian population, in disintegrating the Georgian-Abkhazian, Tartar, Mingrelian, and Circassian elements.

In Khiva and the Turkoman desert we have before our eyes

the most remarkable proofs of the capacity of the Russians for assimilation. The Russian State has proceeded here, in the strictest sense of the word, by steam. The impassable sand regions were traversed by steam, as we have mentioned before; the conquest was accomplished with the rapidity of lightning, and was followed quite as quickly by the era of pauperism. The Turkoman, never an ardent follower of the Koran, but at all times zealously devoted to his horse and arms, now quietly indulges in spirituous liquors, wears epaulettes, adorns his breast with Russian crosses of honour, and only the settlement of a few Russian colonies on the arable soil of the northern edge of Iran is needed to metamorphise the but lately dauntless sons of the desert into adepts in Russian culture.

The steadiest and most sanguinely disposed thinker would be embarrassed to mark out, in a State possessing such eminent powers of absorption and such an insatiable greed for new lands, the exact boundary-line where the activity of the absorbing power is to cease. If the State of Russia, whilst raising itself from the modest position of the Grand Duchy of Moscow to the exalted one of the autocratic empire over more than half of Asia, was able to swallow and safely digest the most varied and heterogeneous ethnic elements, who will dare make the assertion that Russia will in future cease her activity in this direction, and will not add anew the Djemshidis, Hezares, Parsivans, Afghans, Behludjes, and Hindostanis to the already existing ethnic kaleidoscope? I rather think that an assertion to the contrary, based upon the assumption of Russia's moderation and abstemiousness and the already too large extent of her possessions, would, in the present case, be all the more unjustifiable, as, without referring to the law of nature and the elementary conditions of the Russian policy of state, of which I have spoken above, it is under the present circumstances a question of certain political schemes in which Russia is now too far embarked to be able either to stand still or to recede without having accomplished her object.

In scattering many millions of money over the sand steppes of Central Asia, the gentlemen in St. Petersburg had most assuredly larger views in their minds than the mere wish to bestow the blessings of culture upon the almond-eyed inhabitants of Turkestan, and proposed to themselves higher aims than the advancement of the problematical interests of commerce in the interior of Asia. The expedition to the large and rich peninsula on the other side of the Suleiman range may not have been premeditated centuries since, nor was it emblazoned as the ultimate object on the Russian standards; but the fact of Russia's having pushed forward to the south, and of her efforts to meet face to face with her only dangerous rival in the reign over Asia, stands out in clear and bold outlines before our eyes in the light of the events of the last two decades. If eighteen years ago we asserted that the Gordian knot of the Oriental question would be cut on the rocky

back of the Suleiman range, our suppositions of then have since been confirmed by similar enunciations coming from the hot-blooded Skobeleff. Russia is bent upon first reaching India, and then, as a necessary consequence, setting about the task of conquering her.

III.

Thus far we have been busy establishing the fact of Russia's desire to conquer India, a fact which will meet with but few doubters; and now we may take up the question of Russia's power to do so, and especially, first of all, examine the relations subsisting between the two notions of intention and power, as applied to the case before us, in order that I may be enabled to present to my readers, as the result of my investigation, as truthful a picture as possible of the future formations in the interior of Asia, and of the respective chances of the two rivals opposed to each other. In referring to those qualities of the Russian State and Russian society which have a special bearing on the question before us, we are bound to give prominence *in the first place* to the capacity for assimilation I have already spoken of as a quality in which Russia is far superior to her opponent, and which she is likely to employ also in the future as a powerful weapon, especially in Asia.

England only colonises and civilises, and succeeds in essentially transforming the national element of the natives, but she is not able to denationalise and absorb it, nor is she in the habit of doing so; whilst Russia, on the contrary, transforms and civilises only in the Russian sense of the word, in order to be able to russianise the natives the more easily and rapidly.

The *second* advantage Russia possesses for her operations in Asia is decidedly her autocratico-despotic form of government, which gives her the most absolute power in the disposing of the State treasury and the lives of her subjects, in the devising and carrying out of plans without any fear of interference or impediment from the sovereign will of the people or the influences of parliamentary party life in any designs she may entertain. In England the national will can, and generally does, support the ambitious ideas of the State, but in the fierce struggle of parties one administration will often pull down that which another administration has laboriously built up; every penny which is to be expended in wars of conquest is chaffered and higgled about; costs and profits are carefully weighed; and whilst these tedious transactions are going on, more than one favourable opportunity is slipping by, and the work of conquest is progressing more slowly than where at the words of command of the prince, "I will it so, I command it," the masses are bowing down in the dust and supporting with their last pennies the ambition of their despotic master.

The *third* advantage possessed by Russia consists in her large

army, which considerably exceeds the limit of a million, and enables her on any occasion, the least foreseen, to throw a contingent into India, against which England, which steadily refuses to be called 'a military state, could in no case array an army corresponding in numbers. In connection with an invasion of this kind must be considered, first and foremost, the Asiatic auxiliary troops, who, incited by hopes of pillage and plunder and feelings of revenge, would, under the Russian standard, join the expedition; and Russia might expect aid from the Central Asiatics, whilst England would be menaced by, and in danger of, her Hindustan allies and native army.

In the minds of Central Asiatics an expedition to India is identified with historical fame, and inseparable from the power and might of a great conqueror; and just as they are unable to picture to themselves a Djenghiz, a Timur, and a Nadir, except as the happy conqueror of wealthy India, they expect also from Russia, which is following in the footsteps of the mighty conquerors of Asia, the same postulate of heroic feats of war; and the number of nomad adventurers who, greedy of booty, would join the Russian expedition would be a very considerable one. The nomadic element has always furnished the largest contingent to the armies invading India from the north; and if these nomads up to the time of Nadir appeared in the field, drilled still in the spirit of the military organisation of ancient Asia, Russia will take good care that those marching with her shall answer in all respects the modern expectations as to a militia of this kind.

Russia has already set to work in this direction. At present, to be sure, there are only a few squadrons of Turkoman cavalry in the Russian service; but they are drilled under Lopatinski in the European manner, and astonish as much by their skill and precision in cavalry practice as they surprise their Russian teachers by their strictly soldierly spirit. In a short time these squadrons will grow into a few regiments, and the services which flying columns consisting of Turkoman material will render to an invading army cannot be overrated. The Turkoman is undoubtedly the best rider in the world; his horse is the swiftest and toughest in all Asia; his *élan* is incomparable; his hardened nature defies all fatigues and privations, and, once in the saddle, he must know neither father nor brother, according to a saying current with him, which still adds: 'If robbers attack thy father's tent, rush into it and pillage with them.' If the co-operation of such tender-souled freebooting knights in an eventual Russian march towards India, on the one hand, cannot be made light of, neither can, on the other hand, be underrated the feelings of bitter revenge which the Afghans entertain against England, feelings which have their origin in the conquest of the Punjab and in the two Anglo-Afghan wars, and which

have taken deep root in the bosoms of the wild and passionate Afghans.

The Afghan, like the Turkoman, is a freebooter by trade, differing only in kind; he, too, deems it more praiseworthy to get hold of the property of others by murder and pillage than by industry and labour; and the triumph and ecstasy of this pleasant company may be easily imagined in case it should enter the mind of the white Padishah on the Neva to undertake an expedition to India and to invite them to take part in it. I therefore repeat that Russia, considering the Asiatic militia at her disposal, can, with a comparatively small army, boldly risk the venture; and General Skobelev was perfectly right in saying at one time in his famous plan of an Indian invasion: 'It will be in the end our duty to organise masses of Asiatic cavalry, and to hurl them into India under the banner of blood and pillage, as a vanguard as it were, thus reviving the times of a Tamerlane.' Yes, the man has spoken no empty words; it would not have been the first time that Russia would have acted *more Asiatico* in Asia, and, without wishing to discuss here the merits of the Russian soldier on the battle-field, we may risk the assertion that Russia, as far as the military question is concerned, is fully prepared for an invasion of India.

We must advert, in the *fourth* place, to the advantage Russia has gained, within the last two years, through the greatly increased rapidity of communication between the mother country and the Asiatic frontier regions lying furthest off. Distance, this most dangerous enemy of Russian policy according to an expression of Nicholas the First, is entirely vanquished to-day, and has ceased to be an obstacle in the way of the ambition of the Court of St. Petersburg, and its designs on India. In spite of the building of the railway line of Samara-Orenburg the conviction has gained ground in Russian circles that the main artery of communication between the interior of Russia and the interior of Central Asia should not run in a line from the north to the south, but in a south-eastern direction from the shores of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, if the object aimed at is to be safely and successfully attained. The Caucasus, the status of whose army amounts in time of peace to 150,000 men, has been acknowledged long ago to be the principal military *dépôt* for operations in the interior of Asia. The centre of future military movements in that direction has been in consequence removed principally to the south of Russia on the Lower Volga, and the railway termini at Vladikavkas and Odessa will form the future rallying-points of army movements. Nothing definite has as yet been concluded in regard to the short line between Vladikavkas and Tiflis which now runs across the Dariel pass, a pass impracticable in winter, whether it is to be established by means of a tunnel which would be smaller than that of Mount Cenis, or, by flanking the mountain range, it is to pass over Petrovsk.

One thing is certain, that future operations against Afghanistan and India must have the Caucasus for their base. Batum can be very easily reached from Odessa in two days, it takes twenty-four hours to go by rail from Batum to Baku, as many hours again to cross over to Michailovsk by the Caspian Sea, from which last-named point it takes twelve hours by the primitive railway, so that after the entire completion of the line of Michailovsk-Herat, the length of which is about 520 miles, the entire distance between the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and Herat, the so-called key to India, can be made in forty-eight hours at the most. In summing up the entire distance it results in this, *that taking the westernmost starting-point, namely Odessa, an army can be thrown in six days from the south of Russia into the interior of Asia without any great exertion and without any interruption.*

The navigation on the Caspian Sea would be of considerable importance in case of such an expedition, a navigation which has assumed proportions in these latter days which no one could have anticipated, although as yet it is busying itself less with the transport of soldiers than with the shipment of petroleum from Baku. We shall not dwell here on the almost fabulous and incredible increase in the industry of petroleum at that ancient seat of fire-worship, but nevertheless are bound to merely indicate the tremendous exertions which have been and are still being made by Nobel Brothers in the matter of the transport of petroleum. We glean from Marvin's painstaking work that these oil-kings have ordered in Sweden, within the last two years, twelve large steamers, eight of which, namely the 'Mahomet,' 'Tatarin,' 'Brahma,' 'Spinoza,' 'Darwin,' 'Talmud,' and 'Koran,' are already finished, and will, in all probability, be soon followed by the remaining four. Considering that these vessels can be easily turned into army transports, and each of them can be made to carry 500 men, 6,000 men in all, in twenty-four hours from Baku to Michailovsk, we may form an idea of the extraordinary means of transport Russia is able to dispose of; and if we add the Caspian flotilla belonging to the Russian navy, which includes a couple of good men-of-war, and is manned by seventy-one officers and 700 men, it will be seen that it will be anything but magic to land if necessary, at any moment, an army contingent on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, and to send it on thence to Herat by railway. Apart from the difficulties connected with the landing on the shallow coast of the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, the Russians need not apprehend the slightest danger during the whole expedition either from the elements or from political casualties. Depots for provisions can be established in abundance along the entire Turkoman line, excepting one short break in it. Water can be found everywhere in the whole of the northern edge of Iran, from the Akhal territory to Sarakhs and Herat, and the only possible

bulwark which might be erected by a hostilely disposed Persia need not be considered for the reason that Iran has long since forfeited her free will, and is at the present day nothing but a vassal state of Russia in spite of all the bombastic titles of her ruler.

As a *fifth* and last, but not the least, advantage of the Russians in their design on India, we may add the respect and prestige which Russia is enjoying in the eyes of the Asiatics, a prestige which has continued unimpaired for centuries and has always spread fear and terror. This prestige preceded the army of Ivan the Terrible at the conquest of Khazan, and in the course of succeeding centuries it was almost always this fame and terror of the rude and mighty Russ which made the blood freeze in the veins of even the boldest Tartar, Kirghis, Kalmuk, and Bashkir long before the Russ himself had made his appearance. The diversion which the Uzbek hero, Sheibani, made against Astrakhan towards the end of the fifteenth century was looked upon as a feat of special gallantry on his part. The princes of Central Asia trembled before the neighbour in the North even before he had crossed the barrier of the belt of the steppe, and Makhdumkuli, the Turkoman bard, predicted to his countrymen in the last century that the world would in the end succumb to the overwhelming power of Russia. This legend of the immense power of Russia has continued to be current to this day, not only amongst the nations of Central Asia, but amongst those of China, India, Persia, and Turkey; and well may the Asiatics have faith in it, for Russia has known how to make herself respected, and never allowed herself to be guided by sentimental regards of humanity, but in all her dealings has started from the principle which is quite correct as to Asia: 'He who fears me will respect me, and he who respects me must love me.' In our days this prestige has gone on increasing, owing to the overthrow of the Turkoman power and the subjection of the Khanates of Bokhara; it has entered the bazaars of the remotest towns of India, and is everywhere emblazoned as the symbol of invincible might and grandeur. Such a fame is in itself worth several armies, and will work wonders in the future as it has done in the past.

A. VAMBÉRY.

(To be concluded.)

THE CENTENARY OF The Times.

FOUNDED on the 1st of January, 1785, *The Times* has reached the hundredth year of its existence. To survive to so great an age is as rare amongst newspapers as it is amongst human beings; still rarer is it, in both cases, for the hundredth anniversary to be attained without any trace or token of decrepitude and decay. There is but one London morning journal which, having lived for upwards of a century, continues brimful of life and vigour, which is even more lusty and energetic now than in earlier days, and bids fair to see succeeding centuries pass over its head. This is the *Morning Post*, which was founded in 1772 with the title of the *Morning Post and General Advertiser*. Other London morning journals, enjoying a boundless circulation and an unprecedented popularity, are comparatively young. The oldest amongst them is the *Morning Advertiser*, which is aged ninety; the youngest is the *Standard*, which is only twenty-eight. The *Daily News* has lived and exercised world-wide influence for thirty-nine years; the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Chronicle* for thirty.

Newspapers, like human beings, 'have their day and cease to be,' and in the cases of both, their disappearance seems often untimely and incomprehensible. Not many years ago the *Morning Herald* and the *Morning Chronicle* were, to all appearance, as popular and powerful as several of the contemporaries which have survived them; their conductors were enterprising and untiring in collecting news; the ablest pens of the day contributed to their columns; both journals appeared to be indispensable to a large section of the reading public, and both enjoyed the favour of many advertisers when they rapidly decayed and passed away. For many years the *Morning Star* twinkled brightly in the journalistic firmament, yet its light was suddenly quenched. Others, such as the *Representative* and the *Mirror*, the *Constitutional*, the *Day*, and the *Hour*, expired after a very short struggle for existence.

Though the first number of *The Times* was published on the 1st of January, 1785, yet the journal was not called by its present name till the appearance of its nine hundred and fortieth number, on the 1st of January, 1788. It was then no unusual thing for an established

newspaper to assume a new face. For instance, the *Public Advertiser*, to which 'Junius' contributed, was first known as the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, next as the *General Advertiser*, and lastly by the title which is now familiar. The *Morning Post* has dropped half of its original designation. For the first three years of its existence, *The Times* was styled the *Daily Universal Register*. On the 24th of December, 1787, the following intimation was made to its readers:—'Various reasons having occurred since the first publication of the *Universal Register* which render it essentially necessary to change the present title, we respectfully inform our readers that on the 1st of January next it will appear with an entire new set of features under the title of the *Times*.' Thus, for the first title, which was '*The Daily Universal Register*, printed logographically, by his Majesty's patent,' there was substituted the following:—'*The Times, or Daily Universal Register*, printed logographically.' The last numbers of the journal under its old title do not materially differ from the earlier ones under its new one, nor at the outset was there a marked superiority of the new journal over its contemporaries.

A journal in those days contained a little news, more or less authentic, several paragraphs of gossip, many bad verses, and a few advertisements. Leading articles were unknown. Letters to the editor filled their place. When those letters were written by such a person as 'Junius' they were quite as serviceable and noteworthy as the leading articles which now contribute to form public opinion. But 'Junius' owed much of his celebrity to the fact that he was an exception. Very few contemporary writers were endowed with his literary gifts. Now and then a really brilliant letter appeared; but the majority resembled the twaddle which may now be met with in country newspapers of very limited circulation. The theme of most letters was the downfall of the nation; sometimes leading articles as well as letters are now written to prove that the nation is hastening rapidly to destruction, but the letter-writers of former days seemed to think of nothing else. They may have suited the taste of their contemporaries, for others besides Mrs. Dangle in *The Critic* must have thought it very entertaining to read 'letters every day with Roman signatures, demonstrating the certainty of an invasion, and proving that the nation is utterly undone.'

The letter-writers in the *Universal Register* were not brilliant; one of them, signing 'Marcus Marcellus,' was ready with 'infallible remedies for the cure of all our grievances;' but even he did not meet with special notice or appreciation. Another, signing 'Rusticus,' intimates that he sends his letter because it had been rejected by the *Morning Chronicle*, which would now be considered a reason for not inserting it. However, the editor not only inserted it, but he expressed his readiness to have the thoughts of the writer again; adding, 'but as long essays are seldom read, we recommend his thoughts to be conveyed in para-

graphs.' Now and then a paragraph is met with which might be inserted in *The Times* of to-day, such as 'Masonry gains great ground in this country; nor can it be wondered at when the Prince of Wales gives it his patronage and countenance.' The premature death of a rising physician caused general regret not long since; about a century ago the death of Dr. Walsh was chronicled in the *Universal Register*, this physician dying at the age of twenty-six from blood-poisoning occasioned by the exercise of his profession. The record of deaths in that journal would now be perused with rational scepticism. In a single number the deaths of three persons are announced whose ages are said to be one hundred and two, one hundred and four, and one hundred and ten respectively, the oldest having cleverly succeeded in retaining his senses unimpaired to the last. When *The Times* was in its infancy the average number of centenarians departing this life was fifty annually. The authentic average at present is one, yet as many persons actually live to one hundred years now as in bygone days.

Mr. John Walter, the founder of *The Times*, was born in 1738. His father was a coal-buyer—that is, he bought coal at Newcastle on a large scale, brought it to London by sea, and disposed of it there. He died in 1755, leaving his son at the age of seventeen to make his way in the world. This son, in the course of ten years, became the chairman of the wealthy and influential body of coal-buyers who had built for themselves a Coal Exchange under his supervision. He married in 1771. Five years afterwards he became a member of Lloyd's, and carried on the avocation of underwriting. He rapidly accumulated money, and was on the high road to fortune, when a fleet of merchantmen on which he had taken a large risk was captured by a French squadron. His loss amounted to 80,000*l*. He wrote and published a pamphlet setting forth his misfortunes. As they were not due to any fault of his own, he expected to receive either compensation in money or a place under Government. Had not Lord North resigned in 1782, his application for a place would probably have been granted.

In that year Mr. Walter made the acquaintance of Henry Johnson, a compositor, who had made what he considered to be great improvements in the art of printing. Mr. Walter was impressed with these improvements; he contributed to complete them, and became, in concert with Johnson, a patentee of printing by means of 'logotypes.' In 1784 he took the premises then vacant in Printing House Square, where, in 1666, John Bill had founded and printed the *London Gazette*. The monastery of the Black Friars formerly occupied that site: the office of *The Times* now stands there. Mr. Walter laboured hard and successfully to qualify himself for the business in which, as he wrote, he had embarked as a mere novice; hence 'want of experience laid him open to many and gross impositions.' However,

he abounded in enthusiasm and perseverance. He was confident that 'logotype' printing would effect a revolution by which both the nation and he would profit. He founded the newspaper now known as *The Times*, to prove that newspapers as well as books could be printed far better and more cheaply than by the system in common use.

The 'logotype' system of printing consists in using whole words or parts of words in place of single letters; thus the compositor, instead of building up each word, has the word ready made to his hand. This looks very simple, and the apparent simplicity of the scheme has always been its chief attraction. Mr. Walter took counsel with Sir Joseph Banks, then President of the Royal Society, and received his approval in the most emphatic terms, the new system being pronounced by him to be 'a most useful acquisition to the literary world, and deserving the highest encouragement and support from the public.' Mr. Walter corresponded on the subject with Benjamin Franklin; he had the satisfaction of learning that Franklin looked with favour upon the new system, and, as Franklin was not only a shrewd man but a practical printer, his good opinion carried great weight. Not merely did Mr. Walter hope to economise in printing both as regards time and cost, but he also anticipated a great extension of the art by the use of 'logographic' types. In the *Universal Register* for the 12th of August, 1786, he announced that, having established a type foundry for casting logographic types, he was 'able to supply any gentleman with logographic types who may have reasons for executing any work of secrecy or amusement, as the types of the words are so easily used in preference to single letters, and, consequently, the knowledge of printing may be acquired with facility. The experiment already made by a nobleman of the first rank and abilities, both in station and knowledge, fully evinces the truth of what is asserted.' It is probable that the Duke of Portland is the nobleman here referred to, that nobleman having handed to the King a copy of Mr. Walter's pamphlet on logographic printing.

In addition to setting up his newspaper with these types, Mr. Walter used them in his general printing business, and a large number of books issued from his logographic press. I have before me a list of fifteen of these works which appeared between 1784 and 1790. But the system had to be abandoned at last. It had several practical and insurmountable drawbacks—one of these being that the mass of ready-made words was too bulky and cumbersome to admit of being as readily handled as the corresponding mass of single types; another being that, if the cost of composition were less, that of correction was very much greater. Many years later an effort was made to revive the system. Major Beniowski, an ingenious and a plausible Pole, made some changes in it for which he procured letters patent, and he obtained the assistance of Captain John Greene, for many years

member for Kilkenny, in furthering and advocating it. In 1854, Captain Greene succeeded in getting a Select Committee of the House of Commons to investigate the matter, and he did so despite the opposition of Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. The report of the Committee was to the effect that, as the evidence was conflicting, no decision had been arrived at concerning the scheme. *The Times*, which had suffered severely from the delusion of logographic printing, naturally wrote in condemnation of Major Beniowski and his invention.

Not long after the *Universal Register* became known as *The Times*, it ceased to be printed by logotypes. The first number under the new name, which appeared on the 1st of January, 1788, contained an address to the public on the subject of printing, wherein Mr. Walter returns thanks for the reception accorded to his efforts to improve that art, states that he purposes issuing a pamphlet containing his grievances, and gives as a specimen the fact that, being in want of apprentices, he sent an advertisement asking for them to the *General Advertiser*, which was 'generally read by the lower orders of the people,' but that Mr. Jenour, the printer of the paper, refused to insert the advertisement after taking payment for it. It is probable that the readers of Mr. Walter's paper cared little for his disputes with rival printers and were lukewarm supporters of his inventions. They had a clear piece of evidence against the success of the new system. The *Universal Register* was sold for 2½d., being a halfpenny less than any contemporary, the reduced price being said to be a proof of the saving effected by the new plan, whereas the price was raised to 3d. when the paper assumed a new name.

The first number of *The Times*, or *Daily Universal Register*, was a folio sheet of four sides, of which more than one half was filled with advertisements. It resembled its contemporaries in nearly all respects, being, like any of them, as Cowper stated in the *Task*,

The folio of four pages, happy work,
Which not even critics, criticise.

In that number the foreign intelligence occupies a little over half a column, and consists of four paragraphs from Warsaw dated the 5th of December; two from Frankfort dated the 14th of December; one from Constantinople dated the 10th of November; two from Paris and one from Rotterdam dated the 25th of December. Ten short paragraphs are given of London news, amongst them being a paragraph to the effect that 'the indisposition of Lord Salisbury is a public evil,' a fact which, if announced now, would doubtless be expressed in corresponding words. Under the heading of the 'Theatre,' a short notice is given of *Hamlet*, then performing at Drury Lane, and of *Henry the Fourth* at Covent Garden. A column headed the 'Cuckoo' is filled with those paragraphs of gossip and scandal which were greatly to the taste of our forefathers, which do not appear unacceptable to

readers of the present day, but which are excluded from the London daily press and now form the staple fare of some weekly journals. A column and a quarter headed 'The Times,' contains a statement as to the change in the title, and an exposition of the policy of the paper. The gist of the explanation is that the name *Universal Register* was as 'injurious to the logographic newspaper as Tristram was to Mr. Shandy's son,' and that, as most readers spoke of it as the *Register*, it was commonly confounded with the *Annual Register*, the *Court and City Register*, and certain disreputable publications. For these reasons and others, 'the parents of the *Universal Register* have added to its original name that of the *Times*, which, being a monosyllable, bids defiance to corruptors and mutilators of the language.'

The writer thus proceeds to comment on the new name: 'The *Times*! What a monstrous name! Granted—for the *Times* is a many-headed monster that speaks with a hundred tongues, and displays a thousand characters, and in the course of its transformations in life assumes innumerable shapes and humours.' Mr. Walter defends the change in the title as follows: 'The alteration we have made in our head is not without precedents. The *World* has parted with half of its *caput mortuum* and a moiety of its brains. The *Herald* has cut off half of its head, and lost its original humour. The *Post*, it is true, retains its whole head and its old features; and as to the other public prints, they appear as having neither heads nor tails.' The chief reference to politics is in these terms: 'The political head of the *Times*, like that of Janus, the Roman deity, is double-faced; with one countenance it will smile continually on the friends of Old England, and with the other will frown incessantly on her enemies.'

Mr. Walter may not have thought it necessary to lay down any programme, because this paper was the continuation of an established one, and not a new venture on a fresh plan. In the *Universal Register* for the 29th of June, 1785, he had distinctly announced his aim: 'Uninfluenced by party, uncontrolled by power, and attached solely to the public interest, every exertion shall be urged to ensure a continuance of that support the journal has already experienced.' More than half a column of No. 940 is occupied with a poem, which is rather worse than the poems that then found places in newspapers, being an 'Ode for the New Year' by the Poet Laureate. One marriage is announced, and one death. The advertisements are as interesting as anything else in the paper. C. Sharp, perfumer and razor maker to the Prince of Wales, vaunts the superiority of his concave razors; John Young is anxious that the nobility and gentry should try his 'Caledonian macabau' snuff, assuring them that they will find it as good as his Irish snuff; Mrs. H. M. informs ladies that her 'opera fans,' showing the numbers of the boxes and names of subscribers, are ready for delivery; C. Walsh recommend

his refined liquorice to all who wish to get rid of coughs ; while other medicines are advertised for sale, not for emolument, but out of philanthropy, the prices, however, being high enough to leave no small profit. These quack medicines are quite as wonderful as others of a later day : they comprise the Opiate of Life, which is 'most sovereign for weak stomachs, and infallible to all consumptive complaints,' and costs 7s. a pot of eighteen doses ; the Golden Pill, which prevents pains in the head and eyes, restores a lost memory and beautifies the complexion, is composed 'of the wholesomest and scarcest articles as are not even to be had in Europe,' the box containing twenty-four pills costing 10s. 6d. ; Danish pills, a remedy for gravel, costing 6s. a box. Only one firm amongst these advertisers still survives ; this is the Messrs. Burgess, who call attention to their smoked salmon and Dutch herrings, French olives and rich sauces. John Abernethy informs the public that he will begin a course of anatomical lectures. Nine works printed at the Logographic Press are advertised, and three firms set forth at length the reasons why lottery tickets should be purchased from them. Such are the salient features in the first number of the journal bearing the name of *The Times*.

The success of *The Times* was not rapid. Writing in December, 1789, Horace Walpole asks the Countess of Ossory, 'Have you seen Mr. Cambridge's excellent verses, called the *Progress of Liberty*? They were printed last Wednesday in a newspaper called *The Times*, but they are ascribed to a young lady.' Mr. Walter often felt his post of editor a most trying one. In 1786 he had to pay a fine of 150*l.* for a libel upon Lord Loughborough. In 1789, being convicted of libelling the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, the libel consisting of the remark, probably well founded, that they were 'insincere' in their professions of joy at the King's recovery, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 50*l.*, to stand for an hour in the pillory at Charing Cross, to be imprisoned in Newgate for twelve months, and to find security for good behaviour for seven years after leaving prison. When in prison two other libels were laid to his charge : he was accused of publishing that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York had demeaned themselves so as to incur the just disapprobation of his Majesty, and that the Duke of Clarence had returned home without authority from the Admiralty or his commanding officer. Mr. Walter was brought from Newgate on the 3rd of January, 1790, to receive sentence for these heinous offences. For both libels he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment in Newgate, to date from the expiry of the year he had to serve, and to pay 200*l.* After being imprisoned sixteen months he was liberated on the intercession of the Prince of Wales. In the reigns both of George the Third and his son, imprisonment for libel occasioned as little disgrace as it did in France during the reign of the third Napoleon, when some of the best men were in prison and some of the worst in office. However, Mr. Walter

was so disheartened by the treatment which he received that he contemplated giving up *The Times*, and confining himself to printing and publishing books. The journal was conducted at a loss, and to be subjected to fine and imprisonment, in addition to losing money by the journal, was as trying to his temper as to his pocket.

Instead, however, of discontinuing to publish *The Times*, Mr. Walter wisely associated his eldest son in its management, and in 1803 made him sole conductor. Mr. John Walter, jun., was born in 1776; like Henry Sampson Woodfall, the eminent editor of the *Public Advertiser*, he was educated at Merchant Taylors' School. He went to Trinity College, Oxford, afterwards, where he remained one year only. He studied at Oxford with the view of entering the Church, but, at his father's request, he abandoned his original intention. He had been regularly apprenticed to his father, and had mastered the art of printing. It was for the purpose of giving *The Times* another and a last chance that John Walter, jun., was admitted to a share in its management. He had the great qualification, in addition to remarkable natural gifts, of a thorough acquaintance with the details of printing and publishing. He was twenty-seven when he undertook the sole management of *The Times*, an early age it is true, yet not so early by eight years as that at which Henry Sampson Woodfall became editor of the *Public Advertiser*. The connection of John Walter, jun., with *The Times* was the beginning of its prosperity and the true source of its fame. He found it a struggling and feeble journal; he left it the most successful and powerful journal in the world. On obtaining the power to give effect to his policy, he set himself to reorganise the staff of *The Times*, to do everything that he could to accelerate the production of the paper, to fill it with fresh and trustworthy intelligence, to discard any arrangement and terminate any understanding which might interfere with free action and fearless criticism. It was then the custom to take payment for theatrical puffs, but he distinctly intimated that no such custom would be acted upon by him, and he adhered to his determination despite a pecuniary loss to the paper. His father did not approve of his scrupulousness; he desired the paper to be independent of any person or party, but he did not object to accepting payments which were consecrated by usage, and which he considered to be a fair remuneration for service rendered.

No London journal at the beginning of this century was strikingly superior to any other, nor had any of them a preponderating circulation and influence. Four thousand copies constituted a large circulation for any paper in those days. Whilst Coleridge was a contributor to the *Morning Post* that journal attained a circulation of seven thousand copies, to the surprise of the proprietors as much as of the public. None was a special favourite with advertisers. A certain class of advertisements would be found in a particular paper; the *Morning Post* containing most of those relating to horses and carriages, the

Public Ledger of those relating to shipping and sales of foreign merchandise, the *Morning Herald* and *The Times* of those relating to auctions, and the *Morning Chronicle* of those relating to books. John Walter, jun., tried to change this by making his paper equally complete and attractive in every department, and, by increasing its circulation, to render it a favourite with all advertisers, whilst rigidly preserving its impartiality and upholding its independence.

He described in *The Times* for the 11th of February, 1810, how many trials he had to encounter in carrying out this policy. On purely patriotic grounds he supported the Administration of Lord Sidmouth. When it was succeeded, or rather displaced, by Pitt's second Administration, the conduct of Lord Melville was strongly blamed in *The Times*, the result being that Mr. Walter, sen., was removed from the office of printer to the Customs, which he had filled for eighteen years, while all Government advertisements were withdrawn from *The Times*. The Administration of All the Talents, which took office after Pitt's death, having been supported by *The Times*, it was suggested to John Walter, jun., that he should memorialise the Government in the hope of recovering the patronage which had been withdrawn. However, not only did he decline to take any part in such an application, but he intimated to those who proposed to make one—despite his refusal to sign it—that they were acting in direct opposition to his wishes. He had greater trials to bear than the loss of official patronage. The public were eager for news respecting the wars then raging on the Continent, and he had made arrangements for getting exact and early information. His plans were purposely frustrated by order of the Government, the officials at the outposts being enjoined to stop all the parcels of papers addressed to him. On remonstrating at the Home Office he was informed that, if he would accept these packets as a favour, which would imply some return on his part, they would be duly transmitted. He firmly declined even to listen to such conditions, and at a later date, when complaining of another high-handed act of subordinate agents, he expressly refused the still milder terms of compromise to the effect that he should distinctly intimate which political party he purposed supporting. The Ministry then in office had his support; but he would not make any conditions, even with that Ministry, which might in the smallest degree fetter or seem to affect his independence. It was sometimes his good fortune, whilst rigidly declining any favour, to outstrip the Government in the conveyance of intelligence; thus he was able to announce the capitulation of Flushing forty-eight hours before the news had reached any Government office.

The manner in which John Walter, jun., obtained his information from abroad, at a time when regular communication between this country and the Continent was stopped, is practically disclosed in a letter from him to Mr. Croker. It is written on the 9th of May, 1811.

After setting forth in it the extraordinary difficulty in getting French newspapers, the writer says that a smuggler, 'who is in collusion with a French officer near a certain port, is willing to exchange this contraband traffic in which he has been hitherto engaged for one which is perfectly innocent with respect to its operation upon the public revenue—namely, the conveyance of French papers only to England.'¹ He proposed that, if the Admiralty would give orders not to seize the vessel while so engaged, copies of the papers thus obtained would be forwarded to the Government. The result is not told; but the ingenious plan was designed to serve the Government as much as *The Times*.

The conductors of other journals were able to collect foreign news from the same sources as *The Times*; but the conductor of that journal was not satisfied to do that which any rival could perform with equal ease. He determined to have foreign intelligence from an agent of his own, and for his exclusive use—in other words, he resolved to employ on the Continent a special correspondent. The gentleman on whom his choice fell, and who fully merited the confidence reposed in him, was Henry Crabb Robinson. He was the forerunner of many distinguished men, who have given a new impulse and new character to journalism. Their names are known as well as honoured: other contributors to the press are as little known to the reading public as 'Junius;' but every one is acquainted with the names as well as the achievements of such men, amongst many others, as Dr. Russell and Wingrove Cooke, of Mr. Gallenga and Mr. McGahan, of Mr. Archibald Forbes and Mr. G. A. Henty, of Mr. Beatty-Kingston and Mr. Hilary Skinner, of Mr. Sala and Captain Cameron.

Crabb Robinson notes in his Diary how, in January 1807, he received, through his friend J. D. Collier, a proposal that he should proceed to Altona and reside there as *The Times* correspondent. He had returned from a stay in Germany, where he studied at the University of Jena. He had not only become well versed in the German language and literature, but he had made the personal acquaintance of the most eminent Germans of the day, Goethe and Schiller being numbered amongst them. Later in life he enjoyed the friendship of the chief Englishmen of his time, and he was the most intimate friend, perhaps, that Wordsworth ever had. Crabb Robinson sent to *The Times* a series of letters from 'The Banks of the Elbe,' wherein he set forth the condition of things in Germany during the agitated period which closed with the fall of Dantzic, the battle of Friedland, and the treaty of Tilsit. On returning home, after having had several narrow escapes from capture and imprisonment, he acted as the foreign editor of *The Times*; and in the year 1808 he was despatched to Corunna, there to act again as special correspondent. The letters which he wrote during this mission were dated from 'The Shores of the Bay of Biscay' and 'Corunna,' and they appeared between the 9th of August, 1808, and the 20th of

¹ Croker's *Correspondence and Diaries*, vol. i. p. 37.

January, 1809. Crabb Robinson was a worthy representative of the class which has now become famous; he had all the activity requisite for performing the onerous task which he undertook, and he discharged his duty with a fidelity and effect which has seldom been surpassed by the most daring and brilliant of his successors. He lived to a great age, dying in his ninety-fourth year; and those who, like myself, had the pleasure of his personal acquaintance during his later years, found his lively and most interesting spoken reminiscences even more fascinating than the printed pages which have been given to the world under the skilled editorship of Dr. Sadler. Of John Walter, jun., whose friendship he retained till death, Crabb Robinson always wrote and spoke in terms of the warmest admiration.

Whilst the conductor of *The Times* was gradually but surely rendering it the leading journal, he was suddenly confronted with a danger which threatened to shipwreck the result of his incessant labour and to mar the fruition of his cherished hopes. Towards the end of May 1810 the pressmen in his office made a demand for increased wages. These men supplied the manual labour for working the printing presses, and their services were indispensable. At the same time the compositors combined to demand not only higher wages, but the disuse of a new size of type which had been then introduced. The men bound themselves by an oath to be united and firm in demands to which they considered that resistance was hopeless. John Walter, jun., had a private intimation of the strike a few hours before it took place on a Saturday morning. Hastily collecting a few apprentices and unemployed compositors, he worked continuously for thirty-six hours along with them in preparing the Monday's issue, which, to the astonishment of the workmen on strike, appeared in the usual course. During several months the business of printing the journal was conducted under difficulties, the workmen on strike molesting those employed in the office. The lives of the latter were often in peril during the struggle. At length it was resolved to prosecute the men on strike for conspiracy, as well as for illegal combination, the result being that twenty-one were put on their trial at the Old Bailey on the 8th of November, 1810, that nineteen were found guilty of conspiracy, that two ringleaders were sentenced to imprisonment for two years, three others for eighteen months, three for twelve months, and eleven for nine months.

Not long after having successfully resisted this attempt to wreck *The Times*, its conductor lost his father, who died at Teddington on the 16th of November, 1812, in his seventy-fourth year. He had prospered as a printer and publisher; he left *The Times* and printing offices to his son, a bequest which was very valuable then and was rapidly growing more valuable still. During the years the second Mr. Walter had conducted the journal its circulation increased

so rapidly that the problem of meeting the continuous demand was a serious one. At the beginning of the century the *Times* was at the bottom of the list of London morning journals as regards the numbers sold, its contemporaries being ranked as follows in proportion to their circulation: (1) the *Morning Chronicle*; (2) the *Morning Post*; (3) the *Morning Herald*; (4) the *Morning Advertiser*. The circulation of the *Times* did not then exceed one thousand copies daily. Seven years earlier the daily circulation of the *Morning Post* was but three hundred and fifty copies, and its progress had been rapid; yet that of *The Times* was even more marvellous during the ten following years. From having the smallest circulation of any London contemporary, the circulation of *The Times* became so much larger than that of any of them that the ordinary printing appliances proved inadequate to provide the copies for which there was a demand. When the number bought was a thousand, it was easy enough to supply them with a press which turned out between three and four hundred copies an hour; but, when many thousands were called for, such a press proved wholly inadequate.

Mr. Walter had made several attempts to effect improvements in the printing-press. He consulted Marc Isambard Brunel, one of the great mechanics of his day, who gave his best attention to the matter and then intimated his inability to execute what was required. Mr. Walter advanced money to Thomas Martyn, who thought he had made an important discovery; but the ideas of Martyn were not realised in practice. Whilst engaged in seeking for a person who could give scope and effect to his wishes, Friedrich Koenig, a German, who was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, in 1774, was labouring to effect improvements in the printing-press, was confident of substituting steam for manual labour in his new press, and was anxiously waiting for an opportunity to give scope to his views and for a patron to countenance and advance them. He had visited England in the hope of finding there the opening and the support which he could not obtain in his native country. He found a sympathiser in Thomas Bensley, with whom he entered into an agreement in 1807. Two years later, when a working model of Koenig's improved press had been completed, Bensley brought the matter before Mr. Walter, who, for the moment, was so fully occupied with other engagements that he could not entertain a new scheme. In 1812 Koenig had finished one of his new printing-presses, and the conductors of the principal London journals were invited to see it in operation. Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, a very shrewd man, and the editor of a most successful newspaper, would not even accept the invitation, declaring that, in his opinion, no newspaper was worth so many years' purchase as would equal the cost of the new machine. Mr. Walter accepted the invitation, carefully examined Koenig's improved press, and at once ordered two double presses on the same model. Two years

elapsed before these presses were constructed and at work. Rumours of the new invention were circulated, despite the secrecy to which all concerned had been pledged, and *The Times* pressmen, who believed that their means of livelihood would be at an end when steam was applied to printing, vowed vengeance upon the inventor. The new press was erected in rooms adjoining those wherein the old presses were in operation. At six o'clock in the morning of the 29th of November, 1814, Mr. Walter entered the office with several damp printed sheets in his hand, and informed the startled pressmen at work there that '*The Times* was already printed by steam! that if they attempted violence there was a force ready to suppress it; but that if they were peaceable their wages should be continued to every one of them till similar employment could be procured.' In proof of his statement he handed to them copies of the first newspaper which had issued from a steam press. The readers of that day's *Times* were informed of the revolution of which it was a visible token. Trifling though the speed may now seem, it was then thought astounding that a press could throw off, as Koenig's did, eleven hundred copies an hour; and this beginning is memorable as the first step in a series of improvements still more remarkable than that which was pronounced at the time to be the greatest that had been effected in the art of printing since the discovery of the art itself.²

From the date of *The Times* being printed by steam down to the present day unceasing efforts have been made with a view to perfect printing machinery. The mechanical impulse given to it by Mr. Walter is far from being spent. He was always prepared to effect a useful change, and he was always ready for any emergency. Once only had he a serious difference with a contributor. This was Dr. Stoddart, a man of great literary talent, but indisposed to listen to wise counsel or submit to guidance or control. Finding that he would not render the service required of him, and ready to acknowledge that which had been rendered, Mr. Walter proposed that Dr. Stoddart should cease to write and should retire upon a pension. Dr. Stoddart rejected this handsome offer, being over-confident as to his powers, and he informed Mr. Walter that arrangements were completed by him for the appearance of the *New Times*. This rival did not prove dangerous. The *New Times* had a short life, and involved its conductor in a loss of 20,000*l*. Even events for which few newspaper proprietors could well be prepared did not take Mr. Walter at unawares. Such an occasion once occurred at 10 o'clock in the morning in the spring of 1833, when an express from Paris brought the speech which the King of the French had delivered at the opening of the Chambers. Mr. Walter was then almost alone in

² Since I began this article, my esteemed friend Dr. Smiles has produced a new work entitled *Men of Invention and Industry*, which contains an excellent account of the chequered career and hard fate of Koenig.

the office. He sent for some compositors, and, pending their arrival, he translated the speech, then set it up with the help of a single compositor, and by the time other workmen had arrived he had the whole ready for printing off, a second edition of *The Times* containing the speech being issued by one o'clock.

One of the most notable events in the annals of *The Times* occurred in 1840. On the 13th of May in that year a letter appeared from Mr. O'Reilly, the Paris correspondent, but dated from Brussels, containing particulars of a vast conspiracy that had been formed for swindling foreign bankers out of a million sterling. The conspirators had succeeded in obtaining upwards of ten thousand pounds; the correspondent's object was to stop their further proceedings by giving full publicity to their infamous design. The result was that Allan George Bogle, one of the fourteen conspirators, brought an action against *The Times* for libel. At great cost and labour the solicitor to that journal unravelled the conspiracy, and prepared the way for the defence in a court of justice. The trial took place at Croydon on the 16th of March, 1841, before the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Owing to a technicality, an important part of the evidence legally justifying the action of *The Times* could not be placed before the jury; yet the jury pointedly manifested their opinion of the case by awarding the plaintiff a farthing damages, while the Chief Justice confirmed this view by refusing to certify for costs. The real triumph was on the side of *The Times*; but the result had involved a heavy pecuniary sacrifice. The bankers, merchants, and citizens of London were grateful to the journal for the service which it had rendered, and a meeting was held at the Mansion House under the presidency of the Lord Mayor to raise a fund wherewith to pay the costs, and to serve also as a testimonial of the subscribers' gratitude. In a short time, though each person's subscription was limited to ten guineas, the sum of 2,700*l.* was contributed by persons living not in England only, but also in India, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and North America. The conductors of *The Times* declined the proffered help, and intimated their intention of bearing the entire burden which had been incurred in the discharge of what they deemed a duty. It was then resolved that two scholarships should be founded with the greater part of the fund, and that a portion of it should be expended in placing a tablet in the Royal Exchange and *The Times* office, bearing the following inscription, which, though referred to, is not quoted in any of the histories of London or guides to it :—

This tablet was erected to commemorate the extraordinary exertions of *The Times* newspaper in the exposure of a remarkable fraud upon the mercantile public, which exposure subjected the proprietors to a most expensive lawsuit. At a meeting of the merchants, bankers, and others, held at the Mansion House on the 1st day of October, A.D. 1841, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor in the chair, the following resolutions were agreed to, *vide licet*: That this meeting desires to ex-

press in the most unqualified terms its sense of the indefatigable industry, perseverance, and ability shown by the proprietors of *The Times* newspaper in the exposure made through the instrumentality of that journal in the trial of Bogle *versus* Lawson of the most remarkable and extensively fraudulent conspiracy ever brought to light in the mercantile world. That this meeting desires to offer its grateful acknowledgements to the proprietors of *The Times* newspaper for the services which they have thus been the means, at great labour and expense, of rendering to the commercial community throughout Europe. That the effect of such exposure is not only held useful to the commercial and banking community as suggesting additional care and circumspection in all monetary dealings, but as showing the aid which a public-spirited and independent journal has it in its power to afford in the detection and punishment of offences which aim at the destruction of all mercantile confidence and security. That the committee now appointed be empowered to take measures for the purpose of recording in a more permanent manner the sense of obligation conferred by the proprietors of *The Times* on the commercial community. The proprietors of *The Times* refusing to be reimbursed the heavy costs incurred by them in the defence of the above-mentioned action, the committee opened a subscription, which amounted at its close to 2,700*l.*, and at a meeting held at the Mansion House on the 9th day of February, A.D. 1842, specially summoned for the purpose of considering the application of the amount subscribed, it was resolved as follows:—That 150 guineas be applied to the erection of this tablet, and of a similar one to be placed in some conspicuous part of *The Times* printing establishment. That the surplus of the sum raised be invested in the purchase of 3 per cent. consols, the dividend to be applied to the support of two scholarships to be called ‘*The Times* Scholarships.’ That ‘*The Times* Scholarships’ be established in connection with Christ’s Hospital and the City of London School, for the benefit of pupils proceeding from those institutions respectively to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. That Christ’s Hospital and the City of London School be required to place in their respective institutions a tablet commemorative of the establishment of such scholarships. All which has been duly carried into effect. The committee consisted of the following gentlemen: The Right Hon. Sir John Pirie, Bart., Lord Mayor, Chairman and Treasurer, Matthias Wolverly Attwood, Esq., Barclay Brothers & Co., Baring Brothers, Samuel Briggs, Esq. (of the firm of Briggs & Co., of Alexandria), Sir George Carroll, Knight, Alderman, Cattleys & Carr, Cockerell & Co., Glyn, Halifax, Mills & Co., Robert Alexander Gray, Esq. (of the firm of Melhuish, Gray & Co.), John Benjamin Heath, Esq. (of the firm of Heath, Furse & Co.), William Hughes Hughes, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., &c., Honorary Treasurer, Thomas Johnson, Esq., Alderman, late Lord Mayor, Jones, Lloyd & Co., Sir Peter Laurie Knight, Alderman, Peter Laurie, Esq., Common Pleader of the City of London, Sebastian Gonzalez Martinez, Esq. (of the firm of Martinez, Gassiot & Co.), John Masterman, Esq., M.P. (of the firm of Masterman, Peters, Mildred, Masterman & Co.), Francis Pegler, Esq. (of the firm of Pegler Brothers), John Diston Powles, Esq., William George Prescott, Esq. (of the firm of Prescott, Grote, Ames, Cave & Grote), Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (of the firm of Nathan Mayer de Rothschild & Co., Edward Stewart, Esq., Patrick Maxwell Stewart, Esq., M.P., Samuel Wilson, Esq., Alderman, W. Hughes Hughes, Honorary Secretary.

In 1847 Mr. Walter died. He was then in his seventy-second year. He had not only built up a great journal, but he had established a great personal reputation. He sat in Parliament first as member for Berkshire and next for Nottingham. He acquired much wealth as well as fame. He left behind him estates in Berks and Wilts, the freehold premises in Printing House Square, and the interest in *The*

Times, which represented as valuable a property as many large landed estates, and personalty to the amount of 90,000*l.* One who knew Mr. Walter has remarked that Lord Beaconsfield's saying, 'Youth is a blunder, manhood a struggle, and old age a regret,' had no application to Mr. Walter; but that 'his youth was an exciting struggle, his manhood a period of comparative repose, his old age a perfect triumph.'

The third Mr. Walter, who succeeded his father as conductor of *The Times*, inherited a great responsibility as well as a magnificent property. In order that the journal might retain its position, it was necessary to introduce constant improvements in the mode of its production. The more remarkable its success, the more pressing was the need for further changes. It was found that, despite additions made by Mr. Applegath to Koenig's press, the improved press was inadequate for the work required, and Mr. Applegath designed one on a different model which sufficed for a time. In this press the types were placed on vertical cylinders, and these revolved a thousand times in an hour, throwing off 8,000 copies. This press, which was considered a very remarkable instance of ingenuity, was shown in operation at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and was one of the chief attractions in the machinery department. About the time Mr. Applegath completed this press here, Mr. Hoe was introducing a new press of a totally different kind in New York. The superiority of the Hoe press was generally acknowledged, and two of the ten-cylinder, or largest, size were bought by Mr. Walter for *The Times* office. This American press was generally adopted in this country, as well as in the United States. Meantime, Mr. Walter encouraged an Italian named Dellagana to prosecute his experiments in producing stereotype plates through the medium of a papier-maché matrix. On the invention taking a practical shape, it was adopted in *The Times* office in 1850, and this represented another step in advance. By printing from a stereotype plate the saving is very great, as the types last ten times longer than they would do if employed to make the impression directly. To print from stereotypes was not a novelty; but to employ papier maché wherewith to make the matrix was not only novel, but enabled such a matrix to be made from the cylinders of the Applegath or the Hoe press. The speed attained with these new presses was 12,000 copies an hour; this seems a marvellous increase when compared with what was deemed the wonderful result when 1,100 copies an hour were thrown off by the Koenig steam press. Yet the jury on Printing at the Exhibition of 1862, while acknowledging how much had been done, intimated that vast improvements might still be made.

The wish of the jury was realised when the Walter press was devised and put in operation. This is the most complete printing press yet designed, and it represents quite as extraordinary a change

as that effected when the old hand-presses were displaced by the steam press of Koenig. To Mr. John C. MacDonald, for many years a distinguished member of *The Times* Staff, the Walter press largely owes its origin and success, whilst in giving effect to the inventor's scheme, the present Mr. Walter exercised the same judicious supervision and liberality for which his father was noteworthy. This press is the subject of four letters patent issued between 1863 and 1871 to John Cameron MacDonald and Joseph Calverley. The main features of it are simplicity and compactness, combined with great speed and economy in working. A large reel covered with a continuous roll of paper revolves at the one end; at the other the printed sheets issue, folded and ready for delivery to the publisher, at the rate of fifteen thousand copies an hour. The paper on the reel is four miles long; in less than half an hour these four miles of paper are converted into newspapers. Every night when the Walter presses are at work in *The Times* office a quantity of paper weighing ten tons and representing a roll one hundred and sixty miles in length is thus transformed. This appears to be quite as magical a result as anything which Adam Warner, the wizard in *The Last of the Barons*, could have effected by means of his machine, even after he had perfected it by the indispensable addition of a diamond bathed in moonbeams.

When I visited the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 at Philadelphia, I observed that the Walter press shown in operation there was constantly surrounded by an excited and admiring crowd. The Americans knew that the Hoe and the Bullock presses were amongst the most notable inventions of their countrymen, but very few were aware that the achievements of either inventor had been rivalled if not outstripped by English ingenuity. The *New York Times*, which had adopted the Walter press, wrote that 'the Walter press is the most perfect printing press yet known to man, invented by the most powerful journal of the Old World, and adopted as the very best press to be had for its purposes by the most influential journal of the New World.' That press has been adopted in many newspaper offices as well as in the office of *The Times*, wherein there are ten; there are eight of them in the office of the *Daily News*, four in that of the *New York Times*, three in that of the *Scotsman*, two in that of the *Glasgow News*, two in that of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, one in that of the *Missouri Republican*, and one in that of the *Magdeburg Zeitung*. The first Hoe cylinder press was a costly machine, the price being as high as 5,000*l.*, whereas the Walter press, which is infinitely superior, costs 3,000*l.*

The present Mr. Walter did not rest satisfied with having at his command a press of such perfection as that which is called by his name. He resolved to simplify and accelerate the process of setting up type also, and in this respect his success has been marked. To substitute a type-composing machine for the labour of a skilled com-

positor has long been a desideratum. Yet, after a machine had been constructed that enabled this to be done, the gain was but trifling, skilled labour being still required to distribute the types. After many experiments a twofold machine was completed and introduced into *The Times* office, whereby the work of composing and distributing could be effected at an enormous saving in time and cost. For instance, to compose eight pages of the advertisement sheet by hand would amount to 43*l.* 12*s.*, whereas the same work could be done by means of a machine for 14*l.* 14*s.* All these mechanical improvements, which are the results of many years' experiments and much practical experience, have rendered *The Times* of to-day, in one particular, that which its founder hoped to make it. Its founder's ambition was to print a daily journal much more cheaply and expeditiously than had ever been done before, and he expected to do so by the logotype system of printing. Though that system failed, yet the changes effected in the printing-press by his successors, the use of stereotypes wherewith to make the impressions, and the adoption of mechanical type-composing and distributing machines, are so many steps in the process for realising more than all that Mr. Walter ever contemplated from that logotype system of printing, which he fondly regarded as a discovery destined to supersede all other modes of printing.

The attention uniformly given by the conductors of *The Times* to the improvement of the means for increasing its production has had a twofold result. Owing to the saving thus effected, the constantly increasing cost in collecting news has been met. The electric telegraph is a great convenience to the public, and a great burden to newspapers. To pay, as *The Times* does, for special wires to Paris and Vienna represents a large expenditure. Had not the printing appliances been improved, so that this cost could be defrayed without increasing the price of the journal, the public would not enjoy the advantages of which they are fully sensible. But in benefiting itself, *The Times* has materially helped its contemporaries. I mentioned at the outset that the *Morning Herald* and *Morning Chronicle* ceased to exist when they seemed to be prospering; the reason, I may add, was that they had ceased to march with the times. They stood still when it was the law of their being to go on improving and advancing. The penny newspapers, which do so much honour to our country, have profited by the labour and outlay of the conductors of *The Times*. Had not the printing press been improved so that copies of newspapers can be thrown off in a very short space of time and at a very small cost, it would have been impossible for any penny newspaper to attain world-wide, if not unprecedented, circulation.

From an early day till now *The Times* has had an incalculable advantage over every rival. No other London journal is composed by a mechanical process of type-setting, because the printers' trade union is opposed to its introduction. *The Times* is the only one

that has nothing to dread from the dictation, or rather the mistaken fears, of a trade union. In 1810 the conductors of that journal resolved to be masters in their own house, and they have remained as independent in their office as in the discussion of public affairs. In this respect *The Times* occupies a position which its rivals may envy quite as much as its circulation and influence. But the power which it exercises has always been tempered with kindness. What appeared in its editorial columns on the 11th of February, 1842, is the explanation of its practice in this respect. After referring to 'The Printers' Pension Society,' it is there said: 'Not one of our establishment belongs to these pensioners; neither have we, nor would we keep a man to whom we do not allow wages sufficient, with ordinary temperance and industry, to secure himself against the accidents of life, and under the general decay of nature during old age.'

The public take note of the contents of a journal and care little about the manner of its production, and a journal's influence on the public is the real measure of its value. Now, whilst the arrangements in the printing office of *The Times* were in course of continuous improvement, the tone and character of the journal were also sedulously considered and controlled. The course which *The Times* should follow was the subject of the second Mr. Walter's ardent care. His father, the founder of it, laid down the principle that the journal was to be independent alike of any Minister and party; but the limit and condition of independence on a given subject was a problem both delicate and difficult. A journal or a politician may make a parade of independence by attacking or opposing every man or measure. Such independence is but another form of anarchy. But the independence always displayed by *The Times* has its foundation in patriotism. On all questions the endeavour seems to have been to ascertain what the country desires, and next to determine whether what is desired will prove beneficial. In carrying out such a policy it is inevitable that occasion should be given for charges of inconsistency; but those who make them have overlooked the fact that, the conditions having changed, the conclusions to be drawn must necessarily vary, and that the supposed inconsistency is merely a token of that increased wisdom which Charles James Fox assigned in justification of his expressing views on one day which were at variance with those he had entertained the day before. At every great crisis in the country's history the course taken by *The Times* has been justified by results. In its earliest days it strongly opposed the slave trade, and aided in the abolition of that inhuman traffic. When a section of the country favoured harsh treatment of Queen Caroline, the powerful pleas of *The Times* for the fair trial of that unfortunate and not very estimable lady largely contributed to avert the high-handed measures which her husband was ready to take, and which the Ministry were ready to sanction. In the bitter and menacing

struggle to carry the first Reform Bill, the cause of Reform was powerfully supported by *The Times*, and that support exercised a marked influence over the result, whilst that journal's advocacy of Free Trade materially helped to overthrow the protective system. At the time of the railway mania, grave words of warning to the public proceeded from *The Times*, though its financial interests were in favour of the excitement being prolonged in order that its columns might continue to overflow with advertisements. Had a journal of the same weight and upright character exercised similar authority at the time of the South Sea Bubble, much personal suffering and pecuniary loss might then have been averted. To the action of *The Times* during the Crimean campaign is attributable the reform in our military organisation which followed the cessation of hostilities; whilst the facts placed before the public during the campaign itself led to an alleviation of the state of the army in the field and the sick in the hospitals. Perhaps the only great occasion on which *The Times* took a course which was not in harmony with the nation as a whole, but of a part only, was while the War of Secession was in progress in the United States, and then it might be urged that the information upon which the policy of the journal was based proved to be one-sided and untrustworthy. In the great acts of legislation of recent days, such as the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the Irish Land Act, the Franchise Act, and the Redistribution of Seats Bill, the opinion of the nation has been accurately mirrored in *The Times*, and the welfare of the nation has been carefully consulted. It is because the nation recognises in the columns of *The Times* a faithful reflection of its own mind that the title of leading journal has been applied to it by common consent. Every one is supposed to read the *Times*, though there are many who do not consult its columns with the feelings of satisfaction which animate them when perusing their favourite journal. The thorough-going Tory finds in the *Morning Post* the sentiments wherein he cordially concurs; the Tory-Democrat delights in the enterprising *Standard*; the philosophic Radical or the serious Liberal expects to find his views represented with ability and fidelity in the *Daily News* or *Daily Chronicle*; those who care more for fine writing on social subjects than for party politics find what suits them in the *Daily Telegraph*, whilst the licensed victuallers derive mental illumination from the *Morning Advertiser*. Each of these journals has its fit circle of readers. Each may rival the *Times* and sometimes surpass it in obtaining and distributing news, yet none occupies a corresponding place in the world of journalism. The aggrieved and grumbling Englishman travelling on the Continent, when remonstrating with an extortionate landlord or overbearing official, thinks no threat more potent than the threat that he will write to *The Times*. The readers of the *Times* exceed in number those of journals which circulate a larger number of copies. The buyer of a penny

newspaper is, perhaps, the sole reader of that copy; but a single copy of *The Times* may be read by twenty persons. It is the custom in London to pay a news-agent a small sum weekly for the right to read *The Times* for an hour daily. The same copy may be perused by the members of six or eight families; in the evening it is posted to the country, and afterwards it may be sent to a colony or a foreign land. Thus, whilst each issue of another newspaper of large circulation is read by one or two hundred thousand buyers, each issue of *The Times* has several million readers.

To perfect the working details of a daily newspaper requires as great skill and forethought as are expended in building, launching, and equipping a fleet, or in organising an army. But the fleet without an admiral, or an army without a general, is like a newspaper without an editor. In having found editors of remarkable capacity, the conductors of *The Times* have displayed a prescience and had a success which, in turn, have contributed to the success of their journal. Mr. Walter, the founder of it, was proprietor, printer, and editor. His son was editor as well as conductor, and to him is attributable the introduction of the leading or, more correctly, 'leaded' article, which has become the distinguishing feature of the newspaper press. The impetus given by the second Mr. Walter to the editorial department has been as lasting as that which he gave to other departments. He was singularly acute in detecting capable writers. Being struck with letters contributed to the paper by Mr. Sterling and signed 'Vetus,' he secured Mr. Sterling's services as one of the principal writers. In like manner he discerned the ability of Mr. Barnes, who, for several years, was the editor. Most notable, however, was the appointment of John Thaddeus Delane to succeed Mr. Barnes in 1841. For thirty-six years Mr. Delane not only filled the editorial chair, but he did so in a manner which commanded universal respect.

As editor of *The Times*, Mr. Delane was a power in the State. He did not owe his ascendancy to the cleverness with which he wielded a pen, but to the ability which he displayed in turning to the best account the pens of the greatest writers of his day. So consummate was his skill in this delicate task, and so complete was his success, that *The Times* stated after his death that the British public had then 'finally lost one of the oldest, most devoted, and most meritorious of those who may be called its own special servants.' What Mr. Delane was as editor cannot be set forth in better or juster terms than those employed in the following passage:—

He had in a remarkable degree several qualities which are indispensable to success in all business of importance. He was capable of long application and concentrated attention. After hours of work, under harassing and perplexing circumstances, he had ample reserve of strength for those critical emergencies which make the greatest demand on the powers of apprehension and judgment. He could always seize on the main point at issue, and lay his hand on that upon which

all the rest depended. It seemed a kind of intuition that enabled him to foresee at once the impending fate of a cause or the result of a campaign, but it was a practical and methodical power. He could distinguish between the relevant and the irrelevant in the calculation of probabilities as well as in the conduct of an argument. In a continual experience of mistakes and disappointments—for, as we have said, the nightly birth of the broadsheet is not without its agonies and mischances—he maintained more equanimity and command of temper than most people do under the petty harasses of private life. Compelled as he was [occasionally to be decisive even to abruptness, and to sacrifice the convenience of contributors and subordinates to the paramount interest of the public, he never lost the respect or affection of those who could sympathise with him [in his work, make due allowance for his difficulties, and think less of themselves than of the great issues at stake.

Mr. Thomas Chenery, who succeeded Mr. Delane on his retirement in 1877, did not long fill the editorial chair, as he died, after a short illness, on the 11th of February, 1884. He had been a valued contributor for twenty years; he was a man of extraordinary learning, large experience of the world, and of great intellectual gifts, and he adorned the high office of editor of *The Times*. Mr. Chenery's successor is Mr. G. E. Buckle.

To discuss the great editors and writers of *The Times* would require more space than is now available, and might well form the subject of another article. Many of the men who have written the most brilliant leaders and reviews are quite unknown to the public; but the names of others are familiar and honoured, such as Phillips, Dallas, and Thackeray.

When estimating the relative position and influence of London morning newspapers, due account should be taken of the country newspapers which have become so many powers in the kingdom. A century ago the country newspaper press was far inferior to that of London, while that of London was then far below the lowest class of country newspapers now. Walpole wrote to Horace Mann in 1742 that, when the Duchess of Rutland was told of some strange casualty, she said, 'Lucy, child, step into the next room and set that down.' 'Lord, madam!' says Lady Lucy, 'it can't be true!' 'Oh, no matter, child; it will do for news into the country next post.' Since those days the electric telegraph has enabled all journals to publish the latest news, and if, as not unfrequently happens, the intelligence collected or compiled by news-agencies is quite as fantastic as that which the Duchess of Rutland thought good enough for the country, such news is posted in London clubs and appears in London journals as well as country newspapers. The truth is that London has long ceased to have the monopoly of newspapers commanding the confidence and deserving the admiration of a multitude of readers. If a list were drawn up of newspapers of the highest class, which deserve the respect of all competent judges, that list would comprise those which are published in such places, amongst others, as Leeds and Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, Newcastle and Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh, Belfast and Dublin.

The list might be extended and improved if there were added to it a selection from the leading journals of the United States, of Canada, of Australia, and of India; and it would be rendered still more complete and representative if it included the names of the most notable journals of Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, France, and Spain. Yet, when such a list had been drawn up and pronounced to be at once fair and full, it would be found that no single newspaper named therein fulfilled the conditions of an ideal newspaper so well as *The Times*. It is not perfect. Before its second centenary arrives it may be as much in advance of its existing excellence as it is now superior to its condition when it was first published a century ago. A leading journal must either go forward or else fall behind and disappear. *The Times* is now in the van of the newspaper press of the world. Its position is unique. Thirty years have elapsed since Sir Bulwer Lytton paid it a compliment in the House of Commons which no other newspaper ever received in a legislative assembly—a compliment which, though apparently extravagant, was generally admitted to be well deserved. As the words then spoken by Sir Bulwer Lytton have gained point and appropriateness in their general as well as in their particular application, I may fitly reproduce them: ‘The existing newspaper press is an honour to this country, from the ability of its compositions, the integrity of the men who adorn it, the vast and various information it diffuses, and, making fair allowances for the heat of party spirit and the temptations of anonymous power, for its general exemption from wilful calumny and personal slander. And if I desired to leave to remote posterity some memorial of existing British civilisation, I would prefer, not our docks, not our railways, not our public buildings, not even the palace in which we hold our sittings: I would prefer a file of *The Times*.’

W. FRASER RAE.

CHARLES LAMB and GEORGE WITHER.

THE most beloved of English writers may be Goldsmith or may be Scott: the best beloved will always be Charles Lamb. His claim and his charm, for those who can feel them at all, are incomparable with any other man's. The more we consider any possible points of comparison, any plausible shades of likeness, which may seem to suggest or to establish the fact of his spiritual kinship with greater or lesser humourists before him or after—with Sterne (for example) among his precursors, or with Hood among his successors, the more we are convinced, the more we are certified of the truth, that in all those qualities which most endear his memory to us all he holds really of no man but himself. It is impossible merely to like him: you must, as Wordsworth bade the redbreast whom he saw chasing the butterfly,

Love him, or leave him alone.

All men worthy to know him would seem always to have loved him in proportion to their worthiness; and this inevitable affection would seem again to have given them for a time the very qualities most wanting to their usual habit of mind. It fixed the inconstancy of Coleridge: it softened the austerity of Wordsworth. It withdrew for a moment the author of *The Friend* from contemplation of metaphysics, and the author of *The Prelude* from meditation on himself. Nor was the converse of this testimony wanting to the completeness of the evidence afforded, the perfection of the tribute paid him. To the currish man of parts, to the selfish man of genius, a man so upright and unselfish, so single-hearted and clear-spirited, must indeed have seemed pitiable and contemptible. The sycophant Moore and the backbiter Carlyle have added what it was in them to add to the memorial raised by Wordsworth: the witness of the toad and the homage of the scorpion to a creature that would not crawl and could not sting. This indeed was not wanted, but it is as well that it should not be wanting. Their distaste and their disdain may serve to enhance yet more the value, to justify yet further the expression, of Shelley's and of Landor's most reverent and most ardent sympathy. Between Lamb and these two greater poets there was as wide and deep a gulf of difference as could well exist between men of genius: the bond between them was that of community in goodness, of simple-

hearted and pure-minded lovingkindness. So much is easily perceptible and readily definable by any one who runs and reads: but for those whom nature has sealed of the tribe of his lovers—for those who find in his work a sweetness like no other fragrance, a magic like no second spell, in all the world of letters—there is also something less explicable or expressible in the attraction which they feel towards the slightest relic of his hand. And of this it is difficult even to write without the appearance, if not without the danger, of an overflow into gushing ebullience or an outbreak of effusive sentiment. There is something in it of so intimate a tenderness, a devotion so personal and private, an affection so familiar and so grateful, that the translation or the transference of such impressions into definite speech seems hardly more difficult as a task than indelicate as an attempt. The exquisite humour, the womanly tenderness, which inform and imbue each other with perfect life and faultless grace beyond reach of any art but that which itself is nature; the matchless refinement of his criticism, the incomparable spontaneity of his style; all these it is easy, if it is not impertinent, to praise: the something within or beyond all these which possibly may appeal but to few can assuredly be defined by none. A more acceptable service than any futile attempt at definition of the indefinable is rendered by any one who gives us but one grain or one drop more from the siftings of his granary or the runnings of his well: provided that these have in them the pure and genuine flavour of the special soil. A very few relics—two or three at most—have been preserved, and even foisted into certain recent editions, with which his truest lovers would be the readiest to dispense. But these are not among the spontaneous effusions of his natural mind: they are avowedly and obviously the forced products of unenjoying labour or of merriment for once uninspired. Cancel these, with a few imitative sentimentalities of his earliest versifying days, and there will remain of him nothing that may not be treasured and enjoyed for ever. But if there be one part of his work more delightful than another—more delightful (if that be possible) than the very *Essays of Elia*—it is to be found by readers who are fit to relish it in those fugitive notes and marginal observations which have all the bright fine freedom of his most fanciful letters, and all the clear swift insight of his subtlest criticisms. For their behoof only who feel as I feel the charm of the slightest and lightest among such fragments of commentary and strays of annotation, I have undertaken to give a fuller account than has yet been given of Lamb's remarks on Wither and his editors or critics. To others the task will seem idle, the result of it a profitless collection of 'trivial' fond records; a gleaning after harvest, a skimming of skimmed milk. Those only will care to glance at it for whom alone it is intended: those only who would treasure the slightest and hastiest scratch of the writer's pen which carried with it the evidence

of spontaneous enthusiasm or irritation, of unconsidered emotion or unprompted mirth.

There are now before me the two volumes of selections from the lyric and satiric poems of George Wither, rather meanly printed, in small octavo proof-sheets, interleaved with quarto sheets of rough thin paper, which are made precious by the manuscript commentary of Lamb. The second fly-leaf of the first volume bears the inscription, 'Ja^s Pulham Esq^r. from Charles Lamb.' A proof impression of the well-known profile sketch of Lamb by Pulham has been inserted between this and the preceding fly-leaf. The same place is occupied in the second volume by the original pencil drawing, to which is attached an engraving of it 'Scratched on Copper by his Friend Brook Pulham'; and on the fly-leaf following is a second inscription—'James Pulham Esq. from his friend Cha^s Lamb.' On the reverse of the leaf inscribed with these names in the first volume begins the commentary afterwards republished, with slight alterations and transpositions, as an essay 'on the poetical works of George Wither.' The opening sentence of this commentary is all but identical with the sixth paragraph of that essay in the latest and the best edition of Lamb's works; some slight modification being made necessary by the change which gave precedence to his remarks on Wither's satires over those on his lyrical poems. The original manuscript begins exactly thus :—

'Fair Virtue, or the Mistress of Philarete.

'There is singular beauty in the construction of this poem; it is in substance a Panegyric,' and so on, as in the published text, where however the first words of commendation do not reappear. Another sentence, originally interpolated after the first four lines given as a sample of the text, has been cancelled, it would seem, so as not to intercept the flow or impair the impression of the lyric verse.

"Nay, I muse her servants are not
Pleading love; but O! they dare not.
And I therefore wonder why
They do not grow sick and die."

'His way of accounting for this is so ingenious, so philosophical on the principles of love, that I am tempted to transcribe it.' This however need not here be done again, as all readers will have read it in Lamb's essay, whither all worthy of such reading will gladly turn to look for it once more. The lovely six verses beginning, 'Stars indeed fair creatures be,' are carefully underlined in this manuscript. After the quotation from Drayton with which the printed essay concludes, the manuscript proceeds thus :—

'The whole poem, for the delicacy of the thoughts, and height of the passion, is equal to the best of Spenser's, Daniel's or Drayton's love verses; with the advantage of comprising in a whole all the fine

things which lie scatter'd in their works, in sonnets, and smaller addresses—The happy chearful spirit of the author goes with it all the way; that *sanguine temperament*, which gives to all Wither's lines (in his most loved metre especially, where chiefly he is a Poet) an elasticity, like a dancing measure; it [is] as full of joy, and confidence, and high and happy thoughts, as if it were his own Epithalamium which, like Spenser, he were singing, and not a piece of preambulatory, probationary flattery.'

'Not in use,' remarks a commentator whom we here meet for the first time; bewildered by the antepenultimate word of the foregoing sentence. 'What is the meaning of this?' I doubt, however, for a reason which will soon be obvious, whether it was in deference to this piteous inquiry that Lamb thus altered the turn of his closing words—or condoned by subscription of his initials the alteration which perhaps may rather be due to Gutch:—'as if, like Spenser' (*sic*), 'he were singing his own Epithalamium, and not a strain of probationary courtship.' Under these last words the initials C. L. are scrawled in a large dancing hand. Between the first and second versions of this closing sentence is a cancelled note, apparently in Lamb's earlier handwriting, on the last line of these four:

I am no Italian lover,
That will mew thee in a jail;
But thy beauty I discover,
English-like, without a veil.

'It is,' says the annotator, 'a pleasing compliment which several of our Elder Poets bestow upon their fair countrywomen, that, contrary to the custom of the more Southern nations of Europe, they possess such an innate modesty, that their beauty needs not a veil to increase it.' This pleasing observation is underlined throughout, but has afterwards been struck through and through with fierce and jagged strokes of a contemptuous pen; while under it the later and unmistakable hand of Lamb has written in high upright characters the discourteous monosyllable 'stuff.' And certainly the original remark was rather too much in the epistolary style of Allan Clare and his sister.

The earlier pages of the reprint of *Fair Virtue* are interleaved with copious notes, explanatory or illustrative; extracts from Withering's *Botany* and parallel passages from well-known or unknown poets—Spenser, Sidney, Milton, Massinger, Browne, Markham, Cook, Joshua Silvester,¹ and Dr. Samuel Johnson: one or two perhaps

¹ The extract given from Silvester is so long and so carefully transcribed that it may be worth a word of notice. It is thus introduced: 'In Joshua Silvester's translation of "Du Bartas's divine Weekes" there is a poem intituled "An Ode of the Love and the Beauties of Astrea," the metre and sentiments of which Wither has so closely imitated that the quotation in this place cannot be inappropriate.' Thus the sentence ran at first, but a hand which is recognisable even in an all but erased pencil-scratch as that of the judicious Dr. Nott has written in the margin 'This is much

transcribed by Lamb; others, I presume, by his old schoolfellow John Matthew Gutch, the editor on whom for friendship's sake and Wither's he bestowed the treasures of his toil and thought. The first pencilled note from his hand is a correction of another from the hand of the worthy Dr. Nott. To that estimable person these first remarks of the most exquisite critic that ever lived had been, it would appear, submitted for his observation by the judicious diffidence or deference of Mr. Gutch: with a double result of the quaintest and most delightful kind. Dr. Nott, sciolist and pedant, delivers oracular judgment on the text of Wither and the commentary of Lamb in such a tone as 'Jimmy Boyer' might have used in passing sentence on a faulty exercise shown up by Lamb or by Gutch at Christ's Hospital. Lamb, on receiving again the proof-sheets annotated by himself and now further enriched by the judicious animadversions of an elegant and reverend critic, proceeds to comment on his commentator with fantastic rapture of alternate irony and indignation. The first of these notes upon notes are temperate and business-like: but, as Dr. Nott might have observed, 'vires acquirit eundo.' Wither, for instance, having spoken of 'sweet eyelids—*meanly* fringed with beaming hair,' evokes from the judicious Nott a reflection to the effect that 'this word should be explained. I think it signifies *inter-veniently*: intermediately: as *veiling* the lustre of the eyes.' To this ingenious . . . Lamb is contented to reply—'Meanly is simply *in a mean* or *in moderation*.' The poet, having duly glorified the 'jewel-gracing ears' of his mistress, thus daintily winds up his praise of them:

There the voice in love's meanders
Those their pretty circlings wanders,
Whose rare turnings will admit
No rude speech to enter it.

Lamb has very justly marked this last couplet as 'delicate': that the expression as constrained by the rhyme is more graceful than grammatical he has not thought it worth while to notice. When, after many passages no less deserving of praise for graceful and tender simplicity, Wither, with an unsavoury touch of the coarseness of his age, compliments his lady on using 'no loathsome fucus' for her complexion, 'mixed with Jewish fasting-spittles,' 'Explain this

too unqualified': whereon—or at least, as I presume, whereafter—a pen was struck through the last fourteen words, and the passage now stands thus:—'the metre and sentiments of which bear so close a resemblance' (to what we are not informed) 'and are altogether so elegant that I' (Gutch, not Lamb) 'shall be excused for the length of the quotation.' Seven stanzas and a half are then transcribed, in which there are some pretty fanciful lines, and others which limp and lag most pitifully. 'If more than my life I love thee'—'Thy hand, handle of perfection'—'Ah! 't's a thing far more divine'—such verses as these might soothe an ear as intolerant of 'dulcet rhymes' as Walt Whitman's own. The likeness of metre and sentiments does not go far beyond an occasional community of commonplace between the flowing verses of Wither and the halting verses of Silvester.

term,' demands Gutch: 'Leave it out,' suggests Lamb, with a broad and vehement stroke of his pencil. But a little further there are six lines so charming that I cannot but transcribe them, though undistinguished by any token of recognition or applause from Lamb.

If you mark, when for her pleasure
She vouchsafes to foot a measure,
Though with others' skill she pace,
There's a sweet, delightful grace
In herself, which doth prefer
Art beyond that art in her.

On page 70 Lamb has proposed a new reading which speaks for itself—'Jove's endeared Ganimed,' for the meaningless 'endured' of the text before him. Against a couplet now made famous by his enthusiastic citation of it—

Thoughts too deep to be expressed
And too strong to be suppressed—

he has written—'Two eminently beautiful lines.' Opposite the couplet in which Wither mentions the poets

whose verse set forth
Rosalind and Stella's worth

(Gutch (as I suppose) has written the names of Lodge and Sidney; under which Lamb has pencilled the words 'Qu. Spenser and Sidney'; perhaps the more plausible conjecture, as the date of Lodge's popularity was out, or nearly so, before Wither began to write.

The first of many puns provoked by the poor pedant's name was not flung at the reverend head of Dr. Nott till some time after the first occasion given. Wither has described with a cordial complacency the perfections of such good young men as

in midst of beauty's fires
Walk unscorched of ill desires.
Yet no such as stupid shame
Keeps from actions worthy blame:

whereon Dr. Nott remarks that 'we should perhaps read *not*' [such]. 'The meaning is,' continues the sententious divine, 'these chaste lovers are not deterred from unruly passion by shamefacedness, or boyish sheepishness and ignorance; for they are men, and have the passions of men. They are not coy to the impression of female beauty, though they can restrain the vehemence of their inclination.' These remarks, at once neat and appropriate, have provoked from Lamb, I regret to say, the following suggestion by way of improvement on the style of Dr. Nott's truly negative commendation: 'no such sort of persons neither as &c. Why not, Nott?' Lamb's natural intolerance of all empty or superfluous writing is attested—if any proof were wanting for the reader of his works—by the next

little note from his hand. 'Wither, after a long and flowing panegyric on his lady's virtues, exclaims—

These are beauties that shall last
When the crimson blood shall waste
And the shining hair wax grey
Or with age be borne away.

'The beauty of this passage,' reflects the commentator, 'is too apparent to need a comment.' 'Then why give it one?' asks Lamb, very reasonably. But he has abstained from affixing so much as a mark of admiration to a modest query which seems to deserve a word in passing. 'If I wound or sickness had,' says Wither,

None should for my curing run,
No, not to Apollo's son.

'Qy. Esculapius?' suggests the cautious annotator, with the diffidence of genuine scholarship.

After the reprint of *Fair Virtue* comes the reprint of *The Shepherd's Hunting*, with Lamb's well-known remarks on that most graceful poem prefixed in a clear flowing hand, and subscribed at a later date with his initials. Near the opening of the fourth eclogue is the pencilled suggestion of a new reading—'mossy rocks' instead of 'massy.' A more important note is that on the couplet which affirms

That the sacred Muses can
Make a child in years, a man.

'Good motto for a life of Chatterton,' remarks Lamb; 'by a *Chattertonian*,' subjoins the too sarcastic Nott: who presumably regarded the marvellous boy with such eyes as Gifford and Carlyle turned asquint on Keats and Shelley. The next verses are worth transcription on their own account no less than on account of Lamb's annotation.

It is known what thou canst do,
For it is not long ago
When that Cuddy, thou, and I,
Each the other's skill to try,
At St. Dunstan's charmed well,
(As some present there can tell)
Sang upon a sudden theme,
Sitting by the crimson stream;
Where if thou didst well or no
Yet remains the song to show.

To the fifth of these verses the following note is appended:—

'The Devil Tavern, Fleet Street, where Child's Place now stands, and where a sign hung in my memory within 18' (substituted for 16) 'years, of the Devil and St. Dunstan—Ben Jonson made this a famous place of resort for poets by drawing up a set of *Leges Convivales* which were engraven in marble on the chimney piece in the room called

Apollo. One of Drayton's poems is called *The Sacrifice to Apollo*; it is address'd to the priests or Wits of Apollo, and is a kind of poetical paraphrase upon the *Leges Convivales*.—This Tavern to the very last kept up a room with that name. C. L.—who might have added point and freshness to this brief account by citing the splendid description of a revel held there under the jovial old Master's auspices, given by Careless to Aurelia in Shakerley Marmion's admirable comedy, *A Fine Companion*. But it is remarkable that Lamb—if I mistake not—has never quoted or mentioned that brilliant young dramatist and poet who divided with Randolph the best part of Jonson's mantle.

No student of his critical writings will have forgotten Lamb's comment on Wither's couplet,

If thy verse doth bravely tower,
As she makes wing, she gets power;

many will presumably be glad to see it as first jotted down opposite the printed text.

'A long line is a Line *we are long repeating*. Mark the time, which it takes to repeat these properly. What slow movement'—or, as first written, 'what Majesty'—'could Alexandrines express more than this?' (originally, 'more than these? What a power of overcoming difficulties is expressed in this,')

“*As she makes wing, she gets power;*”

'One makes a foot of every syllable. C. L.'

On the right-hand margin of the line thus immetrically printed in the text—

Or the least bough's rust'ling—

Lamb has pencilled—'better spell it rusteling as in Edit. 1620.'

In that rapturous melody of praise and thanksgiving to Poetry which has made the modest name and gentle genius of Wither immortal in the loving memory of all who know and cherish that 'best earthly bliss' which filled his prison-house with 'comfort and delight,' there occurs one verbal point of dispute on which Lamb pronounces with more decision than perhaps is wholly warrantable.

Though our wise ones call thee madness,
Let me never taste of gladness
If I love not thy madd'nt fits
More than all their greatest wits.

The word 'gladness' is struck through, and 'sadness' substituted in the margin. Opposite is a note, afterwards cancelled, which runs thus: 'Edit. 1620, Sadness. In the meaning of sobriety or saneness of mind opposed to madness—Better perhaps than gladness.' A pen has been struck across this, and the following note substituted: '*Sadness* (i.e. Sobriety or Sanity), oppos'd to *madness*;—*gladness* is quite unantithetical, and meaningless. C. L.' May I venture to

say that this view seems to me less plausible than ingenious? Sadness is of course often used, in the English of Wither's age, as simply equivalent to gravity; but such an imprecation as is conveyed by this reading has surely too singular a sound, gives too forced and grotesque a turn to the expression, for any poet to have rejected in its favour the natural and obvious word which rhyme and reason would alike have suggested, even had it never found its way into any previous edition of the text.

At the close of Wither's high-spirited and manly postscript to the poem on which, as he tells us, his publisher had bestowed the name of *The Shepherd's Hunting*, a passage occurs which has provoked one of the most characteristic outbreaks of wrath and mirth to be found among all Lamb's notes on Nott's notes on Lamb's notes on the text of Wither. 'Neither am I so *cynical* but that I think a modest expression of such amorous conceits as suit with reason, will yet very well become my years; in which not to have feeling of the power of *love*, were as great an argument of much stupidity, as an over-sottish affection were of extreme folly.' In illustration of this simple and dignified sentence Lamb cites the following most apt and admirable parallel.

'Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred; whereof not to be sensible, when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment, and withall an ungentle and swainish breast.'

'Milton—Apology for Smectymu[u]s.'

'Why is this quoted?' demands the too inquisitive Nott; 'I see little similarity.' 'It was quoted for those who *can* see,' rejoins Lamb, with three thick strokes of his contemptuous pencil under the luckless Doctor's poor personal pronoun; on which this special note, of indignation is added beneath.

'I. I. I. I. I. in Capitals!—
for shame, write *your* Ego thus
little i with a dot
stupid Nott!'

Thus bad begins, but worse remains behind for the Doctor. The next and last poem in the volume is 'An Elegiacal Epistle of Fidelia to her unconstant friend.' Towards the close of it the supposed writer expresses a hope that her doubts of her lover's fidelity may after all be groundless, and all the apparent proofs of his falsehood 'but treacherous plots of some base foes.'

'Which if it prove, as yet methinks it may,
O what a burden shall I cast away,—
What cares shall I lay by—and to what height
Tower, in my new ascension to delight!'

* Lamb has passed by these magnificent lines without a word. I must be allowed a note of my own, to observe that there is hardly in all the range of English heroic verse an effect so noble, so majestic a touch of metre as here; not even in the poem where if anywhere we might have expected to find it—in Shelley's *Epipsychidion*.

Sure, ere the full of it I come to try,
 I shall e'en surfeit in my joy, and die.
 But such a loss might well be call'd a thriving,
 Since more is got by dying so, than living.
 * 'Come, kill me then, my dear! if thou think fit,
 With that which never killed woman yet.'

This line, according to Lamb (or possibly according to Gutch), 'alludes to "The [A] Woman Killed with Kindness"'; 'not necessarily,' thinks Nott: 'ass,' retorts Lamb in his largest (pencil) writing. But at the close of the poem a graver offence on the Doctor's part has provoked a fiercer explosion than any we have yet witnessed.

'People *will not*,' if Nott is not mistaken, 'read this heavy and rambling epistle. I should think fifty lines would comprize (*sic*) its merits. To much of Philarete the same remark (!) applies: and I suspect that the public will dissent from you in their opinion of the occasional interruptions of the singing-boy.'

'Damn the Public and you too, thou Bellua nullius capitis!'

With this gentle expression of responsive dissent Lamb concludes his notes on the first of these two volumes. At the opening of the second we find the notes on *Abuses stript and whipt* which in their revised condition as part of the essay on Wither are familiar to all lovers of English letters. They begin with the second paragraph of that essay, in which sundry slight and delicate touches of improvement have fortified or simplified the original form of expression. After the sentence which describes the vehemence of Wither's love for goodness and hatred of baseness, the manuscript proceeds thus: 'His moral feeling is work'd up into a sort of passion, something as Milton³ describes himself at a like early age, that night and day he laboured to attain to a certain idea which he had of perfection.' Another cancelled passage is one which originally followed on the reflection that 'perhaps his premature defiance often exposed him' (altered in the published essay to 'sometimes made him obnoxious') 'to censures, which he would otherwise have slipped by.' The manuscript continues: 'But in this he is as faulty as some of the primitive Christians are described to have been, who were ever ready to outrun the executioner.'

The treatment of the next sentence by Nott (if Nott and not Gutch it be whose impudent fingers have defaced it) seems to me worth a moment's notice.

'The homely versification of these Satires is not likely to please

³ Altered by the elegant hand of the revisor into this more acceptable form—'similar to that which Milton describes himself as feeling' &c. Let this stand as a sample of the fashion in which Lamb's exquisite English was improved by the awkward impertinence of editorial scribblers who would have strained out all the sweetness and drain out all the sap of it. There are five or six other such instances on this single page of manuscript.

in this age.' So wrote Lamb, simply and justly. Thus writes the corrector: 'The homely versification of these Satires, as Poems, the Editor does not print as likely to please readers of refinement.' The quality of this alteration is too apparent to need a comment. Then why give it one?

The first noteworthy note from the hand of Lamb on the text of Wither's satires is pencilled opposite a line in the first of them, headed 'Of the Passion of Love.'

'But how now; was't not you (says one) that late
So humbly begg'd a boon at beauty's gate?'

This second verse is underlined by Lamb, and marked as a 'beautiful line'; and in the margin of the following four verses (two pages later) he has again written 'beautiful.'

Yet, for all this, look, where I loved of late,
I have not turn'd it in a spleen to hate;
No, for 'twas first her virtue and her wit
Taught me to see how much I wanted it.

On a passage in the interesting and high-toned fifth satire, 'Of Revenge,' there is a note by Lamb which has provoked as amusing a controversy as any that enlivens the margins of this volume. Wither, it must be understood, has been dwelling with no unmanly self-complacency on the self-control displayed in the forbearance of his conduct towards a cowardly tale-bearer who had spread against him some foul calumny, 'a damned invention,' which, as Lamb has remarked, 'seems to be the slander referred to in his verses to his Mother' reprinted towards the end of this volume; a slander circulated, as he hardly need have told us, 'with dissemblings fair, and shews of love and grief,' after the changeless fashion of such venomous vermin.

I must confess I let his error pass,
Nor have I done amiss; for say, an ass
Had struck me with his heels: how should I quit
The harm he doth me? You would blame my wit
If I should kill him. If I went to law,
Who would not hold me the most ass—a daw—
Or worst of fools? And pray, what were I less,
If I had done't to his unworthiness?
One that's so ignorant of his offence,
He seems as if he had no spark nor sense
Of understanding; one, whom if I touch
Or offer to lay hands on, 'tis as much
As if I in my anger would begin
To break the stool that erst had broke my shin.

Poets, as we all know, by all the evidence of all successive contemporaries, have steadily degenerated through each generation since the age of Wither—and indeed since the age of Chaucer: it is consoling, if it be requisite, to be reassured by such evidence as this

that the breed of their backbiters, if it could not change for the better, has found it impossible to change, in any respect whatever, for the worse. Examples of the type above described have this in common with the poor—we have them always with us. It might suffice, one would think, to connote any particular specimen as belonging to the tribe of autocoprophagi: but Lamb, eager to denote this individual example of its kind, has referred the reader of the following remark to the words ‘a daw’ in the sixth line of this extract—doubly underlined by his energetic pencil.

‘I take the name of this man to have been Daw’—the name again doubly underlined. To whom the sceptic, or in the phrase of Wither’s time the nullifidian Nott:—‘I should doubt this—he would not compare himself to the other (!)—Daw was wanted for the rhyme.’ To whom again Lamb:—‘I’ll be damn’d if Daw was not his name. C. L.’ And below:—‘Explain this line’ on the opposite page (‘Bearing his folly’s emblem in his name,’) ‘in any other possible way. Not compare himself with the other! why, ’tis the commonest way of speaking, IF I did so and so, I were a greater fool than he I arraign of folly. But I waste words on this Daw of Daws.’ This example rather of the countercheck quarrelsome than of the retort courteous is vehemently pencilled along the margin of a previous note on the fashion of fighting duels on Calais sand. ‘In the Comedy of Albu-mazar,’ as he says, ‘Trincalo is pleasant on this subject’; but the passage has now grown stale through frequent quotation. ‘This custom,’ he adds, ‘is mentioned in Sam^l Rowland’s [Rowlands’] *Good Neues and Bad Neues*, 1622’: whence he proceeds to transcribe four lines.

At the close of the seventh satire, ‘Of Jealousy,’ Nott, who has been very severe on the satire preceding it, observes:—‘There is but little pungency in this either.’ To him Lamb, in punning indignation:—‘Pray, expunge your observations, or make *them* a little more pungent.’

In the ninth satire, ‘Of Ambition,’ Wither, after a sharp attack on ‘the Beast of Rome, and his foul brood of climbing cardinals,’ prays Heaven

There rise not up another monster here
Mongst our ambitious churchmen;

but proceeds with great earnestness to disclaim any community of opinion with those

That do our reverend bishops disallow,

and grows warm in praise of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, late bishop of London, condoling with the metropolis on the loss of ‘this rare one among men,’ and again congratulating it on the fact that Abbot’s late see was filled by King; in other words,

that fate did bring
 In place of such a father, such a king—
 Yet is my Muse so constant in her frown,
 She shall not soothe a king for half his crown.

In each of these verses Lamb has underlined the word 'king,' and asks, with a strange slip of the pen,—it can hardly have been a slip of memory—'Was King bishop of London, after Laud?' This not immoderate satire on clerical ambition seems to have ruffled the spiritual plumage of Dr. Nott, who brands it as a 'very dull essay indeed.' To whom, in place of exculpation or apology, Lamb returns this question by way of answer:—'Why double-dull it with thy dull commentary? have you nothing to cry out but "very dull," "a little better," "this has some spirit," "this is prosaic," foh!

'If the sun of Wither withdraw a while, Clamour not for joy, Owl, it will out again, and blear thy envious Eyes!'

The tenth satire, 'Of Fear,' though not very brilliant or forcible in style or verse, is curious and amusing, with a touch of historic interest towards the close, where Wither attacks the improvidence which leaves the country unprepared and her citizens undrilled for resistance, while on the strength of a muster taken once in four years

we suppose
 There are no nations dare to be our foes.

Ignorant, perhaps, or forgetful, of the value given to this impeachment of his countrymen's characteristic and hereditary infirmity by the circumstances of the writer's future career as a soldier in the cause of the Commonwealth, 'Who,' asks the supercilious Nott, 'would read this satire twice?' 'I,' replies Lamb, with an emphatic stroke of his pencil. 'Why not, Nott?'

Near the end of the fourteenth satire, 'Of Cruelty,' opposite an undeniably flat and feeble verse, which had the authors known it might have been embalmed in the treatise of Scriblerus on the Bathos, the facetious Doctor has vented a marginal ejaculation of 'Dear me!' Lamb underlines the second word, and asks, 'Is anything else dear to you?'

In the first satire of the second series, 'Of Vanity,' Wither denounces the abuses which had crept into the administration of the universities, where 'heretofore, in better days,' store of palaces had been erected by the patrons of good learning, that there the Muses might live in sheltered safety,

and not beholding be
 To Pyren ' for his hospitality.

* Can this word possibly be a misprint for the name of Hiero, the royal patron of poets who had left their country for his court? This suggestion may seem far-fetched, but only to those who have no personal experience of printers, and their insane ingenuities of verbal or literal perversion.

‘Who is he?’ inquires Nott, in sardonic perplexity. The answer is: ‘Wither has here made a masculine of Pirene, the Muse’s (*sic*) fountain. C. L.’ But if this be the meaning, surely the word ‘his’ is a simple and obvious misprint for ‘her.’ Wither tells us that he was ‘well grounded’ at school, ‘and no whit for grammar-rules to seek’; and such a barbarism would have been wellnigh impossible even to such ‘huge fat curmudgeons’ as are not, says the satirist soon after,

half so fit, if ‘t came to proof,
To serve for pastors, as to hang at roof

—‘to smoke like Bacon,’ explains the author of the *Essay on Roast Pig*.

‘If,’ says Wither, after denouncing the dunces who abuse the gifts and foundations of ‘well-devoted patrons,’

If I could take on me some hideous form,
I’d either make them their bad lives reform,
Or fear them quick to hell.

‘Qu. bear?’ suggests Nott. ‘Fear, i.e. fright,’ answers Lamb: whose reading is no doubt much the finer, if perhaps at first sight the less plausible.

From consideration of other forms of the vice or folly attacked in this long and somewhat desultory satire, Wither passes on to rebuke the monumental vanity of epitaphs, of a glorious funeral or a flattering sermon, carved marble or a gilded tomb. The erection of Stonehenge supplies him with an apt if not a fresh illustration of his general text: ‘if a deed of such great wonder die,’ how shall ‘a few carved stones’ secure to a man’s name the immortality which its unknown founders thought surely to secure in vain?

‘This is taken,’ writes Lamb, ‘from some far superior lines in Daniel’s *Musophilus*; as it is a most noble passage, and not generally known, it may perhaps be worth while to quote it at length’: as he proceeds to do, giving a full reference to its exact place in the edition of 1718 before he transcribes fifty-four verses in a delicately clear and even hand. The extract is a model of dignified melody, and the high simplicity of a meditative and stately style: but Dr. Nott ‘cannot think the passage deserves so high an eulogium.’ ‘You damn’d fool!’ rejoins the transcriber, in a less dainty but more vigorous autograph.

The author of the *Farewell to Tobacco* has very happily corrected a misprint in the closing couplet of a passage which attacks the misuse of the ‘great plant’ by ‘rascal ragamuffins’ with an energy that might have won favour for the satirist from the judgment of King James.

And you must yield, that now we justly *sumus*,
E’en as the old verse says, *flos, fœnum, fumus*.

The word 'may' is printed in the text instead of the word 'sumus': but, as Lamb has remarked, 'no doubt we should read, instead of may, *sumus*, to rhyme with *fumus*.' 'Certainly,' assents the corroborative Nott.

'I'll not give a cue so soon,' says Wither, 'to see an ape—play his forc'd tricks, as I would give a tester' to see the apish tricks of vain gallants in their drunken or amorous frolics. 'Qu. cue. What?' asks Nott: and Lamb replies, 'Portecue; small coin of Portugal.'

In the following satire, 'Of Inconstancy,' Wither arraigns 'the vulgar' on the charge of envy as well as fickleness, and preference of rashness to mildness.

He that doth trust unto their love shall find
'Tis more inconstant than the wavering wind;
Which since my time a man, that many knew,
Relying on it, at his death found true.

'Essex?' suggests Lamb; whose chronology seems here again somewhat at fault. In a passage of this satire which I do not remember to have seen quoted by any commentator on Shakespeare, we come upon a rare Shakespearean word. 'An old chuff,' whose speech has some salt in it of homely dramatic humour, is represented as ridiculing the studious habits of the author's youth, and thanking God that his son is 'not zuch an asse,' but was always 'glad to keep the swine' rather than go to school;

and what tricks the mome
Would have invented then to stay at home,
You would have wondered.

In a note on the fourth satire, 'Of Presumption,' Lamb has again shown his skill in conjectural emendation: suggesting 'lection or lesson' as the right reading, where the context affords no meaning to the phrase, 'God's sacred legion.' It is here that the poet avows himself a moderate Puritan and a textualist of the old Protestant school: he divides the offenders of his day into four classes, those that seek after new inventions in worship, those that over boldly take upon them to alter the text of scripture by addition and excision, those that will force others to allow of their own groundless opinions, and those that pry into secrets which God meant should be hidden—if his omnipotence could have managed it; students in astrology, for instance, though they, as the candid satirist allows, can make a fair apology; fortune-tellers by palmistry, who are indeed presumptuous, though less than those who would fix the date of the day of judgment; or those that ask, or venture even to relate, what God was doing before he created heaven and earth; where he was living in that rather dim stage of his existence; and—certainly a somewhat knotty question—'how and by whom he then was glorified.' But, as Wither not irrationally observes, those that wind into such deep secrets find

slender profit of their labour; for, 'to make known how highly they offend,' a merciful Providence often drives them raving mad. Some, again, hope to win God's favour by honesty, almsdeeds, and works of charity; but it is superfluous to add that their outlook is of the darkest. Theirs, however, is no better, who trust in faith without works; 'a religion that wants honesty' will please as little as 'honest shews without religion too.' How then, if these comfortable certainties be true, will those presumptuous fellows speed, who think to please their mighty God with such vain things as Christmas wassail-bowls, Hocktide custom, 'a Whitsun-ale, or some such goodly motion'? Certainly, as Lamb observes in the margin, 'the Puritan pokes out his tender horns here.'

There is better stuff of a more secular kind in the latter part of this long rambling poem. Although professing his respect for some so-called Puritans, Wither expresses a contempt for

the busy-headed sect,
The hollow crew, the counterfeit elect,

as keen as his abhorrence of popery and simony: and having at length got clear (for the time) of theology, reverts to his complaint of the presumption shown in neglect of national defences;

it appears,
Through the great blessing of these quiet years,
We are so fearless, careless, and secure
In this our happy peace, and so cock-sure,
As if we did suppose, or heard it said,
Old Mars were strangled, or the devil dead.

Lamb has set a pencil-mark against this passage; and not long after his pencil has made a happy correction by substituting 'through' for 'thought,' as it stands misprinted in the text of the following couplet.

For, if wars ever make this land complain,
It will be through some truce we had with Spain.

The satirist then proceeds to enlarge in homely and earnest fashion on sundry crying abuses in army and navy; forts unrepaiied and fraudulent captains, who pocket their men's wages, 'and one poor soldier serves alone for ten' (a trick noted more than once or twice by the dramatists of the day); the lack of hands in 'the navy royal,' and the roguery of the pursers who study only how to make their own profit by them: then, after warning of danger from the south, with a sudden and striking change of tone, he rises into the following note of patriotic and manful confidence, not unworthy a future fellow-soldier of Cromwell and of Blake:—

But fear not, little isle: thy cause is right,
And if thou hast not cast thy care off quite,
Nor art secure, why, by that token then
Thou shalt drive back that threatening storm again,

Through God's assistance; even to ruin those
By and amongst whom first of all it rose.

After this he slips back into theology, and laments the presumption which leaves our better parts open 'for the advantage of the greater foe than Rome or Spain.' A vehement attempt at a realistic description of hell, with 'garish forms' of devils, and 'ugly bugs' (bugbears), provokes from the sarcastic Nott a cry of '*bugs!* enough to make a man quake. This is but a bug-bear sort of hell: a tale for the nursery.' Whereat Lamb, moved now beyond all patience, informs him that 'bugs (fool) do not here mean fleas' relations': adding, in a colossal scrawl across a sheet and a half, by way of comment on upwards of three pages following, 'all this is great Poetry, tho' thou knowest it Nott!' And indeed the whole passage thus marked has real energy and reality of imagination and feeling, as well as a pure and forcible simplicity of style.

The *Epilogus* following this satire, and the poem of 'The Scourge' which succeeds it, have not been honoured by Lamb with any original notes: but the commentary on 'Wither's Motto' will be remembered by all students of the most exquisite critical essays in any language. They will not be surprised to learn that neither the style nor the matter of it found any favour in the judicial eye of Nott. 'There is some tautology in this, and some of the sentences are harsh—These repetitions are very awkward; but the whole sentence is obscure and far-fetched in sentiment'; such is the fashion in which this unlucky particle of a pedant has bescribbled the margin of Lamb's beautiful manuscript. But those for whom alone I write will share my pleasure in reading the original paragraph as it came fresh from the spontaneous hand of the writer, not as yet adapted or accommodated by any process of revision to the eye of the general reader.

'Wither's Motto.

'The poem which Wither calls his *Motto* is a continued self-eulogy' (originally written 'self-eulogium') 'of two thousand lines: yet one reads it to the end without feeling any distaste, or being hardly conscious of having listen'd so long to a man praising himself. There are none of the cold particles of vanity in it; no hardness or self-ends' (altered to 'no want of feeling, no selfishness'; but restored in the published text), 'which are the qualities that make Egotism hateful—The writer's mind was continually glowing with images of virtue, and a noble scorn of vice: what it felt, it honestly believed it possessed, and as honestly avowed it; yet so little is this consciousness mixed up with any alloy of selfishness, that the writer seems to be praising qualities in another person rather than in himself; or, to speak more properly, we feel that it was indifferent to him, where he found the virtues; but that being best acquainted with himself, he chose to celebrate himself as their best known receptacle.

We feel that he would give to goodness its praise, wherever found ; that it is not a quality which he loves for his own low self which possesses it ; but himself that he respects for the qualities which he imagines he finds in himself. With these feelings, and without them it is impossible to read it, it is as beautiful a piece of *self*-confession as the *Religio Medici* of Browne.

‘It will lose nothing also if we contrast it’ (or, as previously written, ‘It may be worth while also to contrast it’) ‘with the Confessions of Rousseau.’ (‘How is Rousseau analogous?’ queries the interrogatory Nott: on whom Lamb retorts—‘analogous?! why, this note was written to show the *difference* not the *analogy* between them. C.L.’) ‘In every page of the latter we are disgusted with the vanity, which brings forth faults, and begs us to take them (or at least the acknowledgment of them) for virtue—But in Wither we listen to a downright confession of unambiguous virtues ; and love the heart which has the confidence to pour itself out.’ Here, at a later period, Lamb has written—‘C. L. thus far.’ On the phrase ‘confession of unambiguous virtues’ Dr. Nott has obliged us with the remark—‘this seems an odd association’: and has received this answer:—‘It was *meant* to be an odd one, to puzzle a certain sort of people. C. L.’—whose words should be borne in mind by every reader of his essays or letters who may chance to take exception to some passing turn of speech intended, or at least not wholly undesigned, to give occasion for that same ‘certain sort of people’ to stumble or to trip.

The succeeding paragraph of manuscript, as Lamb apparently thought it worth transcription, must indisputably be worth preservation. ‘Taylor, the Water Poet, in contrast to this, came out with his Motto—“Et habeo, et careo, et curo ; I have, I want, I care”—in 1621.

“This Motto in my head at first I took,
In imitation of a better Book ;
And to good minds I no offence can give
To follow good examples whilst I live.”

‘This is complimentary to his opponent, and so are other passages: nor does much personality appear in the production. Wood therefore had no strong authority for pitting them, as he did, against each other—In 1625 was printed at Oxford “An Answer to Wither’s Motto, without a frontispiece: wherein *Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo* are neither approved nor confuted, but modestly controuled or qualified.” T. G. Esq., the author, addresses himself to Wither, and says—“If the worst come, we shall do no worse than lawyers, who fall out with one another at the Bar, and are friends when they meet at the Temple Hall at dinner.” The purport of this tract is to point out some contradictory passages in Wither’s Motto: but the writer seems afraid of his antagonist, and his performance is the product (*sic*) of insipidity. Shipman, in his *Carolina* (1682), reviled Wither as a

rhyming Presbyterian and trumpeter to rebellion in his *Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo.*'

And certainly Wither has approved himself in this poem a Commonwealth's man of so thoroughly republican a spirit as thoroughly to deserve the scorn of all sycophants and the reprobation of all royalists. This is as much as to say that he no less deserves the honour done him by Lamb in the citation of a famous passage from the prose of Milton to illustrate his less exalted verse: for indeed this poem is at least 'a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine: like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of some rhyming parasite'—such as Wither in homelier and humbler style has branded with no less righteous if with far less eloquent contempt.

I cannot, for my life, my pen compel
Upon the praise of any man to dwell,
Unless I know, or think at least, his worth
To be the same which I had blazèd forth.

('This declaration of his integrity as a poet,' observes Lamb, 'is not less honourable to himself than spiritedly sarcastic on many hireling rhymers.'—'This is very true,' rejoins Nott, *naso adunco*, as if with the satirical smirk of a petulant pedagogue, 'but something in the style of Capel Lofft.' Whereon Lamb, whom wrath has here impelled to the perpetration—in one breath—of probably the two most abominable puns extant:—'In whose style are thy remarks, in the name of modesty? what bit of discovery hast thou made, to entitle thee to sit judge upon Common Place? Why, Capel Lofft may *keep aloft* from such as thee.')

Had I some honest suit, the gain of which
Would make me noble, eminent and rich,
And that to compass it no means there were,
Unless I basely flattered some great peer,
Would with that suit my ruin I might get,
If on those terms I would endeavour it!

'I'll be damn'd if you would! C.L.'—whose oath, let us believe, the recording angel did not obliterate—like Uncle Toby's—with a tear, but inscribed to his credit in characters of living light.

I cannot give a plaudit, I protest,
When, as his lordship thinks, he breaks a jest,
Unless it moves me; neither can I grin,
When he a causeless laughter doth begin.
I cannot swear him truly honourable,
Because he once receiv'd me to his table,
And talk'd as if the Muses glad might be
That he vouchsafed such a grace to me.

'True old Holcroft!' exclaims Lamb in the margin of the passage just transcribed. He has marked as for approval three or four others

in the course of the next few pages—not improbably, I think, with some further personal references occasionally in his mind; as for instance where Wither alleges his unaltered cordiality of friendship for all who ever once had his affection, and in the same breath asserts his indifference as to whether they believe this or not until occasion be given him to show his love to some purpose.

Nor have I ever said I lovèd yet,
Where I expected more than love for it.

Opposite a passage in which he professes that under no circumstances would he wish to be another man than himself, Lamb cites for comparison a fine passage from Jeremy Taylor, which expresses and explains the same sentiment. A more singular parallel is discovered between a passage in which Wither declares his freedom from all physical antipathies to animals or national prejudices against foreigners and one in which Sir Thomas Browne makes the same profession for himself. To the extract given from the *Religio Medici* Lamb subjoins this note.

‘It is not assuming too much to suppose that Sir T. B. might have been reading Wither just before he wrote this.’

A quaint passage in the text has provoked a quaint altercation in the notes, when the poet declares of himself—

I have not so much beauty, to attract
The eyes of ladies; neither have I lackt
Of that proportion which doth well suffice
To make me gracious in good people’s eyes.

Whereon Lamb remarks:—‘His portrait now re-engraved shews him to have been in person of no mean attraction.’ Dr. Nott would prefer to say, ‘not deficient in personal comeliness.’ ‘Stupid alteration,’ remarks the original annotator—not without reason. Soon after, on a phrase used by Wither in asserting his physical health and purity, Nott remarks ‘how very fond he is of this phrase’: and Lamb replies:—‘Not so fond as you to catch him tripping. He speaks passionately, you deride coldly. You sin, he never.’ Self-complacency may be something less weighty than a sin, but even Lamb seems to feel that his favourite client had somewhat more of the quality than would usually be thought graceful, when he thus comments on Wither’s estimate of his own pretensions as a suitor for the hand of any ‘supposed mistress’:

‘The whole of these two or three pages is in the spirit of Othello—who seems to have been as chary of throwing himself away as this Gentleman.

“But that I love the gentle Desdemona,
I would not my unhoused free condition
Put into circumscription and confine
For the sea’s worth.”

‘But Wither is longer in saying it.’

'I do not think this worth quoting,' decides the judicial Nott. To him Lamb:—'Don't you? Who the devil are you? What are you, and what are you NOT?⁵ C.L.'

On that part of the poem which deals with the second clause of the motto Lamb has made no remark: but when Wither comes to the third head of his discourse (on the text '*Nec Curo*') we also come upon a well-known passage of the commentary, which I transcribe as it stands in the manuscript.

'This clause of Wither's Motto is certainly the happiest ever chosen. The whole secret of Wither's happiness seems to have consisted in the act⁵ of an innocent self-pleasing. His poems are so many professions of a generous Egotism—Whatever he does, it is to please himself; if he writes it is to please himself; he would have you think he never casts a care upon his readers—This way of talking requires a known warmth of heart in the person who uses it to make it palatable. Wither's kind heart gives a vital heat to all his professions of self-seeking.' ('Very obscure,' interposes the irrepressible Nott; 'to you, to others Not,' very justly retorts the writer.) 'By self he means a great deal, his friends, his principles, his country: sometimes he means all these by himself.⁶ C. L.' Under this admirable note Dr. Nott has had the pedantic impertinence to scribble the pencilled remark—'This should be re-written, with more simplicity': to which Lamb responds, 'it should not, Nott!' the last word in pencil, but the subscription 'C. L.' in ink.

There are no further notes on this poem: but two truly noble passages are marked with a double cross and vehement pencil-strokes of admiration: the first, on the vanity of astrology, bears so vivid a resemblance to the famous verses of Fletcher '*On an Honest Man's Fortune*' that we cannot but imagine some half unrecognised echo of their simple and stately cadence to have been playing in the author's ear as he conceived the following lines.

I'll seek within me, and if there I find
Those stars which should give light unto my mind
Rise fair and timely in me, and affect
Each other with a natural aspect;
If in conjunction there perceive I may
True virtue and religion every day,
And walk according to that influence
Which is derived unto me from thence,
I fear no fortunes, whatsoe'er they be,
Nor care I what my stars do threaten me.
or he who to that state can once attain
Above the power of all the stars doth reign.

⁵ The corresponding passage in the text of the published essay gives the reading 'act'; and so it seems to stand in the manuscript, though it might easily be read as 'art.'

⁶ These seven words have been struck through and the following eleven substituted in a different hand—'all of which he sometimes includes in the description of himself,

There is a fine burst of mingled superstition and self-devotion on the next page, where, under the impression of a fancy that America may be 'the wilderness to which the "woman" and her "son" must fly to 'scape the "dragon's" fury' (as prognosticated in the lucid and significant pages of the Apocalypse), till God has been graciously pleased to reduce Europe into a state of 'barbarism' and bring in 'other people' to be his church, the poet exclaims,

Why should his pleasure be my care or grief?
O let his Name and Church more glorious grow,
Although my ruin help to make it so!
So I my duty in my place have done,
I care not greatly what succeeds thereon;
For sure I am, if I can pleased be
With what God wills, all shall be well for me.

This passage is not honoured by any notice from Lamb: the last in this poem which he has marked is that in which the author vows 'by the eternal Deity,'

Of whose great spirit these the sparklings are,
So may I still retain that inward peace,
That love and taste of the eternal bliss,
Those matchless comforts, and those brave desires,
Those sweet contentments and immortal fires,
Which at this instant do inflame my breast,
And are too excellent to be exprest:
I do not care a rush, though I were born
Unto the greatest poverty and scorn
That, since God first infus'd it with his breath,
Poor flesh and blood did ever groan beneath;

*verses not unworthy to kindle so noble an enthusiasm of sympathy in so noble a spirit as Charles Lamb's. As much may be said for these among not a few others:—

O that my lines were able to express
The cause and ground of this my carelessness;
That I might show you what brave things they be,
Which at this instant are a fire in me!

At the close of Wither's high-toned and pathetic address or epigram (so-called) to his father, Nott delivers himself of this remark:— 'His quatrain stanzas are much smoother than his couplets.' To which Lamb appends this final note.

'Is that all you have to say on this divine Epigram and the following?' O Eloquent in abuse! Niggard where thou shouldst Praise! Most *negative Nott!*'

With which three parting kicks the thrice unhappy doctor is dismissed for ever and a day to the limbo of pedants.

'To his Mother'—with reference to the calumnious reports mentioned in the fifth satire of the first book.

‘*Jamque opus exegi*,’ which I would not have undertaken for love of any other man than Lamb: so much heavier to some hands than to others is the labour of transcription and collation. To those who feel nothing of the attraction which his lovers find in the lightest word, the slightest record, the smallest relic of Charles Lamb, the time and care spent on these fugitive notes will seem deplorably and strangely wasted. As many talk of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow, so do many talk of Charles Lamb who have never entered in spirit into the homely and happy sanctuary of his more private or inward presence. But for all who love him the charm of that companionship is alike indefinable and incomparable. It pervades his work as with an odour of sweet old-world flowers or spices long laid by among fine linens and rare brocades in some such old oaken or cedarn cabinet as his grandmother might have opened to rejoice the wondering senses of her boyish visitor at ‘*Blakesmoor*.’ His own words may best express the special feeling of tenderness and delight, familiar reverence and satisfied affection, which the very sound or thought of his ‘gentle name’ wakes up always anew within us into warmth and freshness of life. ‘The names of some of our poets,’ avows Elia in one of his last essays, with a graceful touch of apology for the fanciful confession, ‘sound sweeter, and have a finer relish to the ear—to mine, at least—than that of Milton or of Shakespeare. It may be, that the latter are more staled and rung upon in common discourse. The sweetest names, and which carry a perfume in the mention, are, Kit Marlowe, Drayton, Drummond of Hawthornden, and Cowley.’ And even so do we now find a homely magic in the name of Lamb, a special fragrance in the fame of it, such as hardly seems to hang about the statelier sound of Coleridge’s or Wordsworth’s, or Shelley’s. No good criticism of Lamb, strictly speaking, can ever be written; because nobody can do justice to his work who does not love it too well to feel himself capable of giving judgment on it. And if such a reader as this should undertake to enter the lists against any of Lamb’s detractors, or to engage in debate with any of his half-hearted and semi-supercilious partisans, he would doubtless find himself driven or tempted to break all bounds of critical reason in his panegyric of a genius so beloved. Question or denial of Lamb’s dramatic powers might goad him on to maintain that *John Woodvil* is the only tragedy in the language which may properly be set beside *Hamlet*, and *The Wife’s Trial* the one comedy which may hold its own if compared with *Much Ado about Nothing*. Let me not be suspected of any desire to maintain this thesis if I avow my enjoyment and admiration of Lamb’s tragedy, his comedy, and his farce. Of his essays and letters, humorous or pathetic, prosaic or fantastic, erratic or composed, what is there to be said but that it would be a feat far easier to surpass all others than to approach the best of these? But the truth is simple and indisputable that no labour could be at once so

delightful and so useless, so attractive and so vain, as the task of writing in praise of Lamb. Any man or any child who can feel anything of his charm utters better praise of him in silence than any array of epithets or periods could give. Any man or any woman who can feel nothing of his charm is outside the pale of any possible influence or impression from any reasoning or any enthusiasm of others. Genius and goodness, self-sacrifice and love, sweet and stingless humour, joyful kindness and patient endurance, could not but make of Charles and Mary Lamb two figures most obnoxious and contemptible to that very sorry pair of phenomena, Thomas Cloacinus and his Goody. 'This was a sham strong man,' said Carlyle—very justly—of Byron: and equal justice echoes back the verdict as retorted on Carlyle. The true strong man whose whole life was an act of love, an offering of faithful and grateful affection which gave all it had and felt that it could not give enough, what other recognition or what fitter acknowledgment could he receive from such as these than their distaste and their contempt? What they had to give they gave him; that so nothing might be wanting of the tribute due from inferiors as from equals, from strangers as from friends, to the very sweetest nature that ever gave warmth and fragrance to the quiet and quenchless light of so rare and pure a genius. But it may well be that the Essays of Elia will be found to have kept their perfume, and the letters of Charles Lamb to retain their old sweet savour, when *Sartor Resartus* has about as many readers as Bulwer's *Artificial Changeling* and nine-tenths even of *Don Juan* lie darkening under the same deep dust that covers the rarely troubled pages of the *Secchia Rapita*. One thing is very certain, which it needs no inspiration to foresee and no presumption to foretell: that whether the number of his loving readers be greater or be less in any time to come, be the quantity of their muster what it may, the quality of their affection must always be the same. The 'cordial old man,' whose 'tripping tongue,' heard 'once, and once only,' woke so deep an echo of regard from the noble heart of Landor, will never be loved a little or honoured with a temperate esteem. Not all, it may be, who share his love and his understanding of Shakespeare or of Hogarth, can be expected to love him likewise: but surely nothing less than this may be looked for from all whom he has led to the sealed and hidden fountains of English dramatic poetry; from all to whom he has opened that passionate and stormy paradise, the turbulent and radiant heaven of our elder tragic writers: for a very heaven it is to those who can breathe its 'eager air,' a very paradise to such as can walk unhurt among its flaming fires. That a Lamb should have gone in among these lions, and become as it were the keeper of the lions' den, is a chance which provokes the inevitable application of his own favourite form of jest: but it is to be remembered that the one other writer who ever shared with 'the gentle Elia' the

common or habitual surname bestowed by that soft-sounding epithet is none other than Shakespeare himself. Gentleness such as Shakespeare's or as Lamb's implies a strength beside which the braggardism of a stoic whose Porch is of stucco, for all his swashing and martial outside of painted blood and imitated iron, proves worse than womanish weakness. Carlyle says of his friend Sterling that during his brief career as a clergyman he was ever striving with all his might 'not to be a moonshine shadow of the first Paul': it may be said—by the disbelievers in his pseudosophy—that Carlyle's own 'realized ideal' was to be a moonshine shadow of the first Knox. No man ever had less about him of pretention, philosophic or other, than Charles Lamb: but when he took on him to grapple in spirit with Shakespeare, and with Shakespeare's fellows or followers, the author of *John Woodvil*, who might till then have seemed to unsympathetic readers of that little tragedy no more than the 'moonshine shadow' of an Elizabethan playwright, shewed himself the strongest as well as the finest critic that ever was found worthy to comment on the most masculine or leonine school of poets in all the range of English literature. With the gentler natures among them—with the sweet spirit of Decker or of Heywood, of Davenport or of Day—we should naturally have expected him to feel and to approve his affinity; but even more than towards these do we find him attracted towards the strongest and most terrible of all the giant brood: and this by no effeminate attraction towards horrors, no morbid and liquorish appetite for visions of blood or images of agony; but by the heroic or poetic instinct of sympathy with 'high actions and high passions,' with the sublimity of suffering and the extravagance of love, which gave him power to read aright such poetry as to Campbell was a stumbling-block and to Hallam foolishness. Marlowe with his Faustus, Marston with his Andrugio, Tourneur with his Vindice, Ford with his Calantha, Webster, above all; with his two sovereign types of feminine daring and womanly endurance, the heroine of suffering and the heroine of sin: these are they whom he has interpreted and made known to us in such words as alone could seem deserving, for truth and for beauty, for subtlety and for strength, to be heard by way of interlude between the softer and the sterner harmonies of their Titanic text. Truly and thankfully may those whose boyish tastes have been strengthened with such mental food and quickened with such spiritual wine—the meat so carved and garnished, the cup so tempered and poured out, by such a master and founder of the feast—bear witness and give thanks to so great and so generous a benefactor; who has fed us on lion's marrow, and with honey out of the lion's mouth. To him and to him alone it is that we owe the revelation and the resurrection of our greatest dramatic poets after Shakespeare. All those who have done hard and good work in the same field, from the date of Mr. Collier's supplementary volume to

Dodsley down to the present date of Mr. Bullen's no less thankworthy collection of costly waifs and strays redeemed at last from mouldering manuscript or scarce less inaccessible print—all to whom we owe anything of good service in this line owe to Lamb the first example of such toil, the first indication of such treasure. He alone opened the golden vein alike for students and for sciolists: he set the fashion of real or affected interest in our great forgotten poets. Behind him and beneath we see the whole line of conscientious scholars and of imitative rhetoricians: the Hazlitts prattling at his heel, the Dyces labouring in his wake. If the occasional harvest of these desultory researches were his one and only claim on the regard of Englishmen, this alone should suffice to ensure him their everlasting respect and their unalterable gratitude: and this is as small a part as it is a precious one of his priceless legacy to all time. The sweet spontaneous grace of his best poetry has never been surpassed: for subtle and simple humour, for tender and cordial wit, his essays and letters have never been approached: as a critic, Coleridge alone has ever equalled or excelled him in delicacy and strength of insight, and Coleridge has excelled or equalled him only when writing on Shakespeare: of Shakespeare's contemporaries Lamb was as much the better judge as he was the steadier, the deeper, and the more appreciative student. A wise enthusiasm gave only the sharper insight to his love, the keener edge to his judgment: and the rare composition of all such highest qualities as we find scattered or confused in others raised criticism in his case to the level of creation, and made his lightest word more weighty than all the labouring wisdom of any judge less gracious, any reader less inspired than Charles Lamb.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

CYCLING AND CYCLISTS.

THE Bicycle has been in existence ten or at the most twelve years. The Tricycle in its present form was invented about four years ago. During that short time they have arrived at a remarkable degree of constructive excellence; they have attracted numerous and enthusiastic votaries, and have given rise to an organisation singularly successful, and presenting several novel and remarkable features. Having, as President of this Organisation, means of information which are not generally accessible, I have been asked to give an account of it. Every one has become familiar with the appearance of the swift little vehicles that dart about the highways and byways of England, propelled by the power of human muscles alone; but it is somewhat remarkable that as yet no generic name has been assigned to them. In England the words 'cycling' and 'cyclists' have been found fitly to represent the pursuit and those who follow it. The Americans have adopted the term 'wheeling,' and the L.A.W., or 'League of American Wheelmen,' is their representative body. In Germany there is a 'Velocipedistenbund'; but England may be considered as the home of cycling, and it is here regulated by two institutions, called the 'National Cyclists' Union' and the 'Cyclists' Touring Club.' Though distinct from each other, they work together, and between them wield undisputed sway.

It is natural that machines should rapidly acquire popularity which enable a man, not otherwise assisted than by the strength that God has given him, to run a mile in two minutes and forty seconds, to travel twenty miles in an hour, and two hundred and sixty-six miles in a day. These things have been done—the first two of them several times. As athletic feats they are worthy of notice, but cycling would not have acquired its rapid popularity if it had done nothing more than afford a rapid means of locomotion. Its title to public favour is that it has opened out a new and very enjoyable form of recreation to a class of the community whose means of enjoyment are by no means too numerous, and it has also proved valuable in an economic point of view.

Reliable figures are not readily obtainable; but from information which I have been able to gather, it may be taken as a fair

approximation that between 300,000 and 400,000 persons are to be found in the ranks of habitual cyclists. The number of machines in use is also very large. Taking into account their extreme lightness, their apparent fragility, and the rough usage to which they are subjected in running at high speed over bad roads, a very large number of machines must be required to supply the original demand and to make up for wear and tear. The number placed on the market during the last ten years cannot be less than 300,000. The cost of machines ranges, as I see from a price list before me, according to the class of machine and the amount of material and labour bestowed upon it, from about ten pounds for the cheapest form of bicycle up to forty-five or fifty for smartly designed and highly finished tricycles, the most expensive being those constructed to carry two persons, and known as 'sociables.' It is evident, therefore, that a very large sum must be invested in machines alone, without counting—as, indeed, I have no means of doing with any approach to accuracy—the capital employed in the shape of plant, machinery, and stores in the factories and workshops throughout the country.

In reply to an inquiry of mine respecting the trade, a friend writes:—

The trade has made wonderful strides in the past few years; and Coventry alone employs 3,000 hands. It is not a profitable business unless carried on on a large scale, with plenty of capital. Many fail yearly, for although simple enough to look at, a good machine contains from 300 to 500 separate pieces, all of which have to be accurately fitted together to prove successful. Another reason also for the high prices is, that patterns have to be altered nearly every season, and dies and tools that cost hundreds of pounds do duty for only perhaps 1,000 machines, or even less, instead of twenty times that number, as they ought.

The same gentleman says in another part of his letter, that there are 140 manufacturers who build tricycles and 145 who build bicycles as well.

In the way of literature, cycling supports several weekly newspapers, as well as some magazines and annuals. The *Bicycling News* began in 1876. It was followed by the *Bicycle Journal*, and other papers which I believe have disappeared. The *Cyclist* appeared first in 1879, the *Tricycling Journal* in 1881, and the *Tricyclist* in 1882. All these are now firmly established and remarkably well edited. *Wheeling* and the *Wheel World* adorn their pages with pictures, some of the portraits of wheeling celebrities in *Wheeling*, and the biographies with which they are accompanied, are remarkably well executed. There are also several annuals, such as Mr. Sturmeys's *Indispensable Handbook*, both for bicycles and tricycles; and numerous works on the theory, manufacture, and mode of riding machines. One of them, which appeared lately under the name of *Tricycling for Ladies*, especially treats of the requirements of the weaker sex. Last,

but not least, the handbook of the Touring Club, which I mention further on, and the monthly *Gazette* of the same institution.

I must refer those who are curious as to the early development of the modern cycle to the pages of Mr. James Sturmfey, who wrote a guide to bicycling in 1882. He says that a strange machine, consisting of a seat placed centrally upon a bar of wood and supported on wheels at each end, made its appearance in the gardens of the Luxembourg, in Paris, about the year 1808. It was propelled by a rider sitting on the seat and striking out backwards, after the manner of skaters. Caricatures of that time often represent the hobby-horse, as the machine was called. Old George Cruikshank seems to have been especially amused by them; and in many of his pictures riders of the dandy-horse figure in absurd positions. All of them, however, are apparently going at a tremendous pace, racing with railway trains, and so on. But the date of these caricatures was probably a few years later, when the dandy-horse, which speedily was laughed out of existence among the French, was revived with improvements in England. About 1830 Baron von Drais, from Frankfort-on-the-Maine, seems to have taken out a patent in France for a machine he called a *Draismene*, which was propelled in much the same way as the hobby-horse. The *Draismene* had its day of popularity, and even of enthusiasm, but it soon followed the hobby-horse into the limbo of forgotten inventions. It was not till 1860—thirty years later—that some unknown genius conceived the idea of affixing cranks and pedals to the front wheel of the dandy-horse. From that moment commenced the evolution of the modern bicycle. The vehicle which came into existence in 1860 was contemptuously, but not untruly, dubbed ‘the bone-shaker;’ and although many now living who rode on them in their youth—Lord Sherbrooke for one—got a great deal of exercise and a certain amount of amusement out of them, they were heavy, cumbrous, and perfectly awful in the way of vibration. Lord Sherbrooke, indeed, was a rider of the dandy-horse before the days of the bone-shaker. He tells the story of his race with the Oxford coach, in which for a mile he kept ahead of the mail. The driver put his horses into a gallop, but did not catch him till a rise in the ground proved too much for his wind. I asked him the other day whether I might tell the story, and he said, ‘Perhaps, to be strictly accurate you ought to add that I was careful to choose ground that was just a leetle downhill.’ Lord Sherbrooke would not have the smallest difficulty nowadays in performing a similar feat on a modern bicycle, which he still continues to ride. He is, I should think, the only rider of a bicycle in 1884 who rode a race on a hobby-horse in 1830. The invention which made the modern machine possible was the ‘suspension’-wheel. Up to that time, the weight of the rider and of the carriage he sat on rested on the spoke immediately beneath the axle. This necessitated a stiff and sturdy spoke, and consequently

the weight to be propelled by a rider was more than he could manage, except for a short time. But when the suspension-wheel was invented, it was found that the weight of the frame and rider could be suspended from that part of the felloe which was uppermost as the wheel revolved, and be evenly distributed over the upper part of the wheel, the remainder of the periphery serving only to keep the wheel from buckling. The introduction of hollow steel felloes, wire spokes, and indiarubber tyres, can now be combined in a machine so light that a racing bicycle for a man of eleven stone need not weigh more than twenty-seven pounds. Of course that is an extreme light weight, fitted only for a cinder-path: a machine to run over an ordinary highroad would be made a good deal heavier.

Mr. James Starley, an inventive genius and manufacturer, of Coventry, who died in 1881, after living long enough to acquire a fortune by his success, was the designer of the modern bicycle. He boldly discarded the old Draismene type, which until then had been sufficient for the moderate demand, and designed the really beautiful piece of mechanism by which such wonderful results are now attained.

It was not till the bicycle had acquired its latest development—1880 or thereabouts—that any attention was devoted to the development of the tricycle. Then it was found that all, or nearly all, the great improvements which had been made in the bicycle could be adapted to a new form of carriage, which should be free from certain disadvantages which the bicycle possessed. The bicycle, though light, swift, and graceful, could not by any stretch of imagination be called an elderly gentleman's mount: it was difficult to ascend to the saddle, and not over easy to remain there when seated; you could not stop or stand still upon it for a moment. It would carry very little luggage, and was so high that if you did come to grief, your grief was likely to be unmitigated. So the merchant and the tradesman, the aristocrat, the professional man, and the parson, pronounced bicycling undignified, or at the best only fitted for boys. The beneficent genius who designed the tricycle changed all this. Seventy years was required to evolve the bicycle out of the hobby-horse; two years were enough to mount middle-aged respectability on his tricycle. The strong love of hard exercise implanted in the mind of all Britons asserted itself; the British householder mounted, and rode away into fairyland. So did his wife; and so too did his young ladies. It was better, as they soon found, to wander away far into country lanes than to play at lawn-tennis day after day on the same square of turf, and far better to come home hungry and tired from a ten-mile run, than to dawdle over a novel under trees in the garden.

No one who likes to see people enjoying themselves can help being pleased at the amount of pleasure which has been thus thrown open. Station yourself at Kew Bridge or Richmond on a Saturday

afternoon in summer. Dozens, nay hundreds, of young men fly by, with a 'Saturday to Monday' bag slung to the backbone of their mounts, bound forty miles away, to some place in the pure country air. How many of these ever got a sniff of any air fresher than that of a city billiard room, before the days of the bicycle? How many of the middle-aged clerks and tradesmen who pass you, accompanied by wife or daughter, would get a sight of the country were it not for the tricycle? But the enjoyment is not confined to them: many a man of a richer class takes his exercise by preference on wheels, and feels far better for it than if he had chosen a more luxurious mode of conveyance. Within the five years that the modern tricycle has been in existence, a change has taken place in the attitude of mind with which the upper and middle class of society regard cycling. It is no longer looked down upon or thought vulgar. Bicycling, at first confined to very young men, who were without the leaven of mature judgment and restraining public opinion now afforded by a large body of older riders, had no doubt its full share of loud and obtrusively vulgar exponents; but public opinion soon materially altered that for the better. '*Aunque la mona se vesta de seda, mona se queda,*' says the Spanish proverb: which may be Englished, 'Though a vulgar fellow should mount on a bicycle, he will still be a snob;' but such men are rarer nowadays than they used to be. All ranks of society took up cycling, more or less warmly. Royalty led the way. Almost every crowned head in Europe has a tricycle; some of them have a great many, whether for personal use or not I cannot say. The rising generation of royal princes career about on the iron steed. Nor is its popularity confined to European potentates. The Khedive of Egypt has one of the most gorgeous description; so covered with silver plating that one can hardly see the black enamel underneath.

The tricycle has established itself as a necessary of daily life. The number of country houses where it is to be found is very great, and rapidly increasing; and although in houses where there are plenty of horses and carriages cycles will of course not assume the position of paramount importance which they occupy in more limited establishments, the presence of one will soon be the rule rather than the exception. Even where plenty of horses are kept it is popular. Wherever there are active lads and healthy young ladies there are sure to be tricycles; but young ladies and gentlemen have their horses and ponies, and to them cycling is only an additional means of amusement. To others, in such houses, it is of more importance. The butler rides off on his tricycle to visit tradesmen or friends in the neighbouring town, or some active young footman is only too delighted to save the groom the trouble of saddling a horse, and will bring back an answering note in less time than would be occupied by a mounted messenger. When one thinks of the sedentary and confined lives necessarily led by domestic servants, he sees how much improved

health and cheerful service are promoted by cycling, and will do his best to promote it. In the establishments of hard-worked professional men it is very welcome. To country doctors especially it has been found a boon. One of them, with a wide district to look after, and gifted with an athletic frame, has ridden over three thousand miles per annum for some years past, in the pursuit of his avocations. Clergymen use them for their rounds. I, who live by the seashore in summer, know more than one young curate, who dwells miles away inland, and who gets his morning dip in the breakers and is back in his parish before breakfast. A pianoforte-tuner rides pleasantly from one house to another; a weary tramp used to be his lot, now his longest journeys are nothing more than a healthful spin over the country roads. A music-master with whom I foregathered in a country lane recorded with glee his gain in health, time, and shoe-leather since he took to the tricycle. He could give half as many lessons again as before. Another rider travels from farm to farm selling yeast to the farmers' wives. He has a carrier tricycle, and economises the keep of a pony. Still lower in the social scale, the labour-saving result is even more observed. It is now by no means uncommon to see, in the neighbourhood of towns, mechanics making their way home from their work on the bicycle. Who shall overrate its importance to these men? In the first place, it means, under the most favourable circumstances, the saving of a daily railway fare; in many it is more than that. It means the possibility of living in healthy country air instead of a deadly city slum, lower rent, healthy wife and children. And in every such instance it means sobriety as well; for nobody who had to make his daily way home on a bicycle would handicap his chance of arriving safely by too long a visit to the public-house. In the country district that I know best, agricultural labourers live far away from their work, and ride morning and evening to and fro. A mechanic can easily do eight or ten miles as his daily journey, when his walking power would be limited to three or four. In the neighbourhood of towns, plasterers, glaziers, and carpenters, with their tool-baskets at their backs, may be seen, at the close of work-hours, making their way through the suburbs to their country homes. In Coventry, which may be looked upon as the home of the cycling industry, and in many other towns, tricycles are almost exclusively employed to carry messages, and workmen habitually ride home in the dinner hour.

In August 1883 a vehicle called the 'carrier tricycle' was invented by Mr. G. Lacy Hillier, lately a famous racer on the wheel, and now an indefatigable writer on the same subject. I believe Mr. Hillier still holds what is called the 'record' for 150 miles, having ridden that distance in some incredibly short time; but his invention is likely to be even more useful than his prowess as a rider. The new vehicle is already a common object in the London streets. The Post

Office has adopted it for the parcel post; one may often see the red-painted machine hurrying through the streets. This particular form of tricycle is fitted with three trays one above the other; the upper one is over three feet in length, and the whole forms a most convenient means of distributing the multifarious articles that pass through the parcel post. Several of the daily papers are distributed to the shops and railway termini by this machine, and it is beginning to be largely used as a medium of advertisement. Where narrow lanes and short cuts have to be taken, as in the traffic-encumbered streets of the Metropolis, the carrier beats the horse and cart easily. Mr. Hillier tells me that his invention is adopted on the other side of the Channel, and that the French newspapers are now delivered in Paris in the same way as in London. In fact, there is no end to the economic possibilities of these carriages when once the mode of utilising them has been suggested. Mr. Hillier has not patented his invention, but presents it as his freewill offering to the public good.

I have before me a sort of illustrated encyclopædia, compiled and issued as an annual by Mr. James Sturmev, of Coventry; it describes and gives woodcuts of no less than three hundred and twenty-four different kinds of tricycle, all, if advertisements are to be believed, possessing some special form of merit, and taking rank as a separate type of machine. A similar compilation to that of Mr. Sturmev's has been made for the bicycle. There are twice as many different types of bicycle as there are of the three-wheel machine. It need hardly be said that not all, or even a large proportion, of these machines present any real point of superiority, or are really original. Many merely copy established patterns, and add, perhaps, some small invention not necessarily an improvement, in order to justify their claim of novelty. Nor are all makers equally reliable. Some of the cheap machines would be dear at any price, and are positively dangerous. It may be safely laid down as a rule that in no kind of purchase is it more necessary to go to the best and most highly reputed firms. Paint, enamel, and a little electroplating make one machine to outward seeming very like another; but in no class of work is strictly honest attention to minute detail more necessary. The parts of a good machine are reduced even to attenuation to secure lightness; it is therefore of vital importance that the iron and steel of which it is composed should be absolutely without flaw. It is only the largest firms who can afford to establish the expensive tools required, to change or supersede them as new improvements come in. Failure in a nut or a rivet may entail severe personal injury; no wise person, then, will hesitate to employ the best maker when he orders a machine. The first-rate firms are well known, and the novice will have no difficulty in getting proper advice. It is to be hoped, for his own sake, that he will follow it.

The increased popularity of cycling soon suggested the advisability of some sort of organisation. The two principal institutions in England are the National Cyclists' Union and the Cyclists' Touring Club, more familiarly known as the N.C.U. and the C.T.C. respectively. These extensive organisations have reached their present position through tentative stages and by legitimate development. They were framed by the hard method of trial and failure, and are not copied from any existing model. The National Union was commenced in the days when as yet tricycles were not. It was satisfied at first to afford the means of concerted action among clubs which everywhere sprang up and were then, as now, the unit of formation. Almost every town or large village has its club, some have several. They are formed according to the exigencies of local society, and flourish in proportion to the enthusiasm of the members and the tact and energy of the elected 'captain' and honorary secretary. Called into existence by local requirements, each club, provided its rules are in accord with the model rules formulated by the National Society, has the right to join the Union, and to send one or more representatives to its Council. The Council meets at stated intervals, and forms a very real and workable parliament for cycling affairs. It is too numerous for the efficient discussion of detail; an Executive is therefore elected from among them, which meets weekly at Headquarters. Before this body are brought, in the first instance, all complaints, appeals, and projects of wheeling legislation. The system, order, and business-like rapidity with which this body examines and disposes of a large amount of detail excites admiration, to which I may give utterance without egotism, because the president of the N.C.U., fortunately for him, is not expected to preside over the meetings of the Executive, which has a very efficient chairman of its own.

The objects of the Union are to ensure a fair and equitable administration of justice as regards the rights of cyclists on the public roads; to watch the course of any legislative proposals, in Parliament or elsewhere, affecting the interests of the cycling public; to consider the relations of the cyclists and the railway companies, to secure security of conveyance for machines; to examine the question of bicycle and tricycle racing in general and to frame definitions and rules on the subject; to arrange for annual race meetings, at which the amateur championships of bicycling and tricycling are to be decided.

Every duly constituted club is entitled to a representative; clubs with more than fifty members have a representative for every additional fifty. The delegates thus selected are members of the Council, with whom rests the selection of the president, vice-presidents, and secretary; they also select the Executive of nineteen members. The Union thus rests on the broadest basis of publicity, and commands general allegiance and support. At first, it had to encounter divisions

from within. It was especially difficult to amalgamate bicyclists with tricyclists. Bicycling was the older pursuit, and the original organisation belonged to them. But youth is the season for bicycling, and the junior pursuit comprised, as a rule, older men. There was a time when it seemed as if tricyclists would break off and form an organisation of their own. But wiser counsels prevailed; it was seen that the points in which the interests of the two bodies agreed were much more numerous than those in which they differed, and the schism was healed. The small body of tricycling malcontents, who had formed a rival union, with the highly respected name of Dr. Richardson at their head, finding that their, no doubt, well-meant intervention produced a vast amount of irritation and no solid result, resolved to content themselves with what their brethren of the N.C.U. heard designated, not without amusement, as the 'higher aims' of cycling. These it would appear consist in the pursuits of botany, zoology, and other scientific objects during their excursions, and the reading of papers at the periodical meetings of the society. They have, no doubt, a wide field of usefulness and intellectual enjoyment before them, which they can cultivate without injury to the N.C.U.

The National Union has, in addition to its headquarter organisation, a system of Local Centres similar in all respects to the central governing body, but reporting to the latter in affairs of general interest, and an appeal lies in all cases to its decision. Thus, the disqualification of racing members, the legal prosecutions of persons offending against the rights of members, and legal assistance to members who are assailed, originate with the Local Centres, and are taken up by the general Executive. The legal proceedings thus carried on are numerous, and in many cases very curious in character. It is needless to say that a large and powerful society can act with much more promptitude and effect than would be possible for individuals; and it is an advantage to a person who considers himself aggrieved, to be able to ascertain with certainty whether the injury is real, and legally sustainable. The rights of cyclists were often questioned at first; and in some instances, as Mr. Hillier says in one of his amusing papers, something more than questioning was indulged in. For example, the guard of the St. Albans coach lassoed a rider with a shot tied to a rope, upset his machine, and dragged him some distance in the dust. To protect cyclists in the free use of the highway is one of the principal objects of the Union, and this object is now fairly attained. A cyclist is no longer a stranger, and the proverbial half-brick of welcome is not now usually heaved at him; but when occasional cases of assault arise, the Union intervenes with effect.

A large part of the time of the Executive is taken up by racing matters. These are not interesting to the general public, and I do not propose to say much about them. Still it cannot be a matter of

indifference that a sport which might easily in bad hands have fallen into disrepute, has been firmly and judiciously handled; that it has been kept pure; that it is a genuine amateur sport; that anything in the nature of a ring has been effectually discouraged; and that the decisions and sentences of the Union are accepted and acted on by the authorities of other branches of athletics. The rules respecting amateurs are very strict, and are rigidly enforced in all branches of athletics, and in none more than in cycling. No money prizes are ever allowed to be contended for under any circumstances whatever. Nor is an amateur allowed to contend in the same race as a professional. If he were to transgress either of these rules, or if he were even to contest for a prize at any race meeting not held under N.C.U. rules, he would be disqualified, and the disqualification would be recognised and acted upon by all other branches of athletics. The bearing of this rule upon the purity of the sport is immediately apparent. Even selling a prize would be a ground of disqualification. It is a matter of good-humoured speculation where all the ornamental trifles that are offered for competition are stowed away. A successful competitor, the hero of many races, is often greeted with good-humoured chaff and laughter when he comes up to the judge's table to receive yet another plated biscuit dish—an article of luxury which the secretaries of race meetings are popularly supposed to order in by the gross.

I am somewhat surprised that cycling race meetings are not more numerously attended by fashionable persons, who are always on the look-out for excitement. They offer a very pretty sight; they are well ordered, and quite free from the rowdiness of ordinary race-courses. The races, generally from one to fifty miles, are run with great rapidity, and one may be quite sure that the best man will win. There is another element of pleasure—the competitors run, as the saying is, with their heads as well as their feet. For instance, of two men in a final heat, one is known perhaps for his staying powers, the other has a wonderful turn of speed. The tactics of the second man must be to try and run away from his opponent: he knows that it is no use to try to wear him down. So off he goes and races all through. If his strength holds out, he will ride in a winner; if not, and he begins to tire, there will be an exciting race, as the steady man during the last mile or two races up to the flier, and very likely beats him on the post. Such a race as this is often run at an extraordinary speed. When both men are fliers, they are apt to wait upon each other, and reserve themselves for the final struggle. The result in either case is that races are generally very closely contested, and are won or lost by the merest fraction.

Racing on the public roads at one time threatened to become common. The disadvantages of this proceeding are obvious; it was discountenanced from the first by the Union, and will probably be no

more heard of. It is true that once or twice this year and last a long-distance race took place under the auspices of some private club. Ingenious plans were adopted to prevent public inconvenience, such as starting the various competitors at two-minute intervals; and as the course was over two hundred and fifty miles (or more) of road, it may perhaps be plausibly argued that the practical inconvenience was not great. The racers started at midnight, and by daylight all that would meet the eye of a traveller would be a series of apparently unconnected cases of 'furious driving.' Still it is to be hoped that no one will try it again.

It now remains to say a few words upon the Cyclists' Touring Club, a kindred institution which works on parallel lines with the N.C.U., but for slightly different objects. The National Union, as we have seen, regulates the legislation and police of cycling; the Cyclists' Touring Club exists for the mutual aid and protection of those among its members who travel along the Queen's highway, and sojourn in the towns and villages along its course. The Club was in the first instance founded by bicyclists. It was first formed in the provinces in 1878, and was enlarged to include tricyclists in 1882.

The defined objects of the Club are to promote touring by bicycles and tricycles among amateurs, to whom membership is strictly confined, and arrange for mutual defence, assistance, and support. Though the rules contain provisions for the usual complement of president, vice-president, chairman of Council, and so on, all these dignified offices are vacant, but business gets on just as well without them. The daily work of the Club is carried on by the secretary, and it speaks well for the good sense of the members that they are content to let well alone, and to allow their business to remain without interference in hands where it is well and efficiently performed. The plan of operation is as follows: A map of the British Isles has been carefully divided into districts, twelve of which are in England, four in Ireland, and seven in Scotland. Each of these districts is placed under the charge of an officer, called a Chief Consul. This consular system is quite original. The Chief Consul, selected always for his special acquaintance with the requirements of cycling, chooses assistants known as consuls from among the resident members in the various towns within his district. He also appoints hotel headquarters, conducts correspondence with members asking information, attends the meetings of the Council, and generally promotes and is responsible for the interests and working of the Club. Consuls, acting under the direction of their chiefs, give information as to the roads or places of interest within their districts to any members calling upon them. They are expected to assist the chief consuls in filling up vacancies which may exist in the list of hotels, consuls, or repairing smiths, to look after subscriptions in arrear, and secure new adherents for the Club. The country having been mapped out,

and the chief consuls, consuls, hotel headquarters, recommended houses, and repairing smiths appointed, the result is embodied in a handbook, convenient for carrying in the pocket, and published annually. In any strange place, if a member's machine breaks down, or he is assaulted, or in anywise wronged, even if he is only benighted, he sees by a glance at his handbook who is the nearest friend to whom he can apply, where he can sleep and eat, and where he can get his damages repaired. The cases are few within the British Islands where the C.T.C. man cannot get all his wants attended to by his own Club within four or five miles' distance from the place where any misadventure occurs to him. A member wishing to travel in any direction about the country applies to the Chief Consuls of the district through which his intended journey lies, and obtains every information respecting roads, hotels, best route to pursue, &c., besides being speeded on his way by the consuls of the towns through which he passes: for part of a consul's duty is to keep a watchful eye upon the comfort and interests of any touring members who may be temporarily sojourning in the hotel headquarters. These last are by no means the least important part of the organisation: the Club has either headquarters or recommended houses in all the chief towns and large villages of the kingdom. 'Recommended houses,' as opposed to the hotel headquarters, are houses which can in many cases hardly be designated hotels. Sometimes they are snug wayside inns in remote country villages. In such places it is often of great importance to the wet or belated traveller to find rest, refreshment, and recognition, even though a sanded parlour may be the only sitting-room and a smiling maid may represent boots and waiter. The proprietor of a C.T.C. hotel enters into a contract with the Club, specifying that he will at all times 'receive and entertain any of the members of the Cyclists' Touring Club, whether ladies or gentlemen, who produce upon application a valid ticket of membership for the then current year, and that he will charge them a tariff of prices' which the contract proceeds to set forth. These agreements are mutually beneficial. They suit the hotel-keeper, because to him it means practically a monopoly of the trade to be done with cyclists, the number of whom would hardly be believed. Many hotels situated on the old posting highways fell into sleepiness and decay when railroads took the place of coaches, and have now revived and do a profitable business, though teams of galloping posters have gone for ever. But the agreement is by no means one-sided. The cycling tourist also profits by it. He is a new creation; his wants are novel and strange; and a specimen of the class descending on an hotel that was not specially prepared for his reception might cause a considerable amount of consternation. The cyclist's hours are uncertain; he as likely as not arrives in the middle of the night, or long before breakfast. Whatever the hour of his arrival, he is quite

certain to be very hot, very tired, and very hungry. He will have very little luggage; and though he should arrive at midday, he will certainly want to go to bed—not necessarily to sleep, but for the practical reason that bed is the best place for him to wait while his clothes are being dried. To the good people at a C.T.C. inn these vagaries are mere matters of routine; equally a matter of course is the request of the guest to be called and have breakfast ready at an unearthly hour in the morning; for a favourite plan of the younger spirits who go over the country at the rate of eighty or a hundred miles a day is to get over thirty or forty of them before breakfast. Great is the convenience to these young athletes of finding houses all over the country at which their requirements are studied and their arrival hailed, not only with cheerfulness, but with welcome; and many are the travellers who have found the little silver badge of the Club a passport to cheery kindness which no agreement for special tariffs would secure. Nor is it only the young athletes of rapid journeys and extra-early hours who may derive benefit from the C.T.C. agreement. Older and more steady-going travellers, as well as those of a higher social grade, may not wish to take advantage of the special tariff, and may require more accommodation and a more diversified table; yet if travelling for health or pleasure, which I take to be the definition of touring, the traveller on a tricycle will not carry any considerable quantity of luggage, and the demands which he will make on the resources of his hostelry will not differ much from those of his more rapid brother of the wheel. Every one, in fact, who uses bicycles and tricycles, and who takes pleasure or exercise by road and by lane, may at some time or other find himself glad to take advantage of the C.T.C. arrangements, which place at his disposal skilled assistance and ready comprehension of his wants.

Maps are to the tourist of the first importance; but a map to be really useful must be specially designed for the requirements of the user. Thus the soldier wants a map showing the configuration of the ground, on which he can arrange the disposition of his troops, and distinguish the roads which are practicable for the different arms. A geologist would find such a map quite useless. A tourist wants to recognise at a glance high-roads and by-roads, and their main characteristics. He requires to have distances very accurately marked, and to be told the names of all villages, and the character of the inns he may pass. The C.T.C. is now engaged in compiling a map, from information supplied by its own organisation. Those who have suffered from the want of it can alone appreciate what a boon such a map will be.

There is another little matter which I mention because, perhaps, readers of this paper, even though they be not cyclists, may be willing to help us. Local authorities have a playful way of laying

down sewer-gratings parallel to the length of the road, instead of across it. The result, if the narrow wheel of a cycle catches in it, is sure to be a frightful accident: several such have occurred. The local authorities are bound to provide for the public safety, and to do them justice they seldom refuse when cases are properly brought under their notice; the general public could help cyclists very much by sending a postcard to the C.T.C. secretary, describing the locality of any longitudinal sewer-grating that they may observe. Our organisation will then be at once put into motion.

I have already mentioned that the number of members in the Club, according to the latest returns, is 16,625. The hotel headquarters and recommended inns number 1,000. The consuls exceed 800. The C.T.C. possesses chief consular divisions in the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, &c., from each of which a considerable contingent of adherents is yearly obtained. It publishes a monthly *Gazette* of cycling doings, and Club matters in particular, besides the annual handbook and map. Its financial position is good—everything that could be desired: some 2,000*l.* stands to its credit, as a nucleus for a reserve fund, which could without hesitation be used for any adequate purpose relating to the interests of cycling.

The danger ahead of the two great cycling institutions is one incident to their rapidly increasing development. It consists mainly in the rapidly increasing demands made on volunteer labour. Both institutions are dependent for the most part on honorary work. This has been very freely given hitherto, but both institutions are assuming gigantic proportions, and the supply of competent workers is limited. A man who would willingly give a little of his time may well be dismayed when he finds his sitting-room turned into a regular public office, and his wife does not always look pleased when committee meetings take up two or three evenings a week. Whenever the point is reached when the honorary worker finds his labour of love an irksome tie, and a hindrance to the ordinary business of life, sterner duties must assert their importance, and a willing worker, however enthusiastic, is compelled to retire. At present, fortunately, there is no sign of flagging. The supply of willing workers has equalled the demand. But the danger ahead is by no means imaginary.

Among the questions which have been dealt with conjointly by the N.C.U. and C.T.C., one is of especial interest to the general public—that of road repair. The system of keeping roads in order under surveyors who are appointed without even a rudimentary knowledge of the principles of road-making must surely be looked upon as a splendid specimen of the art ‘How not to do it.’ Few surveyors are so enthusiastic in their calling as one, well known to fame, who rode out to inspect his work on a bicycle. He was found,

with his machine in pieces beside him, standing on his head in the roadway. It was not till he had been restored to consciousness by the aid of a pocket flask, that he was able to explain his position. Such, he assured his friends, was his devotion to road-making, that he wished to observe the effect of his labours upside down. But that surveyor was a cyclist, which accounts for his self-devotion. Everybody is interested in good roads; but the public is weak, because disunited. It is nobody's business to enforce the law, and although many words are spoken that find no place in the Church Catechism, year after year passes away, and nothing is done. Among English roads that have been allowed to get out of repair those in the neighbourhood of Birmingham must be numbered. It occurred a few months ago to the local centre of the National Union that the influence of their Union might be brought to bear. Public meetings which they called were largely attended, by horse-owners and users as well as by cyclists. Eight road surveyors were summoned for 'neglecting to keep the roads in proper repair.' The magistrates, who were informed that the prosecution was undertaken in no spirit of vindictiveness, but on public grounds alone, eventually gave the defendants time, till the second week in February next, to put their roads in order. The hint thus given as to the state of the law, and the remedy for neglect, may be expected to bear much fruit ere long, and to extend far beyond the district which originated it.

Though not strictly a part of the organisation of cycling, the sociable plan of camp meetings, and what are called club rides, have become quite recognised institutions. Club rides are held as a rule by clubs throughout the country on every Saturday during the summer months. At the appointed place and hour the leader for the day gives the signal for departure and the party sally forth to some destination fifteen or twenty miles away, where they discuss a previously ordered meal, which seems now to have become generally designated as 'T.' They ride home by moonlight, in the same order in which they came.

The annual camp meeting is a more serious affair. It has been held for the last year or two at Harrogate. The principal occupations of a week spent under canvas would seem to be racing and photography. I have derived the impression, perhaps erroneously, that in the cycling ranks every third man at least is an amateur photographer. As they principally practise on each other, the matter is not so serious as it might at first appear. But if the portraits now made are preserved, future generations will form, I fear, a very unfavourable impression as to the average good looks among cyclists in 1884.

It may amuse the reader to hear what pace can be got out of the two- and three-wheeled machines. The *Tricyclist*, which comes opportunely to hand as I write, publishes a table, from which I gather materials for the following comparison of speed between a rider on a

bicycle and an American trotting-horse. As regards speed for a mile or two, or even several miles, there can be no comparison between the pace of a horse and that of a man on a bicycle. The horse is far and away the speedier; but after about twenty or five-and-twenty miles the horse, it seems, begins to come back to the man. The relative speed of horse and man, quite unencumbered by weight, has never been tried; as it is always necessary either to ride or drive a horse when he is being tried. But in comparing the best times on record of a trotting-horse driven in a light gig, as is the fashion in America, and a man riding and propelling a 27-lb. bicycle, the conditions, taking the relative strength of the contestants into consideration, may be thought tolerably equal. 'Maud S.,' Mr. Vanderbildt's celebrated horse, trotted one mile in 2 min. 9 sec.; the champion time for a bicycle is 2 min. 39 sec. Leaving out intermediate distances, I find that 'Lady Mack' did five miles in 13 min. 0 sec.; Mr. Hillier has ridden it on a bicycle in 14 min. 18 sec. 'Controller' did ten miles in 27 min. 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ sec.; Mr. English accomplished that distance in 29 min. 19 $\frac{2}{5}$ sec. Twenty miles was done by the horse 'Capt. McGowan' in 58 min. 25 sec.; Mr. English, who holds the record for twenty miles, accomplished it in 59 min. 6 $\frac{3}{5}$ sec. Twenty miles well within the hour must surely be looked on as a wonderful performance. But after twenty miles the man rapidly begins to go to the front. The best fifty miles on record has been done by 'Ariel' in 3 h. 55 min. 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ sec.; but the Honourable Ion Keith-Falconer rode that distance on a bicycle in 2 h. 43 min. 58 $\frac{3}{5}$ sec.! 'Conqueror' travelled 100 miles in 8 h. 35 min. 53 sec.; F. R. Fry, on a bicycle, did 100 miles in 5 h. 50 min. 5 $\frac{2}{5}$ sec. The same distance, 100 miles, was done on the highroad by Mr. George Smith in 7 h. 11 min. 10 sec. The other times mentioned were performed on the cinder-path. No trial has been recorded for a horse beyond 100 miles. But a tricyclist has ridden 222 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles in 24 hours; and a few weeks ago, a performer on a newly invented little two-wheeled machine of strange appearance, called a Kangaroo, travelled 266 miles within the same time. It is therefore plain that in staying power a man on a bicycle, or even on a tricycle, which is a much heavier machine, not primarily adapted for racing, is infinitely superior to a horse. Probably up to twenty-five miles the best horse would beat the best bicyclist; but after that distance, the horse would, in yacht-racing phrase, never see the way his adversary went.

One parting word I ask permission to say as President of the N.C.U. I acknowledge with pleasure the increasing favour with which the public generally regard cycling; and I would venture to add that the demeanour of by far the greater number of riders deserves such recognition. The rules of the Union, and, indeed, the rules of every club throughout the country, contain stringent provisions for the enforcement, not only of the 'rules of the road,' but

for what, taken by itself, might seem quaintly ceremonious courtesy to passengers met or passed. Of course among such an enormous number there will certainly be found riders who are rude and inconsiderate ; but it cannot be too widely known that, in any case where injury or discourtesy is encountered, a communication to the secretary of the offender's club, if his club be known, or an appeal to the N.C.U., would in all cases produce inquiry, apology from the offender, or reparation. I think it will be conceded that offences against sober and quiet demeanour are increasingly rare ; but in any case it should be known that good order has no firmer friends than the ruling bodies, large and small, supported by the unanimous opinion of the general body whom they represent. The cyclist who careers about covered with braid, and blowing a bugle, must be looked upon as an individual young jackass, disporting himself after the manner of his kind. His vagaries are more objectionable to his brother cyclists than to anyone else. A good deal of nonsense has been talked about 'uniform.' Strictly speaking, such a thing is unknown ; no doubt a peculiar cut of dress is almost a necessity for riding in comfort, and a plain suit of grey tweed has been very generally adopted, and for the sake of brevity is called a uniform. But it is all plain grey flannel and grey tweed, with no trimming or other nonsense about it. The C.T.C. is known by a little silver badge $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch square, pinned or hung at the button-hole. And of one thing I will venture to assure the reader, that whenever he meets the wearer of one of the grey suits he will receive a courteous acknowledgment of the kindness with which it is generally regarded. He will thus, I hope, look with ever-increasing goodwill on a pursuit which may truly be said to have added very considerably to the stock of national health, and, consequently, of human happiness.

BURY.

THE SAVAGE.

THERE are people in the world who are very fond of asking what they call point-blank questions. They generally profess to hate all shilly-shallying, and they are at no pains to hide their suspicion that any one who declines to say yes or no to any question which they choose to ask has either his intellect clouded by metaphysics or has not the courage of his opinions. The idea that it is often more difficult to ask a sensible question than to answer it, and that a question, however pointed it may sound, may for all that be so blunt and vague that no accurate and honest thinker would care or dare to answer it, never enters their mind; while the thought that there are realms of knowledge where indefinite language is more appropriate, and in reality more exact and more truthful than the most definite phraseology, is scouted as mere fencing and intellectual cowardice.

One of those point-blank questions which has been addressed to me by several reviewers of my books is this, 'Tell us, do you hold that man began as a savage or not?' To say that man began as a savage, and that the most savage and degraded races now existing • present us with the primeval type of man, seems to be the shibboleth of a certain school of thought, a school with which on many points I sympathise, so long as it keeps to an accurate and independent inquiry into facts, and to an outspoken statement of its discoveries, regardless of all consequences, but from which I totally dissent as soon as it tries to make facts subservient to theories. I am told that my own utterances on this subject have been ambiguous. Now even granting this, I could never understand why a certain hesitation in answering so difficult a question should rouse such angry feelings, till it began to dawn on me that those who do not unreservedly admit that man began as a savage are supposed to hold that man was created a perfect and almost angelic being. This would amount to denying the gospel of the day, that man was the offspring of a brute, and hence, I suppose, the Anathema.

Now I may say this, that though I have hesitated to affirm that man began as a savage, whatever that may mean, I have been even more careful not to commit myself to the opinion that man began as an angel, or as a child, or as a perfect rational being. I strongly object to such alternatives as that if man did not begin as a savage he must

have begun as a child. It would be dreadful if, because there is no sufficient evidence to enable us to form a decided opinion on any given subject, we were to be driven into a corner by such alternatives, instead of preserving our freedom of judgment until we have the complete evidence before us.

But in our case the evidence is as yet extremely scanty, and, from the nature of the case, will probably always remain so. If we want to prove that man began as a child, what evidence can we produce? If we appealed to history, history is impossible before the invention of language; and what language could the primitive child have spoken, what life could it have lived, without a father and without a mother? If we give up history and appeal to our inner consciousness, our reason, nay, our very imagination, collapses when approaching the problem how such a child could have been born, how such a child could have been nourished, reared, and protected from wild animals and other dangers. We feel we have come to the end of our tether, and are running our head against a very old, but a very solid, wall.

Has Kant then written in vain; and is it still supposed that our senses or our reason can ever reach transcendent truths? Has the lesson to be taught again and again that both our senses and our reason have their limits; that we are indeed tethered, and that it is no proof of intellectual strength or suppleness to try to stand on our own shoulders? We are so made that neither can our senses perceive nor can our reason conceive the real beginning and end of anything, whether in space or in time. And yet we imagine we can form a definite conception of the true beginning of mankind.

Then what remains? There remains the humbler and yet far nobler task of studying the earliest records of man's life on earth: to go back as far as literature, language, and tools will allow us, and for the time to consider that as primitive which, whether as a tool, or as a word, or as a proverb, or as a prayer, is the last we can reach, and seems at the same time so simple, so rational, so intelligible, as to require no further antecedents. That is the true work of the historian, and of the philosopher too; and there is plenty of work left for both of them before they dive into the whirlpool of their inner consciousness to find there the primordial savage.

Instead of allowing ourselves to be driven into a corner by such a question as 'Did man begin as a savage or as a child?' we have a perfect right to ask the question, What is meant by these two words, *savage* and *child*?

Has any one ever attempted to define the meaning of *savage*, and to draw a sharp line between a *savage* and a non-*savage*? Has any one ever attempted to define the meaning of *child*, if used in opposition to *savage* or *brute*? Have we been told whether by *child* is meant a suckling without a mother, or a boy who can speak, and count, and reason without a father? Lastly, are *savage* and *child*

really terms that mutually exclude each other? May not a savage be a child, and may not a child be a savage?

How, then, is any one who has given serious thought to the problem of the origin of mankind to answer such a question as 'Tell me, do you hold that man began as a savage or as a child?'

When we read some of the more recent works on anthropology, the primordial savage seems to be not unlike one of those hideous india-rubber dolls that can be squeezed into every possible shape, and made to utter every possible noise. There was a time when the savage was held up to the civilised man as the inhabitant of a lost paradise—a being of innocence, simplicity, purity, and nobility. Rousseau ascribed to his son of nature all the perfection which he looked for in vain in Paris and London. At present, when so many philosophers are on the look-out for the missing link between man and beast, the savage, even if he has established his right to the name of man, cannot be painted black enough. He must be at least a man who maltreats his women, murders his children, kills and eats his fellow-creatures, and commits crimes from which even animals would shrink.

This devil-savage, however, of the present anthropologist is as much a wild creation of scientific fancy as the angel-savage of former philosophers. The true Science of Man has no room for such speculations.

Sometimes the history of a name can take the place of its definition, but this is hardly so in our case. The Greeks spoke of barbarians rather than of savages, and the Romans followed their example, though they might possibly have called the national heroes and sages of Germany and Britain not only *barbari* but *feri*—that is, savages not very far removed from *feræ*, or wild beasts. Our own word *savage*, and the French *sauvage*, meant originally a man who lived in the woods, a *silvaticus*. It was at first applied to all who remained outside the cities, who were not *cives*, or civilised, and who in Christian times were also called *heathen*—that is, dwellers on the heath.

But all this does not help us much. Of course the Spaniards called the inhabitants of America savages, though it is now quite generally conceded that the Spanish conquerors supplanted a higher civilisation than they established.¹ The first discoverers of India called the naked Brahmans savages, though they could hardly have followed them in their subtle arguments on every possible philosophical topic. Even by us New Zealanders and Zulus are classed as savages. And yet a Zulu proved a match for an English bishop; and some of the Maori poems and proverbs may rightly claim a place by the side of English popular poems and proverbs. Nothing is gained if it is said that a savage is the opposite of a civilised man. Civilisa-

¹ Charles Hawley, *Addresses before the Cayuga County Historical Society*, 1883-84, p. 81.

tion is the product of the uninterrupted work of many generations; and if savage meant no more than an uncivilised man, it is no great discovery to say that the first man must have been a savage. No doubt he could not have been acquainted even with what we consider the fundamental elements of civilisation, such as the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. His dress must have been very scanty, his food very primitive, his dwelling very uncomfortable, his family life very unrestrained. And yet, for all that, he might have been very far removed from the brute; nay, he might have been a perfect man, doing his duty in that state of life into which it pleased God to call him.

Civilisation, as it is well known, is as vague a term as savagery. When Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, the representative of Greek civilisation, stood before the naked philosophers of India, who were *υλόβιοι*, dwellers in the forest, can we hesitate to say which of the two was the true savage and which the sage? To the New Zealander who has been brought into contact with European civilisation, his former so-called savage life seems to have gained little by recent improvements. A grand Maori chief, reputed to have been one of the strongest men in his youth, thus speaks of the old days: ²—

In former times we lived differently; each tribe had its territory; we lived in *pas* placed high upon the mountains. The men looked to war as their only occupation, and the women and the young people cultivated the fields. We were a strong and a healthy people then. When the Pakeha came, everything began to die away, even the natural animals of the country. Formerly, when we went into a forest, and stood under a tree, we could not hear ourselves speak for the noise of the birds—every tree was full of them. Then we had pigeons and everything in plenty; now many of the birds have died out. . . . In those times the fields were well tilled, there was always plenty of provisions, and we wore few clothes—only our own mats of feathers. Then the missionaries came and took our children from the fields, and taught them to sing hymns: they changed their minds, and the fields were untilled. The children came home and quoted Gospel on an empty stomach. Then came the war between the Pakeha and the Maori that split up our homes, and made one tribe fight against the other; and after the war came the Pakeha settlers, who took our lands, taught us to drink and to smoke, and made us wear clothes that brought on disease. What race could stand against them? The Maori is passing away like the *Kiwi*, the *Tui*, and many other things, and by-and-by they will disappear just like the leaves of the trees, and nothing will remain to tell of them but the names of their mountains and their rivers!

This is the view which a so-called savage takes of the benefits of European civilisation as contrasted with the contentment and happiness in which his forefathers had passed through this life. Let us now hear what a highly educated American, a scholar and a philosopher, Mr. Morgan, says of the character of the Iroquois, who are often quoted as specimens of extreme savagery:—

No test of friendship was too severe; no sacrifice to repay a favour too great; no fidelity to an engagement too inflexible for the red man. With an innate know-

² *The King Country; or, Explorations in New Zealand*, by T. H. Kerry; see Nicholls in the *Academy*, Aug. 23, 1881, p. 113.

ledge of the freedom and dignity of man, he has exhibited the noblest virtues of the heart, and the kindest deeds of humanity, in those sylvan retreats we are wont to look upon as vacant and frightful solitudes.

No one would suspect Morgan of exaggeration or sentimentality. And if it should be objected that these were private virtues only, and no proof of true civilisation or a well-organised society among the Iroquois, the same writer tells us :³—

They achieved for themselves a more remarkable civil organisation, and acquired a higher degree of influence, than any other race of Indian lineage, except those of Mexico and Peru. In the drama of European colonisation they stood for nearly two centuries with an unshaken front against the devastations of war, the blighting influence of foreign intercourse, and the still more fatal encroachments of a restless and advancing border population. Under their federal system, the Iroquois flourished in independence, and were capable of self-protection long after the New England and Virginia races had surrendered their jurisdictions and fallen into the condition of dependent nations; and they now stand forth upon the canvas of Indian history, prominent alike for the wisdom of their civil institutions, their sagacity in the administration of the league, and their courage in its defence.

The words of another author also may be quoted, who tells us :⁴

Their legislation was simple, and the penalties which gave law its sanctions well defined. Their league stood in the consent of the governed. It was a representative popular government, conceived in the wisdom of genuine statesmanship, and with the sagacity to provide against some of the dangers which beset popular institutions. It is said that the framers of our own (the American) government borrowed some of its features from the Iroquois league. Whether or not this be true, it is a matter of history that as early as 1755 a suggestion came from the Iroquois nation to the colonies that they should unite in a confederacy like their own for mutual protection.

It is the fashion to quote against these favourable statements cases of cruelty committed by the Red Indians or the New Zealanders in their wars among themselves and in their resistance to their white enemies. But let us not forget the bloody pages of our own history. We should probably say that the eighteenth century was one of the most brilliant in the history of Europe. We should probably assign to England at that time a foremost place among European countries, and we know how high a position Scotchmen took during the last century in general culture, in philosophy, in science, and statesmanship. Yet, in his 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' Mr. Lecky describes the common people of Scotland as broken into fierce clans, ruled by wild chieftains; as thieves and cattle-lifters, kidnappers of men and children to be sold as slaves; as ferocious barbarians, besotted with the most brutal ignorance and the grossest and gloomiest superstitions, possessed of the rudest modes of agriculture, scratching the earth with a crooked piece of wood for a plough, and for a harrow a brush attached to the tail of a horse, otherwise devoid of harness; their food, oatmeal and milk, mixed with blood drawn from the living cow; their cooking, revolting and

³ *The League of the Iroquois*, p. 12.

⁴ Hawley, *l.c.*, p. 17.

filthy, boiling their beef in the hide, and roasting fowls in their feathers, with many like customs and demoralising habits unknown to aboriginal life among the Red Indians.

It will be clear after these few specimens, which might have been considerably increased, that we shall make no step in advance if we continue to use the word *savage* so vaguely as it has been hitherto used. To think is difficult, but it becomes utterly impossible if we use debased or false coin. I have been considered too inquisitive for venturing to ask anthropologists what they meant by a *fetish*, but I must expose myself once more to the same reproach by venturing to ask them to state plainly what they mean by a *savage*.

Whatever other benefits a study of the science of language may confer, there is one which cannot be valued too highly—namely, that it makes us not only look *at* words, but *through* words. If we are told that a *savage* means an uncivilised man, then, to say that the first man was a *savage* is saying either nothing or what is self-evident. Civilisation consists in the accumulated wisdom of countless generations of men, and to say that the first generation of men was uncivilised is therefore pure tautology. We are far too tolerant with respect to such tautologies. How many people, for instance, have been led to imagine that such a phrase as the survival of the fittest contains the solution of the problem of the survival of certain species and the extinction of others? To the student of language the survival of the fittest is a mere tautology, meaning the survival of the fittest to survive, which is the statement of a fact, but no solution of it.

It is easy to say that the meaning of *savage* has been explained and defined by almost every writer on anthropology. I know these explanations and definitions, but not one of them can be considered as answering the requirements of a scientific definition.

Some anthropologists say that *savage* means wild and cruel. But in that case no nation would be without its savages. Others say that savages are people who wear little or no clothing. But in that case the greatest philosophers, the gymnosophists of India, would have to be classed as savages. If it means people without a settled form of government, without laws and without a religion, then, go where you like, you will not find such a race. Again, if people who have no cities and no central government are to be called savages, then the Jews would have been savages, the Hindus, the Arabs, the ancient Germans, and other of the most important races in the history of the world. In fact, whatever characteristics are brought forward as distinctive of a *savage*, they can always be met by counter-instances, showing that each definition would either include races whom no one dares to call *savage*, or exclude races whom no one dares to call *civilised*. It used to be imagined that the use of letters was the principal circumstance that distinguishes a *civilised* people from a herd of savages incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without

that artificial help, to quote the words of Gibbon, 'the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas committed to her charge, and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or with materials, gradually forget their powers, the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular.' Such arguments might pass in the days of Gibbon, but after the new light that has been thrown on the ancient history of some of the principal nations of the world they are no longer tenable.

No one would call the ancient Brahmans savages, and yet writing was unknown to them before the third century B.C. Homer, quite apart from his blindness, was certainly unacquainted with writing for literary purposes. The ancient inhabitants of Germany, as described by Tacitus, were equally ignorant of the art of writing as a vehicle of literature; yet for all that we could not say, with Gibbon, that with them the nobler faculties of the mind had lost their powers, the judgment had become feeble, and the imagination languid.

And as we find that the use of letters is by no means an indispensable element of true civilisation, we should arrive at the same conclusion in examining almost every discovery which has been pointed out as a *sine quâ non* of civilised life. Every generation is apt to consider the measure of comfort which it has reached as indispensable to civilised life, but very often, in small as well as great things, what is called civilised to-day may be called barbarous to-morrow. Races who abstain from eating the flesh of animals are apt to look on carnivorous people as savages; people who abstain from intoxicating drinks naturally despise a nation in which drunkenness is prevalent. What should we say if we entered a town in which the streets were neither paved nor lighted, and in which the windows were without glass; where we saw no carriages in any of the thoroughfares, and where, inside the houses, ladies and gentlemen might be seen eating without forks and wearing garments that had never been washed? And yet even in Paris no street was paved before 1185. In London Holborn was first paved in 1417, and Smithfield in 1614, while Berlin was without paved streets far into the seventeenth century. No houses had windows of glass before the twelfth century, and as late as the fourteenth century anything might be thrown out of window at Paris, after three times calling out '*Gare l'eau!*' Shirts were an invention of the Crusades, and the fine dresses which ladies and gentlemen wore during the Middle Ages were hardly ever washed, but only refreshed from time to time with precious scents. In 1550 we are told that there existed in Paris no more than three carriages—one belonging to the Queen, the other to Diane de Poitiers, and the third to René de Laval. In England coaches (so called from the Hungarian *kocsi*) date from 1580, though whirlicotes go back to the fourteenth century. So far as we know, neither Dante nor Beatrice used forks in eating, and yet we should hardly class them as savages.

It is easy to say that all these are matters of small importance. No doubt they are, but we often see them treated as matters of great importance, when we speak of races with red skins or black skins. With us civilisation, whether consisting of these small or great matters, has often become a burden, a check rather than a help to the free development of all that is noble in human nature; while many conditions of life which we are inclined to call barbarous were almost essential for the growth of the human mind during its earlier stages. Can we imagine a religion growing up in modern Paris? Would a travelling bard, such as Homer, find an audience in the streets of London? Would a Socrates be listened to by the professors of Berlin? A Panini sitting almost naked under a pipal tree and composing the rules of his marvellous grammar of Sanskrit, a Bâdarâyana with dishevelled hair, spinning out of his mind the subtle web of Vedânta philosophy, would be shunned as wild creatures by a young English officer, and yet, on the ladder that leads to the highest excellence of intellect, how many steps would the former stand above the latter! For carrying out the chief objects of our life on earth, very little of what is now called civilisation is really wanted. Many things are pleasant, without being really essential to our fulfilling our mission on earth. For laying the foundations of society, for settling the broad principles of law and morality, for discovering the deep traces of order and unity in nature, and for becoming conscious of the presence of the Divine within and without, a life in the forests, on the mountains, ay, even in the desert, is far more favourable than a lodging in Bond Street.

The latest attempt which has been made at defining the true character of a savage restricts the distinctive characteristics of a savage to three—(1) that he murders his children, (2) that he kills and eats his fellow-men, (3) that he disregards certain laws of nature.

Now in that sense it seems quite clear that the first man could not have been a savage, for if he had murdered his children we should not be alive; if he had eaten his fellow-men, supposing there were any to eat, again we should not be alive; and if he had disregarded certain laws of nature, in that case also, probably, we should not be alive.

What, then, is to be done? Are we to say that there never were any savages, or that it is impossible to distinguish between a savage and a non-savage? Certainly not. All we have to do is to be on our guard against a very common trick of language, or rather against a very common mistake of philosophers, who imagine that the same name must always mean the same thing. All the difficulties hitherto detailed which have prevented anthropologists from agreeing on any real definition of savage have arisen from their having mixed up under the same name at least two totally different classes of men, both called savages in ordinary parlance, but each occupying its own place

in the history of the world. How this should have happened is difficult to explain, but I think we can trace the first beginnings in the works of some of the earlier anthropologists, who were carried away by the idea that we can study in the illiterate races of the present day, such as we find in Africa, America, and Polynesia, the true character of the primitive man, as he emerged new-born from the bowels of nature. Scientific ethnologists have long since awaked from this fond dream, but the primitive savage has remained as a troublesome legacy in other quarters. Nothing can be more interesting than the study of races who have no literature, but whose former history may be read in their languages and their tools, and whose present state of civilisation or savagery may certainly be used to throw collateral light on many phases in the history of more highly civilised nations. Only let us remember that these races and their languages are as old as the most civilised races and their languages, while their history, if so we may call it, seldom carries us back beyond the mere surface of the day. If we in England are old, the Fuegians are not a day younger. If the question as to the age of the European and American races could be settled by geological evidence, it would seem as if America is now able to produce human skulls older than the Neanderthal skull.⁵ No one, so far as I know, has ever succeeded in proving that after man had once been evolved or created, a new evolution or creation of man took place, attested by contemporaneous witnesses. The Duke of Argyll goes so far as to maintain⁶ that those who hold the opinion that different races of men represent different species, or a species which spread from more than one place, stand outside the general current of scientific thought.

• But while scientific anthropologists have long given up the idea that, if we want to know the condition of primitive man, we must study it among the Fuegians or Eskimos, the subject has lost none of its charms. It is, no doubt, a very amusing occupation to run through the books of modern and ancient travellers, traders, or missionaries, to mark with pencil a strange legend here, and an odd custom there, to point out a similarity between a Shâman and an Archbishop, between a Hottentot and Homer. This kind of work can be done in the intervals of more serious studies, and if it is done with the facile pen of a journalist or the epigrammatic eloquence of a young lawyer, nothing can be more delightful. But it is dangerous work—so dangerous that the prejudice that has lately arisen among scientific anthropologists against Agriology seems justified, at least to a certain extent. There are truly scholarlike works on savages. I say scholarlike intentionally, because they are based on a scholarlike study of the languages spoken by the races whose mental organisation has to be analysed. The works of Bishops Callaway and Caldwell,

⁵ See, however, Daniel Wilson, *Pre-Aryan American Man*, p. 47.

⁶ *Unity of Nature*, p. 393.

of Brinton and Horatio Hale, of Gill, Bleek, and Hahn, the more general compilations of Waitz, Tiele, Lubbock, Tylor, and Reville, the clever contributions of A. Lang, John Fiske, and others, are but the first that occur to my mind as specimens of really useful work that may be done in this line. But the loose and superficial appeals to savages as the representatives of a brand-new humanity, fresh from the hands of the potter, the ignorant attempts at explaining classical myths from Melanesian tattle, the wild comparisons of Hebrew customs with the outrages of modern cannibals, have at last met with their well-merited reward, and the very name of savage is gradually disappearing from the best works on anthropology and philosophy.

And yet there are savages, only we must distinguish. There are, as I pointed out long ago, two classes of savages, to say nothing of minor subdivisions—namely, *progressive* and *retrogressive* savages. There is a hopeful and a hopeless barbarism, there is a growing and a decaying civilisation. We owe a great deal to the Duke of Argyll, particularly in his last great work, *The Unity of Nature*, for having laid so much stress on the fact that of all works of nature man is the one most liable to two kinds of evolution, one ascending and the other descending. Like the individual, a whole family, tribe, or race of men may, within a very short time, rise to the highest pitch of virtue and culture, and in the next generation sink to the lowest level of vice and brutality.

The first question, therefore, which we have to ask when we have to speak of savages, is whether there is any indication of their having once reached a higher stage from which they have descended, or whether they are only just ascending from that low but healthy level which must precede every attempt at what we call civilisation. We may call both by the same name of savages, but, if we do so, we must always remember that, from an historical point of view, no two stages in civilised life can be more apart from each other than that of the retrogressive and that of the progressive savage.

But even after we have laid down this broad line of demarcation, we shall by no means find it easy to catch either a progressive or a retrogressive savage *pur et simple*. If looking out for retrogressive or decaying savages, most people would naturally think of Fuegians, Tasmanians, Hottentots, Ashantis, Veddas, and Red Indians, and one of the strongest proofs of their decay would be derived from the fact that they are dying out wherever they are brought in contact with European civilisation. Now it is true that the Tasmanians have become extinct, and that several of the Red Indian tribes, too, have actually been destroyed by our civilisation. But we must not generalise too quickly. Some of these very tribes, the Red Indians,⁷

⁷ *The Indians in the United States*.—In an interesting paper read at a recent meeting of the Académie des Sciences, M. Paul Passy, who has recently returned from a visit to the North-Western States of America, endeavoured to show that the

seem to be recovering, seem to increase again, and to be able to hold their own against the baneful influences which threatened to destroy them. The negroes also are by no means dwindling away. On the contrary, they are increasing both in Africa and in America. We must therefore be careful before we deny the recuperative powers even of retrogressive savages, and we must look for other evidence beyond mere statistics in support of their hopeless degeneracy.

Historical evidence of such gradual degeneracy is, from the nature of the case, almost impossible. We must trust, therefore, to less direct proof. I believe there is some distinct historical evidence in the case of the Central and South American races, that at the time of the arrival of Columbus and his successors civilisation had really been decaying for some time in America.⁸ But in nearly all other cases we have to look out for other proofs in support of a higher antecedent civilisation possessed by tribes who, as we know them at present, have to be classed as savages. Such proofs, if they exist, must be sought for in language, religion, customs, tools, and works of art.

As I look upon language neither as a ready-made gift of God nor generally accepted theory of the eventual disappearance of the 'red man' is erroneous, and that though certain tribes have been exterminated in war and others decimated by disease and 'firewater,' the contact of civilisation is not necessarily fatal to the Indians. M. Passy states that there are at present 376,000 Indians in the country, of whom 67,000 have become United States citizens. The Indians in the reserve territories are in part maintained by the Government, many of them, however, earning their living by shooting and fishing, and also by agriculture. The progress which they have made in farming is shown by the fact that they had under cultivation in 1882 more than 205,000 acres of land, as against 157,000 in India. Moreover, the total Indian population, exclusive of the Indians who are citizens of the United States and of those in Alaska, had increased during the same interval by more than 5,000. M. Passy says that the Federal Government, though not doing nearly so much as it should for the education of Indian children, devoted a sum of \$365,515 to this purpose in 1882, and in the State of New York the six Iroquois 'nations' settled there have excellent schools, which three-fourths of their children regularly attend. The five 'nations' in Indian territory are also well cared for in this respect, having 11 schools for boarders, and 198 day schools attended by 6,183 children. In 1827, a Cherokee invented a syllabic alphabet of 85 letters, and this alphabet is now used for the publication of a newspaper in the Cherokee language. In addition to the tribes in cantonments, a great many children (about 8,000) are disseminated among the schools in the different States. There are also three normal and industrial schools in which, apart from elementary subjects, the boys are taught agriculture and different trades, and the girls sewing, cooking, and housekeeping. A journal in the Dakota tongue, called the *Yapi Oaye*, is published at Chicago for the benefit of the pupils in that region, and it is said that the Indians of the territories show themselves very anxious to learn, so much so that the Omahas of Nebraska have sold part of their territory so as to be able to keep up their schools. M. Passy adds that the Americans differ very much in their estimate of the sum required for providing all the young Indians with a sound education; some of them putting it as high as \$10,000,000, while the lowest estimate is \$3,000,000, or ten times as much as is now being spent. His conclusion is that if the Indians are destined to disappear, it will be because they become fused with the other citizens of the United States.—*Times*, Sept. 8, 1884.

⁸ See Hawley, *l.c.*, p. 31.

as a natural growth of the human mind, but as, in the true sense of the word, a work of human art, I must confess that nothing has surprised me so much as the high art displayed in the languages of so-called savages. I do not wish to exaggerate; and I know quite well that a great abundance of grammatical forms, such as we find in these savage dialects, is by no means a proof of high intellectual development. But if we consider how small is the number of words and ideas in the ordinary vocabulary of an English peasant,⁹ and if then we find that one dialect of the Fuegians, the Tagan, consists of about 30,000 words,¹⁰ we certainly hesitate before venturing to classify the possessors of so vast an inherited wealth as the descendants of poor savages, more savage than themselves. Such facts cannot be argued away. We cannot prevent people from despising religious concepts different from their own, or from laughing at customs which they themselves could never adopt. But such a treasure of conceptual thought as is implied in the possession of a vocabulary of 30,000 entries cannot be ignored in our estimate of the antecedents of this Fuegian race. I select the Fuegians as a crucial test simply because Darwin¹¹ selected them as the strongest proof of his own theory, and placed them almost below the level reached by the most intelligent animals. I have always had a true regard for Darwin, and what I admired in him more than anything else was his fearlessness, his simple devotion to truth. I believe that if he had seen that his own theories were wrong, he would have been the first to declare it, whatever his followers might have said. But in spite of all that, no man can resist the influence of his own convictions. When Darwin looked at the Fuegians, he no doubt saw what he tells us, but then he saw it with Darwinian eyes. According to his account, the party of* Fuegians whom he saw resembled the devils which come on the stage in such plays as *Der Freischütz*.¹² 'Viewing such men, one can hardly believe,' he says, 'that they are fellow-creatures, and inhabitants of the same world' (p. 235). 'Their language, according to our notions, scarcely deserves to be called articulate. Captain Cook has compared it to a man clearing his throat, but certainly no European ever cleared his throat with so many hoarse, guttural, and clicking sounds.'

Now, even with regard to their physical aspect, Darwin must have either been very unlucky in the Fuegians whom he met, or he cannot have kept himself quite free from prejudice. Captain Parker Snow, in his *Two Years' Cruise of Tierra del Fuego* (London 1857), speaks of them as without the least exaggeration really beautiful representatives of the human race. Professor Virchow, when exhibit-

⁹ *Lectures on Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 308.

¹⁰ See Giacomo Bove, *Viaggio alla Patagonia ed alla Terra del Fuoco*, in *Nuova Antologia*, Dec. 15, 1881.

¹¹ *Travels*, Deutsch von Dieffenbach. Braunschweig, 1844, p. 229.

¹² Darwin, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.'s Ships 'Adventure' and 'Beagle'*, 1839, vol. iii. p. 226.

ing a number of Fuegians at Berlin, strongly protested against the supposition of the Fuegians being by nature an inferior race, so that they might be considered as a connecting link between ape and man. But what shall we say of Darwin's estimate of the Fuegian language? Here we can judge for ourselves, and I doubt whether, so far as its sound is concerned, anyone would consider Fuegian as inferior to English. Giacomo Bove, when speaking of the Tagan dialect, says, 'le parole di quella sono dolci, piacevoli, piene di vocali.' And though he admits that some of the other dialects are harsher, yet that is very far as yet from the sound of clearing the throat.

And, even if the sound of their language was as guttural as some of the Swiss dialects, how shall we account for the wealth of their vocabulary? Every concept embodied in their language is the result of hard intellectual labour; and although here again excessive wealth may be an embarrassment, yet there remains enough to prove a past that must have been very different from the present.

The workman must at least have been as great as his work; and if the ruins of Central America tell us of architects greater than any that country could produce at present, the magnificent ruins in the dialects, whether of Fuegians, Mohawks, or Hottentots, tell us of mental builders whom no one could match at present. Even in their religious beliefs there are here and there rays of truth which could never have proceeded from the dark night of their actual superstitions. The Fuegians, according to Captain FitzRoy, believe in a just god and a great spirit moving about in forests and mountains. They may believe in a great deal more, but people who believe in a great spirit in forests and mountains, and in a just god, are not on the lowest step of the ladder leading from earth to heaven.

The Duke of Argyll, in examining the principal races that are commonly called savage, has pointed out that degraded races generally inhabit the extreme ends of continents or tracts of country almost unfit for human habitation, or again whole islands difficult of access except under exceptionally favourable conditions. He naturally concludes that they did not go there of their own free will, but that they represent conquered races, exiles, weaklings, cowards, criminals, who saved nothing but their life in their flight before more vigorous conquerors, or in their exile from countries that had thrown them off like poison. Instead of looking on the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego as children of the soil, Autochthones, or the immediate descendants of the mythical Proanthropoi, the Duke points out that it is far more likely they may have come from the north; that their ancestors may have participated in the blessings of the soil and climate of Chili, Peru, Brazil, or Mexico, possibly in the early civilisation of that part of the world; and that the wretchedness of the country into which they were driven fully accounts for their present degradation. Take away the wretchedness of their present home,

educate a baby, as Captain FitzRoy did, under the beneficent influences of an English sky and of European civilisation, and in one generation, as Mr. Darwin tells us, 'his intellect was good, and his disposition nice.'

It is quite fair that those who oppose this theory should call upon the Duke to establish his view by the evidence of language. If the Fuegians were the descendants of the same race which reached a high pitch of civilisation in Peru, Mexico, or Central America, their language ought to show the irrefragable proof of such descent. If it did, his position would be impregnable. Unfortunately the materials now at hand have not yet been sufficiently examined to enable us to say either yes or no. Nor must we forget that language, when it is not fixed by a popular literature, is liable among nomadic tribes to unlimited variation. The number of languages spoken¹³ throughout the whole of North and South America has been estimated to considerably exceed twelve hundred; and on the northern continent alone more than five hundred distinct languages are said to be spoken, which admit of classification among seventy-five ethnical groups, each with essential linguistic distinctions, pointing to its own parent stock. Some of these languages are merely well-marked dialects, with fully developed vocabularies. Others have more recently acquired a dialectic character in the breaking up and scattering of dismembered tribes, and present a very limited range of vocabulary, suited to the intellectual requirements of a small tribe or band of nomads. The prevailing condition of life throughout the whole North American continent was peculiarly favourable to the multiplication of such dialects and their growth into new languages, owing to the constant breaking up and scattering of tribes, and the frequent adoption into their numbers of the refugees from other fugitive broken tribes, leading to an intermingling of vocabularies and fresh modifications of speech. It is to be hoped that the study of native American languages may before long receive that attention which it so fully deserves. It must be taken up in good earnest, and with all the accuracy which we are accustomed to in a comparative study of Indo-European languages. All ethnological questions must for the present be kept in abeyance till the linguistic witness can be brought into court, and it would be extraordinary if the laurels that can here be gained should fail to stimulate the ambition of some young scholar in America.

And as the Fuegians at Cape Horn, so at the North Pole the Eskimos, however low their present state of civilisation, have been looked upon as immigrants from a centre of civilisation located in a more temperate zone. The Eskimo leads the only life that is possible in his latitudes. Why he should have migrated there, unless driven by *force majeure*, is impossible to say. Unless we are willing to admit a special Eskimo Adam, we have no choice except to look

¹³ D. Wilson, *Pre-Aryan American Man*, p. 4.

upon him either as a withering offshoot of the American mount-builders, or as a weak descendant of Siberian nomads.

In Africa, the most degraded races, the Bushmen, are clearly a corruption of the Hottentots, while it is well known that some eminent ethnologists look upon the Hottentots as degraded emigrants from Egypt. How much higher the civilisation of Africa stood in former ages, we know from the monuments of Egypt and Nubia, from the histories of Phœnicia, Carthage, and Numidia. If among the ruins of these ancient centres of civilisation we now find tribes whom European travellers would call savage, we see again that in the evolution of man retrogression is as important an element as progression.

Even in Australasia, where we meet with the most repulsive customs and the most hopeless barbarism, the Duke of Argyll shows that, according to the principles of evolution, the separation of the islands from the Asiatic continent would date from a period anterior to the age of man, and that here too man must be an immigrant, a degraded offshoot from that branch of the human race which in China or India has risen to some kind of civilised life. For further details the pages in the last book of the Duke of Argyll, particularly chapter x., on the 'Degradation of Man,' should be consulted. It must suffice here to quote his summing up :—

Instead of assuming these (savage) tribes to be the nearest living representatives of primeval man, we should be more safe in assuming them to represent the widest departure from that earliest condition of our race which, on the theory of development, must of necessity have been associated at first with the most highly favourable conditions of external nature.

We have thus seen that, wherever we seem to lay hold of primeval savages who are supposed to represent to us the unchanged image of the primeval man, the evidence of their having been autochthonous in the places where we now find them is very weak, the proofs that they have never changed are altogether wanting; while geographical, physical, and linguistic considerations make it probable, though no more, that they originally came from more favoured countries, that they were driven in the struggle for life into inhospitable climates, and that in accommodating themselves to the requirements of their new homes they gradually descended from a higher level of civilisation, indicated by their language and religion, to that low level in which we find them now. Some of them have sunk so low that, like individual members of the noblest families in Europe, they can no longer be reclaimed. Others, however, though shaken by sudden contact with the benefits and the dangers of a higher civilisation, may regain their former health and vigour, and, from having been retrogressive savages, become once more progressive in the great struggle for existence.

But if in the cases just mentioned we feel inclined to recognise

the influence of degradation, and if we class such races as the Fuegians, the Eskimos, the Bushmen and Hottentots, the Papuans and brown Polynesians, as retrogressive savages, the question arises where we can hope to find specimens of the progressive savage, or rather of the natural man, who might teach us something of what man may have been before civilisation completely changed him into an artificial being, forgetful of the essential purposes of life, and who feels at home no longer in fields and forests, on rivers or mountains, but only in that enchanted castle of custom and fashion which he has erected for himself out of the unmeaning fragments of former ages?

My answer is that after we have collected the primitive tools and weapons which lie buried beneath the abodes of civilised man, our best chance of learning some of the secrets of primitive civilisation is to study the sacred hymns and the ancient legends of India, the traditions embodied in the Homeric poems, and whatever has been preserved to us of the most ancient literature of the progressive races of the world, the Italic, Celtic, Slavonic, and Teutonic races. This of course applies to the Aryan race only. The Semitic races are represented to us in their progress from a nomadic to a more or less civilised life in the Old Testament, in the earliest ballads of the Arabs, and in passages scattered in the inscriptions of Assyrians, Babylonians, and Phœnicians. China too in its ancient literature allows us an insight into the age of a nascent society, while Egypt discloses to us the most ancient of all civilisations, which can boast of a literature at a time when the very idea of writing was as yet unknown to all other nations.

It is easy to say that all this is modern. In one sense no doubt it is. The Vedic literature, the most ancient of the whole Aryan race, presupposes a succession of intellectual strata which no chronology can measure. The language of the Veda is a work of art which it must have taken generations to build up. But is it reasonable to expect anything less modern in the history of the human race? And is there not a continuity in language and thought which allows us to see even in these literary remains, call them as modern as you like, something of the first dawn of human life. French is a very modern language, but in *chien* we still hear the Sanskrit *śvan*; in *journal* we recognise the old Vedic deity *Dyaus*. In the same way, we can go back from what is common to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, to what was the common language of the Aryans before they broke up in different nationalities. In that common Aryan vocabulary, again, we can distinguish between what is radical and primitive and what is formal and secondary. Thus we may go back beyond all so-called historical limits to a stage of primitive thought, represented by a small number of radical concepts, and a still smaller number of formal elements. And is not that enough? Is it not more historical and more trustworthy, at all events, than all *à priori* speculations?

and have we not at least a right to demand this from our *à priori* friends, that, in running their tunnel from the other end, they should take care that when it emerges into the daylight of history it should meet the tunnel which comparative philology, mythology, and theology have carefully dug out on the opposite side through the solid rock of facts? It will never do for *à priori* theories to run counter to *à posteriori* facts. It is a fact, for instance, proved by historical evidence, that fetichism represents a secondary stage in the growth of religion, and that it presupposes an earlier stage, in which the name and the concept of something divine, the predicate of every fetich, was formed. It would be fatal, therefore, to any system of *à priori* reasoning if it placed fetichism before that phase in the development of human thought which is represented by the first formation of divine concepts. It would be a real hysteron-proteron.

Again, it is a fact, proved by historical evidence, that all the words of the Aryan languages are derived from definite roots, expressive of definite concepts. It would therefore be fatal, again, to any system of *à priori* reasoning if it attempted to derive words direct from more or less inarticulate cries or imitations of cries, and not from that small number of roots which has been proved to supply all that is really wanted in explanation of all the facts of Aryan speech.

Again, it is a fact, proved by historical evidence, that most of the ancient deities of the Aryan nations have names expressive of the great powers of nature, and it would be an insult to all historical scholarship if our *à priori* friends were to attempt to prove once more that the worship of Zeus was derived from a general reverence felt for a gentleman of the name of Sky, or the belief in Eos from a sentimental devotion excited by a young lady of the name of Dawn. I believe it will be admitted by all honest anthropologists that the philological identification of one single word, Dyaus in the Veda and Zeus in Homer, has done more for rectifying our ideas of the true course of ancient Aryan civilisation than all the myths and customs of savages put together.

There was a time when the students of Oriental literature were inclined to claim an extravagant antiquity for the books which they had rescued from oblivion. But that tendency has now been changed into the very opposite. There may be traces of it among Chinese, sometimes among Egyptian and Accadian scholars, but wherever we have to deal with a real literature, whether in India, Persia, or Palestine, scholars are far more anxious to point out what is modern than what is ancient, whether in the Veda, the Avesta, or the Old Testament. I certainly do not feel guilty of ever having claimed an excessive antiquity for the Rig-Veda. From the very first, though I placed the whole of Vedic literature before Buddhism, say the sixth century B.C., and though, owing to the changes in language, style,

and thought which are clearly perceptible in different parts of Vedic literature, owing also to certain astronomical dates, I ventured to place it between 1000 and 1500 B.C., yet I have never concealed my impression that some portions of the Veda may turn out to be of far more recent origin.¹⁴

But is not that sufficient? Is it not perfectly marvellous that so much that is really old, so much that carries us back more than 3,000 years, should have been preserved to us at all? Why will people ask for what is impossible? Savages, they say, do not read and write, and yet they want to have trustworthy information from literary documents composed by those very savages who cannot read and write. Among the Aryan nations, I do not believe in any written books before the sixth century B.C. In China, books may have been older, papyri are older in Egypt, and clay tablets in Babylon. But even when literature began, the very last that ancient people do is to write about themselves, about their manners and customs. What we know of the manners and customs of ancient people, when they were still passing through that phase which we call progressive savagery, comes to us from strangers only. As modern travellers give us full accounts of the life of savages who cannot speak and write for themselves, our only chance of learning something about our own ancestors, before they began to write, would be from ancient travellers who were interested in these promising savages. Now it is a piece of excessive good luck that, with regard to one of the Aryan races, with regard to our own Teutonic ancestors, we possess such a book, written by a stranger who felt deeply interested in German savages, and who has told us what they were, before they could write and tell us themselves what they were. If we want to study the progressive savage, not as he ought to have been, according to *à priori* philosophy, nor as he might have been, according to what we see among Fuegians of the present day, but as he really was according to the best information that could be collected, by the best of historians, we must read and read again the *Germania* of Tacitus.

If history means the evidence of contemporary eye-witnesses, I doubt whether history will ever enable us to see further into the natural transition of barbarism into civilisation than in the *Germania* of Tacitus. To divide civilisation from barbarism by a sharp line is of course impossible. There are remnants of barbarism in the most advanced state of civilisation, and there are sparks of civilisation in the most distant ages of barbarism—at least of that healthy barbarism which is represented to us in the *Germania*, and of which we find but scanty fragments in the ancient literature of the civilising nations of the world.

Here we may see ourselves as we were not quite two thousand

¹⁴ *Rig-Veda-Samhita, the Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, translated by M. M., Vol. i. p. xxxix.*

years ago. Here we may see from how small beginnings the highest civilisation may be reached. Here we may study the natural man as he really was, in some respects certainly a savage, but a progressive savage, as we know from his later history, and certainly without one sign of that corruption and decay which is so plainly visible in Hottentots and Papuans.

This book, the account of the site, the manners, and the inhabitants of Germany, by Tacitus, has had various fates. To every German, to every member of the Teutonic race, it has always been a kind of national charter, a picture of a golden age, adorned with all that is considered most perfect, pure, and noble in human nature; whereas French *savants* have often either ridiculed the work of Tacitus as a mere romance, or so interpreted his words as to turn the ancient Germans into real Hottentots.

This controversy has been carried on during several centuries. M. Guizot, for instance, in his *History of Civilisation*, completely ignoring the distinction between retrogressive and progressive savages, tried to show that there was little to choose between the Germans of Tacitus and the Red Indians of the present day.

This controversy became embittered by a curious circumstance. Whereas Tacitus and other Roman writers spoke in glowing terms of the Teutonic races, their remarks on the Gauls, the ancient inhabitants of France, were not only far from complimentary, but happened to touch on points on which Frenchmen are particularly sensitive. Tertullian, who was a great admirer of the Jews, is very wroth with Tacitus because he used very anti-Semitic language. He actually calls Tacitus a 'brawler, and the greatest teller of lies.'¹⁵ The French do not differ much from that opinion, not so much because Tacitus spoke ill of the Jews, and likewise of the Celts of Gaul, as because he spoke so well of the *paysans du Danube*. The ancient classical writers dwell rather strongly on the unfavourable side of the Celtic character. It is well known how low an opinion Aristotle formed of Celtic morality. Strabo says that the Celts are simple, but proud and sensitive, fond of dress and ornaments. It is even hinted that they dyed their hair, and allowed their moustache to grow, so that it interfered with the comfort of eating and drinking.¹⁶ Strabo goes on to say that they are not malicious, but reckless, changeable, fond of innovation, and never to be depended on. They are quick in their resolutions, but often inconsiderate, fond of war, brave, but intolerably conceited if victorious, and quite demoralised if defeated. Polybius confirms that their first onslaught is terrible, but both Cæsar and Livy agree as to their want of steadiness and perseverance. Other Latin authors add that they are unmanageable and inclined to revolutions, and that, owing to continual factions,

¹⁵ Tertullian, *Apolog.* 16: 'rabula et merdaciorem loquacissimus.'

¹⁶ See Strabo, iv. 196; Plin. xviii, 12. Liv. xxxviii, 17.

many are obliged to leave the country, and to try their fortunes as adventurers elsewhere. Still darker colours were added by others to this picture of national depravity. The state of morality in Gaul was such that it was considered infamous for a father to be seen in company with his son before the latter had come of age. At the death of a nobleman his widow was, as a matter of course, subjected to a trial as to whether she had been the cause of her husband's death. Strabo affirms that it was their custom to cut off the heads of their enemies after a battle, and to hang them on the heads of their horses, or nail them over their doors. While German scholars composed this mosaic out of all the stones that classical writers had ever thrown at the inhabitants of Gaul, French writers retaliated by either throwing discredit on Tacitus, the supposed encomiast of the Germans, or by showing that the account which Tacitus gives of the ancestors of the Teutonic race proves better than anything else that, at his time, the Germans had not yet emerged from a state of the grossest barbarism, and were incapable, therefore, as yet of vices which they maintain are the outcome of a more advanced state of civilisation.

To my mind, apart from any national idiosyncrasies, the description which Tacitus gives us of the Germans, as he had seen them, is perfectly unique and invaluable as a picture of what I should willingly call the life of progressive savages. What should we give if, besides the hymns of the Rig-Veda, we had the accounts of travellers who had actually seen the ancient Rishis of India with their flocks and families, their priests and sacrifices, their kings and battles? What should we give if, besides the Homeric poems, we had the work of an eye-witness who could describe to us the real Troy, and the real fight between Greece and Asia Minor? This is what Tacitus has done for Germany, and at a time when the ancient religion was still living, when the simple laws of a primitive society were still observed, and when the epic poems of a later time were still being sung as ballads at the feasts of half-naked warriors! In Tacitus, therefore, and not in the missionary accounts of Melanesian savages, should we study the truly primitive man, primitive in the only sense in which we shall ever know of primitive man, and primitive certainly in a far truer sense than Papuans or Fuegians are likely to be in the nineteenth century. I cannot understand how an historian like Guizot could have allowed himself to be so much misguided by national prejudice as to speak of Tacitus as a kind of Montaigne or Rousseau, who, in a fit of disgust with his own country, drew a picture of Germany as a mere satire on Roman manners, or to call the *Germania* 'the eloquent sulking of a patriotic philosopher who wishes to see virtue where he does not find the disgraceful effeminacy and the elegant depravity of an old society.' Surely the work of Tacitus cannot have been very fresh in the memory of the great French historian when he delivered this judgment. If Tacitus,

like Rousseau or Voltaire, had intended to draw the picture of an ideal barbarism, would he have mentioned the many vices of the German Utopia, the indolence of the Germans, their drunkenness, their cruelty to slaves, their passion for gambling, and their riotous revels? Besides, three-fourths of his book treat of subjects which have no bearing whatever on Roman society, nay, which are of so little interest to the general reader that I doubt whether many Romans would have taken the trouble to read them. The facts which came to the knowledge of Tacitus are so loosely strung together that his book looks more like a collection of memoranda than the compact and pointed pamphlet of a political satirist. We need only read the letters of Voltaire on England, or Montalembert's pamphlet, *De l'Angleterre*, in order to perceive the difference between a political satire and an historical memoir. No doubt a man of the temper of Tacitus would naturally dwell with satisfaction on the bright side of the German character, and, while holding before the eyes of his own nation the picture of a brave and simple, religious and independent race, might naturally think of what Rome once had been, and was no longer. But there is no more sarcasm or satire in his work than is inseparable from a straightforward statement of facts when addressed to ears no longer accustomed to the sound of unvarnished truth.

So little did M. Guizot perceive the unique character of the *Germania* of Tacitus as an historical document of the earliest stage of society, that he amused himself with collecting from various books of travel a number of facts observed among the very lowest races in America and Africa, which, as he thinks, form an exact parallel to the statements of Tacitus with regard to the good and bad qualities of the Germans. His parallel columns, which occupy nearly ten pages, are certainly amusing, but they prove nothing, least of all that there was no difference between the healthy sons of Germany and the tattooed cannibals of New Zealand. If they prove anything, it is that there is one kind of barbarism through which every nation has to pass, the childhood and wild youth of a race, to be followed by the mature vigour of a nation's manhood, and that there is another kind of barbarism which leads to nothing, but ends in mere brutality, shrinking from contact with higher civilisation and succumbing when it attempts to imitate with monkeyish delight the virtues and vices of a more advanced society. Why is it that the fresh breezes of European civilisation proved fatal to the consumptive barbarism of the wretched inhabitants of Australia, while the strong constitution of the Germans of Tacitus resisted even the poisonous vapours of Roman life? When the results are so different, surely there must be a difference in the antecedents, and though M. Guizot is successful in showing that in some respects the ancient Germans did the same things and said the same things as Ojibways and Papuans, he forgets

in drawing his conclusion the old proverb, *Si duo dicunt idem, non est idem*.

After these remarks it will perhaps seem less surprising that students of antiquity should decline to answer the point-blank question whether man began his life on earth as a savage. Every definition that has been attempted of a savage in general, has broken down as soon as it was confronted with facts. The only characteristic of the savage which remained, and was strong enough to withstand the sharpest cross-examination, was cannibalism. But I am not aware that even the most extreme believers in the primitive savage would insist on his having been necessarily a cannibal, a kind of human Kronos, swallowing his own kith and kin.

Every attempt to place the savage who can *no longer* be called civilised in the place of the savage who can *not yet* be so called, could only end, as it has, in utter confusion of thought.

Something, however, will be gained, or at all events some kind of mutual understanding will become possible, if in future discussions on the character of primitive man a careful distinction is made between the two kinds of savages, the progressive and the retrogressive. When that distinction has once been grasped, the question whether man began as a savage has no longer anything perplexing about it. Man certainly began as a savage, but as a progressive savage. He certainly did not begin with an innate knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic; but, on the other hand, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that he was a being altogether foul and filthy, that when he grew up he invariably ill-treated his wife or wives, and that still later in life he passed his time in eating his children.

If we must need form theories or reason by analogy on the primitive state of man, let us go to the nearest *ci-près*, such as the Vedic Hindus, or the Germans as described by Cæsar and Tacitus, but not to Fuegians, who in time and probably in space also are the most widely removed from the primitive inhabitants of our globe. If we knew nothing of the manners and customs of the Saxons, when they first settled in these isles, should we imagine that they must have resembled the most depraved classes of modern English society? Let us but once see clearly that the Fuegian, whether as described by Darwin or by Parker Snow, is the most modern of human beings, and we shall pause before we seek in him the image of the first ancestor of the human race. Wherever we look we can see the rise and fall of the human race. We can see it with our own eyes, if we look at the living representatives of some of our oldest and noblest families; we can read it in history if we compare ancient India with modern India, ancient Greece with modern Greece. The idea that the Fuegian was salted and preserved for us during many thousands of years, so that we might study in him the original type of man, is nothing but a poetical sentiment, unsupported alike by fact, analogy, and reason.

I know full well that when I speak of the Germans of Tacitus or of the Aryans of the Veda as the *ci-près* of primitive man, all the indications of modern, or at all events of secondary and tertiary thought which I have pointed out myself in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, and which might easily be collected from the book of Tacitus, will be mustered against me. Must I quote the old saying again: *Est quoddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra?* All I maintain is that these historical documents bring us as near to the primitive man as historical documents can bring us; but that the nearest point within our reach is still very far from the cradle of the human race, no one has pointed out more often than myself.

There is, however, plenty of work still to be done in slowly following up the course of human progress and tracing it back to its earliest stages, as far as literary, monumental, and traditional documents will allow us to do so. There are many intricate windings of that historical river to be explored, many riddles to be solved, many lessons to be learnt. One thing only is quite certain—namely, that the private diary of the first man will never be discovered, least of all at Cape Horn.

I have thus tried to show how untenable is the theory which would boldly identify the modern savage with primitive man, and how cautious we ought to be whenever we take even a few hints here and there from degraded tribes of the present day in order to fill out our imaginary picture of the earliest civilisation of our race. Some lessons, and even important lessons, may be learnt from savages, if only they are studied in a truly scholarlike spirit, as they have been, for instance, by Callaway and Codrington, by Waitz and Tylor. But if the interpretation of an Homeric custom or myth requires care, that of African or Polynesian customs or myths requires ten times greater care, and if a man shrinks from writing on the Veda because he does not know Sanskrit, he should tremble whenever he writes the names of Zulus, unless he has some idea of what Bantu grammar means.

In arguing so far, I have carefully kept to the historical point of view, though I am well aware that the principal traits in the imaginary picture of primitive man are generally taken from a very different source. We are so made that for everything that comes before us we have to postulate a cause and a beginning. We therefore postulate a cause and a beginning for man. The ethnologist is not concerned with the first cause of man, but he cannot resist the craving of his mind to know at least the beginning of man.

Most ethnologists used to hold that, as each individual begins as a child, mankind also began as a child; and they imagined that a careful observation of the modern child would give them some idea of the character of the primeval child. Much ingenuity has been spent on this subject since the days of Voltaire, and many amusing books have been the result, till it was seen at last that the modern

baby and the primeval baby have nothing in common but the name, not even a mother or a nurse.

It was chiefly due to Darwin and to the new impulse which he gave to the theory of evolution that this line of argument was abandoned as hopeless. Darwin boldly asked the question whose child the primeval human baby could have been, and he answered it by representing the human baby as the child of non-human parents. Admitting even the possibility of this *transitio in aliud genus*, which the most honest of Darwin's followers strenuously deny, what should we gain by this for our purpose—namely, for knowing the primitive state of man, the earliest glimmerings of the human intellect? Our difficulties would remain exactly the same, only pushed back a little further.

Disappointing as it may sound, the fact must be faced, nevertheless, that our reasoning faculties, wonderful as they are, break down completely before all problems concerning the origin of things. We may imagine, we may believe, anything we like about the first man; we can know absolutely nothing. If we trace him back to a primeval cell, the primeval cell that could become a man is more mysterious by far than the man that was evolved from a cell. If we trace him back to a primeval pro-anthropos, the pro-anthropos is more unintelligible to us than even the protanthropos would be. If we trace back the whole solar system to a rotating nebula, that wonderful nebula which by evolution and revolution could become an inhabitable universe is, again, far more mysterious than the universe itself.

The lesson that there are limits to our knowledge is an old lesson, but it has to be taught again and again. It was taught by Buddha, it was taught by Socrates, and it was taught for the last time in the most powerful manner by Kant. Philosophy has been called the knowledge of our knowledge; it might be called more truly the knowledge of our ignorance, or, to adopt the more moderate language of Kant, the knowledge of the limits of our knowledge.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

LOCUSTS AND FARMERS OF AMERICA.

WHILE the hearts of British farmers may justly be filled with envy, when comparing the bounteous increase of cereal crops which rewards their American brethren with their own poorer returns, they may perhaps find a corner of consolation in reflecting on the comparative immunity from insect scourges, which appears to be their rightful heritage under the great law of compensation. Very suggestive are the reports published on this subject by the United States Government, in which the *annual loss* to the States from the attacks of injurious insects is estimated at no less than *two hundred million dollars!*

The losses from the ravages of the locusts in the border States in 1874 were estimated at forty-five million dollars. Those occasioned by chinch-bug in Illinois in 1864 were over seventy-three million dollars. In Missouri in 1874 they were estimated at nineteen million. The average annual loss from the attacks of the cotton-worm is not far under fifty million. When so much damage can be wrought by only three out of the thousand species of noxious insects which prey on field crops and pastures, vegetables and fruit-trees, shrubs and ornamental timber, hard-wood and pine forests, it is evident that the general luxuriance of a land in which Mother Nature is alike prolific of things good and evil is not all gain without its drawbacks.

Within the broad limits of the United States there are recognised no fewer than ten thousand species of bees, wasps, saw-flies, ichneumon-flies, and such like; about ten thousand species of two-winged flies; about an equal number of moths and butterflies (representing an appalling multitude of devouring grubs and caterpillars); several thousand species of grasshoppers, dragon-flies, caddis-flies, &c.; ten thousand beetles and bugs (the latter are classified as *Hemiptera*—a necessary definition, where that honest English name is the accepted generic term for all manner of insects, from the lightning-bug¹ to the sting-bug²).

Thus, upwards of fifty thousand species of winged creatures are for ever seeking what they may devour, and the more luxuriant the crop the more certain is their presence. In addition to these, there

¹ Fire-fly.

² Bee.

are hosts of millipedes and centipedes, mites and ticks, and an endless variety of insects of every sort and kind. Of these, those most dreaded by the farmers are the various cut-worms, the joint-worm, the canker-worm, the cotton-worm, chinch-bug, Hessian-fly, wheat-midge, wheat-fly, Northern army-worm, spindle-worms, stalk-borers, wire-worms, corn-weevils, Colorado potato-beetle, helmet-beetle, onion-fly, onion-thrips, turnip-beetle, cabbage butterfly, bean-weevil, squash-borer, squash-bug, hop-vine-root-borer, tobacco-worm, tent-caterpillar, &c. But, in truth, each vegetable product has its special foe. While June-beetles and strawberry-crown-borers attack the strawberry-beds, saw-flies and span-worms destroy the currant-bushes, grape-foresters and vine-leaf-hoppers aid the Phylloxera in ravaging the vineyards, plum-weevils devote their care to plum-trees, while apple-weevils are equally destructive to the apple-orchards. Such a catalogue might well dishearten any farmer, though it speaks volumes for the fertility of his land to know that, notwithstanding all the ravages of his insect foes, he should nevertheless be able to show such good returns.

Most prominent in these State Reports are the details of depredation by locusts in all parts of the wide-spread territories—north, south, east, and west, the locust armies are found, carrying destruction wherever they go.

At the present time, when our own colony of Cyprus is engaged in so very serious and prolonged a warfare with vast locust hordes,³ some details of how the same war is waged in America may not be without interest.

Each State has sent to Washington its report of its own locust experiences, and of the methods adopted in order to check the progress of the devouring hosts. Several different locusts are named, but by far the most numerous are the *Caloptenus spretus* and *C. femur rubrum*, i.e. the eastern red-legged locust. The latter is found in countless numbers every summer and autumn in Canada, and all over the New England States, from Maine to Massachusetts, where at times it is terribly destructive.

A very beautiful locust or grasshopper (for the terms are used synonymously, and occasionally degenerate into 'hopper-grass') is the *Acrydium americanum*, which is large, and of a brilliant clear pea-green colour, while some specimens are of a reddish amber hue. It is found in North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Texas, Illinois, Tennessee, Mississippi, Columbia, Virginia, New York. A letter from Chattanooga Creek describes splendid fields of corn utterly devastated by these pretty hoppers: all the leaves and the husks peeled as close as if sheep had been at them. Another swarm in Indiana is described as literally covering the streets of Vevay.

In the Mississippi Valley, the forest-clad Atlantic States, Canada,

³ Vide 'The Locust War in Cyprus,' *Nineteenth Century*, August 1883.

and certain Western States where the rainfall is considerable and the land clothed with heavy timber, the non-migratory locust *Caloptenus atlantis* prevails; whereas the *C. spretus* is pre-eminent in the treeless regions throughout Nevada, in the eastern half of Oregon, in Washington territory, west of the Sierra Nevada, and extending as far north as the Cascade Mountains.

Among the various destructive members of the great family which afflict the American farmer, special mention is also made of *Pezotettix viola*, *P. unicolor*, *Chrysocraon viridis*, *Tragocephala viridifasciata*, *Caloptenus vivittatus*, *Edipoda carolina*, *Æ. sordida*, and *Æ. pellucida* or ATROX. The latter, the 'terrible grasshopper,' is known *par excellence* as The Destructive Locust of California, though its ravages extend over Oregon and the neighbouring States and territories, and indeed over the whole country west of the Rocky Mountains. It is interesting to naturalists as being the most closely allied to the genus *Pachytylus*, which has proved so terribly destructive in Eastern Europe and Asia.

Akin to these in their powers of mischief are the large brown crickets, *Anabrus simplex*, which are extremely destructive to the wheat crops and other cereals, from Oregon to Wyoming territory, and eastward to Montana, Idaho, and Utah, also in Arizona. California is happily exempt from their presence; but in the other States named, and throughout the Salt Lake Basin, different members of the cricket family are found in myriads, and in some places literally covering the ground, which seems as if in movement. Professor Thomas one day noticed a cricket army crossing one of the main roads near Port Neuf River. The column was about two hundred yards in width, and extended to front and rear as far as eye could see. When he encamped, the crickets did likewise, taking possession of everything, and especially invading the cook's quarters. They seem to have a remarkable talent for floating without drowning, and the surface of streams and ditches was covered with these little creatures, which seemed to float on in undiminished numbers, however long the observer might keep watch. The manner in which these crickets wage war upon the cicadas affords a curious instance of predatory warfare in the insect world, and how the balance is preserved. The cicadas occasionally appear in immense numbers, and hang in clusters all over the grasses and sage-bushes which fringe the streams. Thereupon the (anything but simple) *Anabrus* approaches stealthily, creeps cautiously up the stem, and then, stretching out a grasping claw, suddenly seizes its victim and proceeds to devour him without mercy.

Retributive vengeance awaits him however—for pigs eat crickets greedily. Indeed, both as regards their natural foes, and the methods whereby human beings wage war upon them, the crickets have much in common with the locusts.

But far more serious than their depredations, are the wholesale devastations of the Western migratory locusts (*Caloptenus spretus*), which are medium-sized grasshoppers, with red hind-legs. In 1875 these creatures appeared in Colorado in overwhelming multitudes, and by midsummer, when it pleased them to depart, they left their traces of desolation on an area extending over three hundred square miles! Where six weeks previously the land was smiling with flourishing corn and wheat-fields, all was now bare. Here and there, strange to say, by some capricious freak, a field had been left untouched; but in the majority only a few scattered half-eaten corn-stalks remained to tell of the vanished crops.

At the same time, the district around Lawrence in Kansas had been completely swept by vast swarms. One district of the town was left untouched, but elsewhere every green thing was destroyed. Peach-trees were most artistically stripped, for while every leaf and all the bark was devoured the bare stones were left attached to the stems.

A letter from Greeley, in Colorado, dated the 25th of May, 1875, tells how the community of about thirty farmers owned about five thousand acres of wheat, but the locusts had devoured nearly the whole of it—the wheat was gone, and the whole region left desert, literally without vegetation. Only one corner escaped, and this was jealously guarded day and night with fire and water, and so the enemy were kept at bay. ‘We may,’ says the writer, ‘save five hundred acres out of five thousand, which will give us bread; but we expected to have obtained a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for this year’s crop. There is now no seed-wheat in the country; if there were, a crop could be grown; and there is scarcely corn enough for seed. . . . Some families are now utterly destitute; every dollar they had, or could borrow, was put into the ground, and will never return. The total destruction of crops between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains is appalling, and I estimate that the number of people afflicted is nearly three millions!’

Professor Cyrus Thomas, State entomologist of Illinois, shows how well-nigh hopeless would be any efforts that might be made by Government to exterminate a foe which ranges over so vast an area—an area which may almost be said to stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending over the whole wide Continent. Confining his observations to a single species (*Caloptenus spretus*), he finds their hatching-grounds extending from British America in the North to Colorado and Utah in the South; he finds them in the mountains of Wyoming, and the Laramie plains, in North-Western Dakota, near the Red River of the North, on the branches of the Upper Missouri, and on both sides of the range in Montana. He finds them in possession of Central Montana, and the great region along the Yellowstone and the Green River country. They hold undisturbed sway in the

inaccessible 'mauvaises terres'—that extraordinarily broken labyrinth of volcanic ranges where no foot of human foe can penetrate; and, in short, man's only chance of wholesale destruction of their young lies in those level districts capable of irrigation—just the districts least favoured by the wary mother locusts, the majority of whom fully realise the advantages of depositing their eggs in elevated sandy terraces, or on gravelly knolls, in least frequented ground, though many prefer cultivated fields and meadows, where their young will find abundant pasturage.

Thence the young swarms extend their migrations in every direction. Professor Thomas has traced individual swarms following widely diverse courses. He traced one swarm from North-Eastern Dakota to near Lake Winnipeg, while others have been traced from Colorado towards Texas. Those hatched in regions around Salt Lake have moved south, and straightway their place has been taken by new hordes from the north-east.

Observations in 1864 proved that the swarms hatched east of the mountains in Northern Wyoming and along the Yellowstone in Montana swept down the east flank of the range upon the fields of Colorado, while a part moved east to Manitoba and Minnesota.

Very disheartening to all advocates of extermination are such records as those which tell how in 1867 a great swarm from the west poured into Middle Park and there deposited their eggs; but the young hatched from these seem to have been feeble of wing, or else were too well sheltered from wafting breezes, for they failed to rise above the encircling rocky ranges, and remained prisoners (or possibly willing colonists) in the green valley. But, meanwhile, from the barren regions beyond, fresh hordes came sweeping over the snowy mountain crests, and poured down upon the valleys to the east.

Although these destructive hordes appear, from time to time, in almost every State by turns, the Great Locust Nursery would seem to lie on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, on the high dry plateaux between 4,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea level. Here the permanent supply seems to be maintained; and hence, at regular intervals during hot seasons, immense swarms are carried, by the prevailing westerly and north-westerly breezes, from their mountain cradle to all the regions lying between latitudes 30° and 52°, and longitudes 102° and 93°.

These Rocky Mountain locusts are thus borne by the winds for distances of from 500 to 1,000 miles into Kansas, Missouri, Texas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Dakota, Colorado, and British America, including Manitoba; and wherever they alight, there they straightway raise up flourishing families. In the months of July, August, or September (the season varying with the latitude) the mother locust lays her eggs, at a depth of one inch below the surface of the earth. Selecting dry ground, sometimes on the upland

pasture, sometimes on sandy soil, and occasionally on the hard roadside, she prepares her simple nest by forcing her body backwards into the earth to the depth of about an inch, drilling her way by the action of two pair of horny valves, thus forming a smooth round hole, generally slightly curved, and large enough to admit a child's finger. On the wise principle of not laying all her eggs in one nest, she lays a few at a time in several different places, at intervals of from fifteen to twenty-five days, each lot forming a little cylindrical packet or sack, about half an inch in length, containing from thirty to a hundred eggs, all held together by a pale glutinous fluid, to which adheres an outer coating of earthy particles, the whole soon hardening into a firm mass. Some members of the family are less prudent than *C. spretus*, and deposit all their store at once, to the number of perhaps a hundred and fifty.

Happily it is only occasionally that an entire nest comes to maturity; many are only partially hatched, and late in the season many egg-pods are found changed into a sort of gelatinous mass. This is especially the case where the eggs have been laid on low ground, subject to frequent alternations of wet weather and dry thawing and freezing. And yet, recent experiments of submerging locust eggs, and exposing them to intense frost and heat, without in any way affecting their hatching, prove them to be endowed with amazing vitality.

Some idea of the dreadful fecundity of the foe may be formed from the reports of various egg-destroyers. One writes from Nebraska, in 1876, that in digging over favourite breeding-grounds he found that the number of eggs deposited in these store-houses ranged from a hundred to fifteen thousand to the square foot, but that on certain isolated spots they were packed close together in far greater numbers.

Mr. Ball, a well-known entomologist residing in Texas, tells how, on the 20th of September, 1876, a north-easterly wind brought the locusts in a swarm which must have been many miles long and broad, and from one to two thousand feet in height, extending as far as the eye could see. By the afternoon all this great host had passed out of sight. On the following day—the north-east wind still blowing—another vast column passed over the land; but on the 22nd inst. the wind veered to the south, and the locusts flew about irregularly like a swarm of bees, and, settling on the ground, commenced depositing their eggs, selecting unbroken sandy soil in which to excavate the little pockets which act as nests. Of these Mr. Ball counted several hundred in one square foot of soil.

In the same year, a gentleman visiting the favourite breeding-grounds in Iowa found 52 deposits in 4 square inches, or 13 per inch. The eggs in each deposit varied from 17 to 34, averaging about 25 to the cocoon. Had these hatched, they would have

yielded 325 hoppers on each square inch. Fortunately, however, a large proportion were addled by the great heat immediately after they were laid.

Another observer, Mr. Cabot of Minnesota, tells how, in July 1875, he and a friend selected an average spot in a field, and dug from one square foot of ground 300 cones or packets, each cone containing an average of 30 eggs, which would make no less than 392,040,000 eggs to the acre!! He adds:—

We then caught about a pint of the full grown hoppers, and found it to contain 320 insects, which would make 20,480 to the bushel. And calculating each egg a hopper, we found that next spring, when they hatch, we will have 19,000 bushels to the acre, or fourteen quarts to the square foot! *And still they are laying their eggs!* This is the third season that we have had hoppers. The first year they came on the 12th of June and deposited their eggs, and went away in four days, leaving the country almost totally cropless. The next season, 1874, they hatched in the last part of May, and stayed here till about the 4th of July. They left the country totally stripped of all domestic vegetation, with the exception of about a tenth part of a crop of potatoes. The State furnished the country with seed-wheat this spring, and our land was all sown and planted again. Until the 4th of July crops bid fair for one of the largest yields ever known in the State. But on that day, about noon, the grasshoppers began to come down in such numbers that in some places they destroyed the crops in two days. They were very large ones, and left in two or three days, but had no sooner gone than other hordes of smaller ones came, and in double the number, and began to lay their eggs, and leave. More came and took their places, and laid more eggs, and passed on south-west, rolling over the prairie like heavy clouds of mist on a foggy day. *And still they come and go!*

The eggs, having been deposited in the course of the summer, lie safely buried till the following season, when the young locusts are hatched, generally in April or May. About seven weeks later, they may be considered fledged, and are ready to take wing. From July till September the swarms are in flight, and generally return in a north-westerly direction for some hundreds of miles towards the original starting-point of their race.

This ebb and flow to and from the vast plateaux of the Rocky Mountains is a very remarkable point in the locust movements. Careful observations have proved that the locusts hatched in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Iowa are fledged about the middle of June, and generally take flight with a north-westward course. Then for a little season the land has rest from the unwelcome guests; but by the middle of July fresh broods begin to pour down from the Rocky Mountains, and this influx continues until towards the end of September. In various parts of Colorado the date of hatching and of flight varies considerably. Thus at Denver the eggs begin to hatch so early as March, and the swarms take flight early in June; whereas among the foothills the eggs do not hatch till May. At higher levels, at an elevation of from 8,000 to 9,000 feet, it may be June or even July before the infant locusts appear, and in many cases they die of cold before they have developed wings.

It is pretty well proven that many of these return swarms find their way into British America. It was especially observed in 1875 that the locusts which were hatched in the above-named States, in an area of 250 miles from east to west, and 300 miles from north to south, invariably went north-west, and, being reinforced by the retiring column from Manitoba, fell in innumerable swarms upon the western part of the Dominion of Canada, covering an area as large as that which they had vacated on the Missouri River.

The newly fledged locusts having thus gone forth to seek 'fresh fields and pastures new,' the place of their birth has rest for a little season. At Denver, which is 5,211 feet above the sea, there are three distinct hatching seasons: an early brood making their appearance about the 15th of March (when the tiny locusts may be seen hopping about on the snow), a second brood are hatched about the middle of April, and a third detachment wisely remain snugly buried till the warmer sun of May has effectually thawed the ground. The newly hatched locusts are so diminutive as to resemble grains of sand, and as each separate grain can hop to a height of about three inches, the surface of the breeding-grounds appears like a moving bank.

Fifty-five days after hatching, the wings are fully developed, and the 'hopper' is transformed into a high flyer.

While the Denver locusts are thus hatched in springtime, those at Georgetown (which has an elevation of 8,412 feet) do not begin to appear till about the 1st of June, and the hatching season continues till July. Consequently they do not migrate till August, when they assemble in vast swarms on the mountains, and, being chilled by the cold, great numbers fall on the snow-fields, and are captured and eaten by bears.

Major J. W. Powell records that in August 1867 he encountered vast numbers of locusts in the region north-west of Pike's Peak. He was travelling at the rate of twenty miles a day, and for five days he drove his waggons steadily onward through their columns.

Dr. Packard ascended Pike's Peak on the 14th of July, 1875, and found both larvæ and pupæ of *Caloptenus spretus* at an elevation of about 9,000 feet. Young locusts were clustering on fallen timber, and adults were flying overhead to a height of perhaps a thousand feet. On reaching the extreme summit of the Peak (14,216 feet) he found locusts flying at least 500 feet above the top; but he judged that all these had been hatched on the eastern plains, and carried upwards by the currents of wind. They appeared to suffer from their flight into colder regions, for many were benumbed, and fell paralysed on the snow. In September 1876 the mountain summits around Denver were covered with incalculable multitudes of dead locusts.

At a much lower level, in that strange rock wilderness known as The Garden of the Gods (which lies at an elevation of about 6,200 feet), Dr. Packard noted on the 12th of July that whereas very few

locusts were to be seen on the ground, the air seemed all alive. The locusts flew in columns, some not more than a hundred feet above him, while others had ascended fully a thousand feet. He was able to form an accurate estimate of their height by noting that of the great pillar of the Cathedral Rocks. He remarked that as the locusts take wing they fly off on a zigzag course, as if uncertain of their direction, crossing each other in their flight, until the breeze helps to guide the whole swarm and gives all an impetus in one direction.

The extraordinary facility of flight of the Rocky Mountain locust is attributed to the unusually large development of the air-sacs in the head, thorax, and body—natural balloons, which the insect can inflate at will, and so lighten its body and enable it the more readily to rise high in air—perhaps thousands of feet above the ground—and there sail along lightly and easily, for hours, perhaps days, at a time. It appears that the only exertion required by this little aeronaut is to raise itself from the ground, and remain floating in mid-air, suffering the wind to waft it whithersoever it will.

It constantly rises to a very great height. Thus Professor Samuel Aughey, having taken trigonometrical measurement of a locust column which was passing over the town of Lincoln in Nebraska, found it to be within fifty feet of one mile in height. Mr. Putnam tells how he had seen them filling the air like snowflakes to a great height above the extreme summit of Parry's Peak in Colorado (13,133 feet); but multitudes of these too ambitious soarers paid dear for their visit to these high altitudes, for vast numbers were chilled by the piercing cold, and lay in heaps—dead and dying—at the base of the snowdrifts.

• They appear, however, to have considerable powers of endurance as regards cold. One man writes despairingly from Colorado, 'We have seen them come out of water, mud, and snow, as strong as ever. They are iron-clad!' The bitterest frosts of winter do not injure the buried eggs, unless they are upturned by the plough. In Manitoba, where, in favourable localities, locusts are hatched early in May, many eggs which have been laid in cold clay land, and which, throughout the summer, have lain covered with pools of water formed by melting snow, are actually hatched so late as August and even September, thus proving their persistent vitality, and indifference to damp and cold. Mr. Whitman, writing from Minnesota, tells of various experiments to prove how nearly eggs might reach hatching and still remain uninjured by freezing. He took packets of eggs from ground which was frozen solid, and after being kept moist and warm for three days the young locusts appeared. Another gentleman, when starting on a journey, placed similar egg-sacks in his pocket, and on reaching Chicago found them all hatched!

Arizona and New Mexico appear to be very favoured regions, as regards comparative freedom from locust incursions, and Utah

consoles itself on the ground of being less ravaged than Colorado. Yet from time to time the Saints have to fight manfully against insect hordes which materially injure the growing crops and the fruit-trees. It is recorded that, in 1855, about 75 per cent. of the cereals, vegetables, and fruits were destroyed, and the people had to subsist largely on thistle, milkweed, and other roots. Now, however, by an organised system of labour, they can, in a great measure, avert serious loss. In the spring following a locust invasion, men, women, and children, accompanied by the poultry of each village, stow themselves away in waggons, and go off on a regular campaign to fight the new-born locusts, wherever they may appear. From hatching to flying time, the war is ceaselessly waged. Where the young locusts lie thickest, the ground is strewn with straw, beneath which they creep for shelter; but it is treacherous hospitality, for, ere dawn, the straw is fired, and the confiding insects are all burnt. It is estimated that in some places the hoppers are so closely packed as to yield a hundred bushels to the acre. Immense numbers are destroyed by being driven into trenches and there buried, or by traps set in irrigating ditches.

But the grand natural locust-trap of Utah is the Great Salt Lake, into which vast swarms are often driven by changing winds, so that multitudes are drowned, greatly to the satisfaction of the gulls, who find an abundant feast spread all along the beach, without any need for fishing. A mathematician of the Mormon city estimated that in one season a million and a half bushels of grasshoppers fell into the Great Salt Lake, and drifted to the shores, forming a broad belt of decaying animal matter. He has failed to record whether the Saints were sufficiently thrifty farmers to apply so much excellent manure to their fields, and thereby turn these pestilential corpses to practical use.

It is satisfactory to such farmers as have settled in the neighbourhood of great pine forests to observe that, as a general rule, the all-devouring Western locusts (*Caloptenus spretus*) object to crossing such regions. Thus while the locust hordes bred in Montana and Dakota occasionally swarm northward and eastward into Manitoba, they have very rarely been known to cross the belt of coniferous timber which stretches between the North and South Saskatchewan Rivers, and their northernmost limits in British America are, in a general way, defined by the margin of these forests. The rule is, however, not invariable, as it is recorded that in 1857, and again in 1875, many swarms appear to have lost their direction and alighted in large numbers in the wooded region east of Manitoba.

It is remarkable that this protecting timber-belt, which so opportunely follows the course of both the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, is only four miles in width, and its obvious effect as a locust barrier might suggest the possibility of planting similar belts

in suitable localities. It is hoped that the swift-growing eucalyptus may prove of value in this respect, and it has been urged that it should be made compulsory for all railway companies to plant timber belts along their railroads.

Very sanguine men take comfort in visions of a future, when not only shall such timber belts protect the farmer from flying squadrons, but when the increased area under cultivation shall prevent the hatching of eggs, as it is well proven that the action of the plough effectually destroys all egg-sacks deposited in such ground. It is, however, to be feared that locust instinct will never fail to find out inaccessible tracts of desert land, which shall be permanent breeding-ground for this scourge.

Between 1859 and 1872 the locusts repeatedly appeared in Ohio and Pennsylvania, sometimes in such multitudes as actually to affect the railway traffic. During the terrible years of 1874 and 1875 trains on the Western Railroads were frequently late, and in some cases were actually stopped, owing to the traction on the up grades being so greatly reduced by the amount of oil on the rails from the crushed bodies of locusts which alighted in immense swarms on the line, and so slippery were the rails that it was necessary to throw buckets of sand in front of the wheels to enable the trains to get on at all. The story sounds somewhat 'tall,' but is nevertheless official.

Incalculable damage was done by the hoppers in Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Kentucky. In St. Louis they stripped the tops of Norway spruce, Balsam fir, and European larch, besides defoliating the vines and sucking the juices from the berries, and devouring apples and peaches.

So painfully practical an evil as the oft-recurring devastations of creatures which, while individually so insignificant, are yet so mighty collectively, has given birth to a very bulky literature, the United States Government having appointed a special Entomological Commission to report on the natural history, habits, and best means of combating the Rocky Mountain locust, or grasshopper of the West. The result of these investigations is illustrated by a map of the western half of the United States, and the Dominion of Canada. On this map a vast patch of graduated shadow, taking the general form of the continent of Africa, indicates the area subject to the ravages of this foe. Of this fanciful map of Africa, Morocco and Algeria, Tripoli and northern Egypt, lie within the Dominion of Canada. The two first, with the great desert to the south, are coloured black, as representing the permanent breeding-grounds of the species. Tripoli and its southern desert are coloured dark grey, showing the sub-permanent region most frequently invaded, while the imaginary Egypt (which really includes Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg) is the

northernmost portion of the vast temporary region which is only periodically, or occasionally visited.

In other words, the permanent region lies between latitude 55° and 38° and longitude 104° and 114° . It includes Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and that portion of the dominion which is watered by the north branch of the Saskatchewan.

The sub-permanent region also extends from latitude 55° to 38° and lies to the east of the permanent region. It extends from the south branch of the Saskatchewan, including part of Manitoba, and covers Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

The temporary region extends from Manitoba on the north-east, southward as far as the mouth of the Rio Colorado in Texas, including the whole of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas, thence stretching north-west over New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho.

To the farmers throughout this vast region to the west of the Mississippi the possibility of a locust invasion is as the sword of Damocles—an ever-present consciousness of danger, no matter how rich the promise of the harvest rewarding long months of toil. At any moment the sunlight may be darkened, and the ravenous locust-swarms may cover the land, which a few hours later is left a desolate waste. Countless herds of hungry cattle could not clear the land of every green thing so effectually as do these tiny depredators, who sometimes fall in living showers, covering hundreds of square miles.

A scourge whose course is apparently variable as the wind, blowing where it listeth, yet so severe in its action that during at least four years of the last decade it caused the Western farmers an annual loss of about forty million dollars, seems at first sight an evil so gigantic, yet so intangible, as to defy all attempts of human skill to cope with it. But the vigilant ingenuity which has done so much to lessen the danger of even the capricious stormy elements, and which, by forewarning the sailor of approaching peril, does so much to forearm him, refuses to be baffled by the insect horde. It resolves that, so far as may be possible for human diligence and foresight, the hydra-headed foe shall be sought out and smothered in its cradle. The war must be carried into the dark permanent region. The well-organised mounted police force of the Dominion must be invited to co-operate with the military forces of the Western States, that together they may form an effective locust vigilance committee, to watch and continually report on the movements of the foe at headquarters.

Fortunately the permanent breeding-grounds are found to be restricted to limited areas, comprising the richer valleys, and plateaux, and strips along the water-courses. All such must be accurately mapped out, and a vigilance force established which shall enlist the services of every signal officer, every Indian agent, every postmaster,

every mail-carrier, every one connected with the military outposts, and every Government servant employed in the permanent region. And it shall be the duty of these to establish such a system of fire-guards and surveillance as shall prevent all autumnal fires, in sections where insects or their eggs are known to abound, in order to burn them with more deadly effect in the following spring. Though there is not the smallest reason to hope that the pest can ever be exterminated in so vast a region, there is a fair possibility that, by the utmost vigilance and concerted action, it may so far be kept in check, that migration to the more fertile states will be greatly reduced, and furthermore may be dealt with on the same principle which is now applied to storms. As weather probabilities are now telegraphed to the uttermost ends of the earth, so should the locust probabilities be communicated by the signal department to every corner of the Western States, in order that the farmers receiving the danger signal may guard against the impending calamity.

Thus an autumn signal announcing an unusually heavy deposit of eggs would warn the farmers in certain localities to sow larger quantities of such small grain as may be harvested before the winged swarms appear, and to plant a larger proportion of such root crops as best escape their ravages, and afford most valuable food for stock, such as parsnips and beet, turnips, large Belgian carrots, yutabagas and mangel-wurzel: also Jerusalem artichokes, Chinese yams and kohlrabi, all of which can be saved on the approach of the locust hordes by the simple expedient of cutting off the tops, and covering the roots with earth. The tops can of course be used as fodder, and the roots can be uncovered, in time to prevent rotting, so soon as the swarms have taken their departure.

Farmers are warned no longer to waste their straw, leaving it rotting on the ground till they can find leisure to burn it, but rather to stack it in small pyramids at the corners of every field, that on the approach of the swarms all the straw stacks over a large area may be fired simultaneously, having previously been damped, so as to slacken combustion and increase the smoke, thus preventing the locusts from settling on the cultivated lands.

Farmers are also urged to more concerted action in regard to ditching and draining and enlarging their systems of irrigation, so that in the hour of need they may be able to inundate the land and drown the newly-hatched locusts and chinch bugs, or at least may flood the ditches on which to pour the coal-tar oil, which has been proved so certain in its destructive power.

The protection by law of locust-eating birds is especially insisted on, and the offering of Government rewards for hawks and all such foes of the farmer's feathered friends. Foreign birds, especially noted for their antagonism to locusts, are also to be imported and acclimated.

State legislation is also urgently called upon, to compel the indifferent and slovenly members of each community to co-operate with their more careful neighbours in carrying out precautionary measures for the destruction of locust eggs or newly-hatched insects. The wisdom of bestowing bounty-money for these, at so much per bushel, seems questionable, but it is suggested that where it is given, this enormous accumulation of animal matter, which at present is either burned or buried, might be turned to better account either as manure, or for the manufacture of cakes for fattening poultry and hogs.

There seems little danger that the farmers will fail to do their part, but the chief difficulty of the Locust Commissioners has been to awaken to decisive action the Congress-men and Senators at Washington—men representing constituencies never troubled with this grievous pest, and who cannot realise the magnitude of its devastations.

Though it is impossible here to do more than glance at the part played by the locust in the United States, we may notice in passing, that this unwelcome visitor is not unknown in South America. In 1878 the *Langosta*, as it is there called, made its appearance in the Republic of Colombia, ravaging the most fertile valleys and devastating the land to such an extent that it became necessary to call on the Sister States for aid. On that occasion they remained in the country till 1880, when they passed to the hot sandy country in the neighbourhood of the peninsula of the Goajira.

There they apparently found secure breeding grounds, for they thence not only returned to Colombia, transforming its greenest districts to the likeness of a fire-swept region, but they then extended their researches into Venezuela, and made their first appearance (June 1881) in and around the city of Maracaibo. The American Consul, reporting this totally new feature in the troubles of a much afflicted country, says that on the 28th of May the light of the sun was darkened by the locust flights, and the excitement of the unhappy people was not to be told. Religious processions were formed in the streets, and the images of the saints carried in state through the city in the hope that their intercessions might avert the impending calamity; for the wealth of Venezuela consists chiefly in goats and cattle, and the immensity of the swarms boded ill for the destruction of all forage. Even in death they proved a source of danger, for within a week the streets were so thickly strewn with putrescent carcases that it was feared a pestilence would ensue, and three hundred cartloads of dead insects were collected for burning, on the first sweeping.

In the words of a Venezuelan writer, 'The locust is the devil in a living form—the locust is the incarnation of the fallen angels.'

The old Spanish chroniclers recorded the ravages of locusts

throughout Lower California, New Mexico, Yucatan, and all the uplands of Guatemala, as also in Honduras.

No less an authority than Darwin has noted the locust swarms through which he passed in 1835, when traversing the arid country between Chili and Buenos Ayres. He tells us how, as he approached the river of Luxan, he observed to the south a ragged cloud of reddish-brown colour, which at first he attributed to some great fire on the neighbouring plains, but soon found that it was caused by a swarm of locusts. They presently overtook him, aided in their flight by a light breeze. They seemed to fill the air to a height of from two to three thousand feet above the ground. The sound of their wings was like a strong breeze passing through the rigging of a ship. When they alighted, they were more numerous than the leaves in the field, and the surface of the ground became reddish instead of green.

In 1856 the farmers around Cordova, in the State of Vera Cruz, made a regular campaign against the locusts, and succeeded in destroying so large a number that they estimated the slain at 400,000,000!

In Honduras, which is periodically ravaged by vast locust armies, the people dig long trenches several feet deep, and drive the young locusts into them; when nearly filled with creatures no bigger than ants, the earth is shovelled over these living tombs, and thus multitudes are destroyed. In the same way, they are driven into rivers and drowned. In order to prevent the flying squadrons from alighting on particular fields, the people burn sulphur, beat drums, fire guns, and make as much noise as possible, sometimes successfully; but when the columns once alight, no device can stay the certain destruction that ensues.

How best to wage war against a foe so gentle, yet so terribly powerful, is a question which taxes to the uttermost the ingenuity of American farmers—a race not easily outwitted—and many are the remedies which, with more or less effect, have been locally applied. Vast numbers have been destroyed by ploughing, and then burying the eggs so deeply as to ensure their decaying. In other cases the soil is harrowed, so as to break up the egg-sacks, which are buried only an inch beneath the ground, and which are thus left exposed to the mercies of birds, hogs, and cattle. It is suggested that the top soil, to the depth of one inch, might very easily be collected in heaps, and thoroughly crushed by travelling-mills. Roasting it would involve a serious expenditure of fuel. Where the eggs are laid in loose dry soil, a flock of sheep turned on to the ground will so effectually pulverise and cut up the soil with their feet that not an egg will hatch.

In regions which are capable of extensive irrigation, THE SIMPLE BUT OMNIPOTENT REMEDY IS THE USE OF OIL OR ANY GREASY SUBSTANCE: for as the breathing apparatus of insects consists of small openings in

the sides of the body, it follows that if these should become coated with any greasy film, breathing becomes impossible, and the insect must immediately perish. So the farmers of Colorado first flood their ditches, and then endeavour to drive in the young grasshoppers. This only collects them, as it seems almost impossible to drown them, except where special traps are used. But *at the head of each ditch they place cans of oil dripping slowly, and the slightest touch of the oily film thus formed destroys the foe.*

In like manner a spoonful of kerosene oil, well shaken up in a watering-pot full of water and sprinkled over melon-vines and other garden vegetables, effectually prevents their destruction. Whether human beings could bring themselves to make use of vegetables thus flavoured is another question. Perhaps cucumbers or green peas dressed with kerosene may become a favourite dish, but it must be admitted to be an acquired taste!—certainly it is one which the locusts are too wise to indulge in!

Coal-tar is another valuable engine of war. A tarpaulin thickly coated on the underside with tar is dragged over the 'hopper-infested' grounds, and causes the immediate death of all which it touches. Sometimes platforms of zinc, canvas, or thin wooden boards, ten feet long by three feet wide, are laid on runners and smeared with tar. They are then drawn to and fro over the fields, and act the part of sticky fly-papers. The active young locusts try to hop over them, and generally fall upon the tarry surface.

In districts where irrigation is difficult, and the kerosene cannot well be applied, deep trenches are cut and filled with straw. The young locusts are then swept in with besoms or boughs of trees, and when a goodly number have entered the trap the straw is set ablaze. In like manner, in the corn-fields, long rows of dry straw are strewn between the lines of young wheat and the advancing hosts of newly-hatched foes, and the straw is soon literally covered with tiny locusts. A well-applied match quickly seals their doom, and then a fresh line of straw is laid to ensnare the next phalanx.

Where the area of devastation is so vast, it is obvious that the simple methods generally adopted in Europe for coping with a comparatively limited evil, are wholly insufficient. Great ditches may indeed be dug, in which myriads of young locusts may commit suicide in the simplest fashion, but in a thickly peopled country where poor men have to fight almost single-handed, and where hired labour is ruinous, the mere digging of these is scarcely possible. But American ingenuity is rarely long at fault, and so this locust question has already resulted in the devising of a multitude of machines to facilitate carrying on the war in every stage, and in every manner which experience has shown to be worth attempting. The Report of the States Commissioner of Agriculture gives illustrations of a considerable number of the various mechanical contrivances which have been hitherto

found most practically useful—locust catchers, locust crushers, locust burners, oil pans and coal pans, fire machines, ploughing machines, harrowing machines, to be worked by various horse-power—and these are only a small selection from the multitude of machines more or less complicated, invented and patented, all with a view to the same end.

Among the more elaborate machines is one for destroying the insects by sulphur fumes, which are carried by flexible tubes from a locomotive stove.

Another simply burns the locusts by sweeping the fields with long iron rods or wires, enveloped in rags or tow saturated with kerosene, which are bound to the rod by a thin wire, and are then ignited. Two men carrying a wire, say forty feet long, can pass twice over a considerable extent of ground, while the rags are burning, and effectually scorch the little hoppers. For small enclosures and gardens, various hand-burners are manufactured.

Without the aid of diagrams, it is scarcely possible to convey much idea of the more complicated machines by mere description. Suffice it to say that they include suction-fanning machines, which draw the insects up large tin tubes into a receiver which throws them into bagging machines for the application of coal oil and tar, commonly known among the farmers as *hopper dosers*!—revolving platforms of heavy wire cloth—bagging machines of all sorts, of infinite variety, but quite indescribable here.

Should the invader already have taken possession of a young corn-field, or been hatched thereon, huge harrows covered with blazing brushwood are dragged over the ground, and thus millions of little innocents are scorched to death ere they have had time to begin a career of mischief. These fire-machines, as they are justly called, are composed of a network of strong wire, about twelve feet in breadth and three feet in width, laid upon iron runners four inches high. On this network is laid the fuel, and a sheet-iron cover is so contrived (being fixed to the back and raised to two feet high in front) as to throw the flames downwards through the wire network as the machine is drawn along by horses some twenty feet in advance. A broad, overhanging sheet of tin or iron catches the hoppers as they rise and sweeps them into the fire. By this means the young insects are generally destroyed, and the grain does not suffer much from this fiery baptism. The aforesaid platforms of canvas strewn with coal-tar are, however, found almost equally efficacious and less expensive. They are also less injurious to the crops.

By the use of these, and a variety of other contrivances, the more energetic and watchful farmers find means to wage a very successful war against the common foe; and those who are ever on the watch and ready, planting and sowing as though no danger lurked near, yet always taking precautions beforehand (instead of waiting and putting

off sowing till they see whether the locusts are likely to come that season, as is done by some disheartened men), now find that they can in a great measure cope with the enemy.

In their arduous labours they are aided by many allies—notably by one who does not often get credit for good qualities—namely, THE UNFRAGRANT SKUNK! This very unpopular neighbour has an especial weakness for locust's eggs, and a single skunk will, if undisturbed, clear a whole acre even of grass-land around his lair so that not one egg-sack shall escape him. As it is estimated that every bushel of eggs destroyed is equal to a hundred acres of corn saved, the skunk must assuredly take rank among the farmer's friends. Wolves, foxes, badgers, and various species of 'gophers' greedily devour the full-grown insect, as does also the domestic hog.

But, as concerns the eggs, their most vigorous assailants are generally insects of various sorts, especially a minute, six-legged, parasitic mite, distinguished as the scarlet silky mite (*Trombidium sericeum*). Wherever these admirable little creatures make their appearance, that particular hatching-ground may be considered well-nigh innocuous. They work in gangs of from five to fifty, attacking one cone at a time, and emptying each tiny egg of its contents. So the cones visited by these diligent egg-suckers contain only empty shells.

Another species of little red mite (*Trombidium gryllaria*) attacks the full-grown locust. So do various predaceous beetles. But the most cruel personal foes of the locust are a greenish fly (*Tachina anonyma*)—which lays her eggs in the body of the luckless hopper, where they presently develop into horrid maggots, and the hair-worms (*Gordius aquaticus* and *G. varius*), which have the same unpleasant propensity, and, moreover, are frightfully prolific. Dr. Leidy on one occasion observed a hair-worm of the latter species, which, being itself only nine inches in length, deposited a string of ova which measured ninety-one inches, and in which he estimated that there were upwards of six million eggs! A very pleasant lodger, truly!

Notwithstanding the labours of the scarlet mites, we have seen that a very fair number of locusts are hatched. So soon as they leave their tiny cradle, however, they are exposed to eager attacks by prairie-chickens, quails, blackbirds, partridges, and other insectivorous birds.

A farmer, writing from Omaha, pleads for the protection of such allies, just as the wise naturalists of Britain crave it for our own insect-destroying rooks and other birds. He tells how fortunate he esteems himself in having about fifty quails about his place. He states that so soon as the hoppers are hatched, while they are yet microscopic in size, they are vigorously attacked by the quails, each of which daily devours as many as would fill a bushel measure were

they allowed to grow up; and so diligently did they work that they effectually cleared his ground of all hoppers bred on the place.

In the face of such evidence as this, he calls attention to the wholesale destruction of birds by members of the sporting clubs established in every village, town, and city. Such birds as escape the sportsman's gun are trapped and snared by farmer's boys, so that the markets of St. Louis, Chicago, and New York are literally glutted with quails, prairie-chickens, and grouse. These, he argues, must be protected. He pleads that the North-Western States should pass laws prohibiting the killing of birds, and making it penal for railway companies to carry such to market. Whether his suggestion has been adopted I cannot say; but its wisdom has been abundantly proven by Professor Green of Kansas, who, on examining the crops of various birds, such as the red-eyed woodpecker, the yellow-billed cuckoo, the great-crested flycatcher, the cat-bird, the red-eyed vireo, and the crow-blackbird, found them each to contain young locusts; as did also the so-called graminivorous finches and buntings. Cranes, ducks, hawks, owls, and a great variety of small sparrow-like birds also eat locusts readily.

In this connection, it is very interesting to note that, while the sparrows which were introduced to New Zealand and Australia so utterly failed to fulfil the expectations of their importers, those which were sent to the United States in order to wage war against the noxious cankerworm, fulfilled their mission so thoroughly that in 1871 the *New York Times* bore characteristic testimony to their good work, remarking that 'THE ASTOUNDING FACT THAT THEY ALONE OF ALL PUBLIC SERVANTS OF THIS CITY HAVE FULFILLED THEIR CONTRACT, MAKES THEIR HISTORY NOT ONLY INTERESTING, BUT UNIQUE!'

The special foe which they were called upon to combat was a destructive grub, sometimes called the six-legged hunchback, but known also as the inch-worm or leaf-worm. The native birds positively declined to feed on this unpleasant-looking creature, so the omnivorous sparrow was suggested, and right well he did his work. His services were fully recognised by the State. Sparrow-houses were erected in New York, filled with artificial nests made of grass and twigs, lined with hair and feathers, as an inviting shelter for the strangers in the bitter frosts of the severe American winter, and the keepers of the great Central Park were supplied with a goodly store of cracked rice to be daily scattered for their benefit; while for their comfort in the stifling heats of summer, bits of wooden plank were set floating on the pools and tanks to facilitate their bathing!

Doubtless grateful for such good care, the sparrows have done their work in the States with right good will, and have trained up an innumerable host of descendants, all of whom labour ceaselessly to destroy the farmer's foes, and rid the land of the sore pest which had threatened to prove so serious. How efficient is their aid may be

inferred from the fact that a single pair of sparrows have been carefully watched for a whole day, and have been seen to return to their hungry nestlings, on an average, forty times in an hour, each time carrying a grub, which would have done its full share of damage to the crops had it been allowed to live, to say nothing of its probable increase.

Mr. Edward Wilson, the sparrow's friend, has told how below the nest of one pair of sparrows there were found the wings of no less than 1,400 cockchafers! Now, as we may safely assume that half the wings were those of females, and as each maternal cockchafer produces about forty mischievous grubs in the season, it follows that this pair of busy sparrows had spared the land from the devastation of no less than 28,000 cockchafers; and if we follow out the sum into the second and future years, the calculation becomes altogether startling, and makes it easier to understand how it is possible that in France the ravages of the cockchafer grub have, in certain years, been estimated at so vast a sum as 40,000,000 francs.

Foremost amongst the bird-foes of men's foes, rank the prairie-chicken, or pinnated-grouse (*Cupidonia cupido*), and the sharp-tailed grouse (*Pediceetes Columbianus*). Dr. Elliott Cones, writing to the *Chicago Field*, assigns to the latter the foremost place as a locust-destroyer. He says, '*These birds yearly destroy millions of grasshoppers, and at certain seasons eat very little else.*' He tells of having killed them in great numbers, continuously from June till October; and so long as locusts were to be found, the craws of these birds were invariably crammed with these insects. He also proved that the cock-of-the-plains (*Centrocercus urophasianus*), which is supposed to feed chiefly on wormwood, is a very large locust-consumer, as are also various hawks, particularly of the genus *Buteo*. On the strength of these observations Dr. Elliott pleads for the absolute, unqualified, and long-continued protection of grouse as the most effective of all the natural anti-grasshopper agencies.

Even the gulls are ready to aid in this good work, those of the Great Salt Lake not only capturing the winged grasshoppers, but eagerly devouring the nicely pickled locusts which, having fallen into its briny waters, have drifted to the shore.

Fish also are readily attracted by a locust bait, and well do the fishermen in the trout-streams of Middle Park know their value, for, as one writes, 'With nearly every locust, I could catch a fine trout.'

Why should not this good bait be preserved, and extensively exported for the use of fishermen in other lands? Long ago it occurred to an enterprising Frenchman to make use of the African locust as an excellent substitute for the expensive pickled roe of Norway, so largely used as bait for the sardine fisheries on the coast of Mancha. He found that locusts cooked in salt water, dried in the sun, and ground, made a bait quite as attractive to the sardines as the

Norwegian roe. It was found to be unctuous, nutritive, and very much like the flesh of crawfish, which is the sardine's favourite bait. Moreover, it immediately sinks to the bottom of the water, which is another virtue. The new bait was prepared in various forms, and was enthusiastically received by the sardines, many of which, when captured, were proved to have swallowed the bait.

Why then should not the locusts of the States be thus utilised? The methods of preparation are very simple. The insects are either cooked and salted, and piled into solid cakes, or else they are thrown alive into brine, and then pressed and dried in the sun.

As yet, strangely little use has been made of the enormous quantity of locusts annually destroyed in America. In that land of plenty, this staple food of such multitudes of persons in Europe, Asia, and Africa, has hitherto been altogether despised. Possibly, now that the wild cattle of America—the bison, once so abundant—have been so ruthlessly exterminated, the lessons of famine may teach wasteful human beings to value the fragments that remain, and to find in the despised locusts a nutritious and not unpalatable diet. It is true that Burton's description of them, as suggestive of stale shrimps, is not very inviting, but many other travellers have adopted them as a very welcome addition to their daily fare, and have eaten them with much relish, having first prepared them by cleaning the stomach, pulling off the heads, wings, and prickly legs, boiling them in salt and water, and then drying them in the sun for several days. They are generally eaten hot, with salt and pepper, or with clarified butter and fried onions.

The curse of one man is the blessing of another, and to the inhabitants of arid steppes or sandy deserts—people who have no crops to lose—a locust-shower is welcome as heaven-sent manna. But for our Anglo-Saxon brethren on the fertile plains of the Great Continent we can wish no better boon than deliverance from drought, locusts, and all manner of bugs!

C. F. GORDON CUMMING.

RELIGION AND THE STAGE.

Je sais bien que, pour réponse, ces messieurs tâchent d'insinuer que ce n'est point au théâtre à parler de ces matières ; mais je leur demande, avec leur permission, sur quoi ils fondent cette belle maxime.—MOLIÈRE, Preface to the *Tartuffe*.

A RECENT production at a London theatre has obtained a greater success perhaps than it merits, because it has incidentally raised the question of how far it is lawful or expedient for a modern playwright to touch religious questions and to put modern English religious life upon the stage.

Upon any question of dramatic craftsmanship, literary skill, or originality of plot, a playwright will do well to abide by the wholesome rule that forbids an artist to speak of his own work or to question any verdict that may be passed upon it. It is true that this rule at times presses somewhat severely upon a dramatic author, inasmuch as, while all other artists are judged by their own performances, a playwright is judged partly by the performances of others, and is praised or blamed not merely for what he has done or misdone for himself, but for what the management, the actors, the scene-painters, and the carpenters have done or misdone for him. Thus Shakespeare himself would hardly escape severe condemnation as a sorry bungler in stagecraft, were he an unknown playwright and his masterpieces had now to be submitted to the public for the first time at an afternoon performance with stock scenery and slovenly stage-management.

The curiously divergent values and meanings which a public representation may attach to a play or to certain portions of a play from what the author attaches to them, or that different audiences may attach to the same play, or that the same spectator may attach to the same play seen under fresh conditions and with new actors, these are among the hundred risks inseparable from the playwright's calling. And it is useless—especially would it ill become one who has been unusually fortunate in the interpretation and discussion of his work—to cavil at those conditions and limitations of his art which are at present unavoidable and irremediable. All success or failure that may be due to adequate and skilful, or inadequate and unskilful production and interpretation, all curious variances of critical and public judgment upon technical questions, are best met with the discreet silence of a quiet smile, and may be allowed to pass on without com-

ment to play their momentary little part in the stupendous comedy of human affairs, thence to be dismissed into forgetfulness. And when one remembers how little difference there is between what the public acclaims as a good play and condemns as a bad one—that is, how little difference there is between the two classes in the higher qualities of literature and character-painting, in illumination of the human heart and drift of moral intent—when one considers how comparatively little harm would be done to English literature and art if every acting play since Sheridan and Goldsmith were irrecoverably lost to-morrow, one may well hesitate to vex the public ear with the discussion of any matter appertaining to modern dramatic work.

But when a playwright is challenged by a part of a first-night audience as to his right to depict any section of the community, or rather as to his right to depict them truthfully and make them use the language that is natural to them; when he is counselled and countercounselled upon the expediency of altering what is distinctive and what he conceives to be faithful and life-like in his portraiture—in such a case he may perhaps be permitted a word of apology and explanation upon the ground that, small and unimportant as the individual case may be, and not in itself worth a moment's consideration, yet, seeing that the meanest matters may contain the widest issues, the entire question of the future development of the English drama and its right to press on and possess itself of the whole of human life, is more or less raised when any veto is placed, or sought to be placed, upon the dramatist's perfect freedom of choice of subject, persons, place, and mode of treatment. The only restriction that should be placed upon him is that he shall not offend against the recognised code of social decency, and here we have a sufficient safeguard in the censorship and the 'common sense of most.'

The question has an aspect of expediency that it may be well to deal with first. Obviously, as a matter of expediency and worldly prudence, a dramatist will do wisely to avoid giving offence to the prejudices and susceptibilities of any great portion of his possible audiences. Indeed, so perfectly has this rule been understood upon the recent English stage, so eager have we been to exclude everything that might be offensive or tedious or incomprehensible to any possible spectator, that by a process of continual exhaustion and humble deference to everybody's prejudices we have banished from the stage all treatment of grave subjects but what is commonplace and cursory and conventional. The course of the drama has been diverted and hopelessly cut off from the main current of modern intellectual life. While the companion arts—painting, poetry, and music—are allowed to present every aspect of human life, on the stage only the narrow, ordinary, convenient, respectable, superficial contemplation and presentation of human affairs is allowed. Though off the stage the gravest matters have been in heated hourly prominence, on the stage nothing of much greater importance has been bruited than how a

tradesman's family may prepare itself for alliance with the aristocracy. And such tradesmen! And such aristocrats!

Nothing could better show the impotence and poverty of the modern English drama than the account it has rendered of modern English business life; nothing could better show how strangely far we are from sincerity and faithful insight in character-drawing, how fond the public is of what is superficial and conventional, than the type of business-man that has been most popular on the stage in recent years. It will be allowed that if Englishmen have been in earnest about anything the last fifty years, they have been in earnest about money-making and commerce. Of gods and saints, and heroes and martyrs, and kings, modern English life has not been quite so prolific as an eager playwright might wish, and in their rarity or absence from his daily sphere he may be forgiven if he fails when he tries his unaccustomed hand upon their portraiture. But—Heaven and John Bright and Free Trade be praised!—there has been no dearth of business-men in England this generation. No playwright can excuse himself on the plea of want of models to study and paint from. Surely, if sincerity and truth may be reasonably demanded from the drama in any one particular, it is in the handling of modern business life. Yet upon turning to the stage what do we find? Of course there is no lack of business-men in our modern plays; rather, of one certain type of business-man, hereafter to be examined, there is an inordinate profusion. Indeed, this particular individual, under various aliases and constantly changing his trade, may be said in one sense to have been the great prop and mainstay of English comedy for some twenty years past. But so far as one can readily remember, the only serious attempt to portray a modern English man of business is to be found in Mr. Sydney Grundy's *Mammon*. Ordinarily the man of business is simply a peg to hang jokes upon. He invariably drops his H's and puts in superfluous aspirates. He is everlastingly making blunders upon his introduction into what passes upon the stage for *polite* society. And these blunders are so dwelt upon and exaggerated that any pit or gallery spectator can instantly detect them and pride himself upon his superior breeding to the person who makes them, who is yet assumed to be moving in a better position, and to have better opportunities for learning good manners, than the pit or gallery spectator. And when the good-hearted tradesman makes these blunders, the aristocratic people on the stage at once call attention to them, and correct them with an utter absence not merely of the forms but of the spirit of good breeding. And this type of business-man has made the fortune of many modern comedies. Now it is not to be denied that many retired tradesmen do drop their H's and commit social blunders; and these apparently are the especial traits of character that are most acceptable to an English audience and most easily make it laugh. But the want of all sincerity and searchingness in the portrait must be

apparent to any intelligent person who will take the trouble to read a modern comedy where an English tradesman is depicted, and then compare it with the average English tradesman who can be met with behind any counter in town or country. And a playwright sitting down to write the part of an English man of business does not first consider how he can faithfully portray such and such an individual, and through him the heart and meaning of English commercial life, but how he can most readily make an average audience laugh at outrageous verbal distortions or pronounced social blunders. The same want of truthfulness will be found upon comparing that curiously unreal nondescript, the rustic of the London stage, with any living English peasant.

Now, while the stage remains so swaddled in pettiness and superficiality, the playwright who wishes to be successful will indulge the public and continue to manufacture for them their pet conventional stage-types. Out of the thousand spectators that nightly watch a play it may be safely assumed that nine hundred will be struck by some outward, obvious, unmeaning peculiarity of speech or manner rather than by any inward significant truth or suggestion of character. And the whole scheme and aim of dramatic art in this country being to attract the multitude, and no existence being possible to it except upon this footing, every play is framed upon the principle of immediately flattering and satisfying, not the one student of character and lover of literature, but the ninety-and-nine pleasure-seekers and sight-seers. And these pleasure-seekers have also a few tough British prejudices which the judicious playwright must beware of offending. The two chief subjects which are by common consent supposed to be most difficult of stage treatment are religion and politics, because these are the subjects upon which counter opinions are most rife and popular feelings most easily raised.

As regards politics, they scarcely touch the moral or emotional nature of man at all. Surely the present disposition of political parties in this country, and the present aims of statesmanship on either side, do not invite any attention from a serious dramatist. They would make a very worthless theme for any dramatic work except a farce. And the modern playwright need not give himself a moment's uneasiness because he finds himself debarred from treating English political life except in the spirit of farce, or in that bland and sugary way which, complimenting both sides upon being alike right, equally conveys that there is no question of human interest in the struggle between them. But suppose it were found that upon any matter of deep moral or emotional concern the two parties were divided; suppose it were found that political bias on the one side corrupted, and on the other side sustained, the moral nature, then who could deny the dramatist the right of enforcing so much upon the stage? With religion the case is far different from politics, though the same motives of expediency have banished from the

modern stage all treatment of it that is not purely conventional and superficial.

The present attitude of religious persons towards the stage is a somewhat curious one. For some two hundred years religious opinion in England has been more or less antagonistic to the theatre. But gradually the far-seeing and more liberal-minded teachers in the different sects have become alive to the fact that the theatre is immensely popular, and must be tolerated and reckoned with. It threatens to become a powerful influence in the moral life of the nation. And religious persons are also fast discovering that, in the huge sempiternal dullness and mechanical routine of English life, theatre-going is a not unpleasant way of spending the evening. Like Dame Purecraft in the matter of eating pig, they would like to have it made as lawful as possible. So they come timorously, with the old notion still clinging to them that they are in 'the tents of the wicked.' How welcome to weak consciences have been the various entertainments that, under some convenient name or cloak, have afforded to religious persons a satisfaction of the ineradicable dramatic instinct, and saved them the sin of going to a theatre! How ludicrous is the spectacle of religion, shivering on the brink of Shakespeare at the Lyceum or Princess's, and turning away to regale itself at the Christy Minstrels or the Chamber of Horrors! What a blank and stupefying denial of all the genial humane qualities of our nature is implied in the recent wholesale condemnation of the theatre by the great Bouverges of the Baptists! But the truth is that religious persons, after having vilified the theatre for two centuries, are fast coming back to it. Not all Mr. Spurgeon's shouting to his flock to stay and batten in his sheep-pens on the dismal moor of hyper-Calvinism will long keep them from straggling down to the green pastures and broad waters of the nation's intellectual life.

There is, then, in every audience at all our leading theatres, except perhaps those that are devoted to broad farcical comedy and burlesque, a certain proportion of religious persons, who come timidly to the theatre with a vague sense of wrong-doing, and are shocked if there is any mention of religious subjects. Their views of life are such, that there is no general reconciliation possible between the two ideas of religion and the theatre, and so they wish to keep them utterly apart, in the same way that many worthy people find it convenient to keep their science in a separate mental compartment from their religion, from an uncomfortable feeling that if once they get face to face one of them will destroy the other.

In every audience there is a much larger proportion of simply indifferent persons, who would be the first to disclaim any particular reverence for any doctrine or precept of religion whatsoever, yet who pay the ordinary Englishman's ear and lip reverence to the current creed. And these also feel uneasy if religion is broached on the stage, because, having conveniently dispensed with it to a great

extent in regulating their everyday lives, they think it may be very well allowed to remain in its present condition of honoured and respectable superannuation, as an affair of Sundays, and parsons, and churches, and chapels.

Strange Englishmen! so cunning in the art of self-deception! Has, then, this religion of yours grown so valetudinarian that it can no longer take the robust exercise of out-of-door life? that you must shelter it from the keen east winds of science, and the daily uphill trudge of business, and the glow and bustle of healthy amusement? that you must deny it all the vigour and movement of everyday life, and only take it out for a little very gentle exercise once or twice on Sundays? Well, wrap it up then, keep it warm! It's in a 'parlous state' truly; and, if the worst should happen, Heaven send us a good, serviceable, sound-winded, work-a-day religion to take its place.

Speaking generally, we may say that from old-accustomed prejudice, whose grounds they have never taken the trouble to examine, ordinary playgoers have a haunting feeling of the impropriety of the theatre as a place for even hinting that there is in the English nation to-day any such thing as religion at all. The idea of human life as being about six-sevenths secular and one-seventh sacred keeps possession of them, and they do not wish to have this convenient fiction disturbed or examined. Then, too, the dramatic faculty is so little developed in a general audience, there is so little knowledge and appreciation of character, that they cannot discriminate between an author speaking *in propria personâ* and his allowing his personages to speak whatever is natural and becoming to them. How little essential reverence of heart is at the bottom of the average playgoer's dislike of the mention of religion upon the stage may be gathered from the fact that plays that are implicitly choke-full of the deathfullest sort of Atheism, the denial of all divinity to man, are allowed to pass without protest, and run their hundreds of nights.

As a matter of expediency, then, it may be freely conceded that the playwright is wise in his day and generation not to meddle with religious matters, but to accept the arbitrary and conventional division of human nature into secular and sacred, and to ply his trade wholly in the secular domain, in apparent ignorance of whether there is anything sacred or no in man's nature, and whether Englishmen have a religion to-day, and whether it has any influence upon their character. Neither must the sadly comic spectacle of our two hundred sects—all of them right and all of them wrong—tempt him to a smile or a sigh, though one would fancy that the wasteful joke of starting two hundred agencies to the same end, the existence of each one implying the uselessness of the other one hundred and ninety-nine, must at last become apparent to the originators of it. It is quite certain, however, that the existence of such a restriction upon the dramatist forbids the hope of the English drama ever reaching forward to be a great art, and condemns it to remain as it is, the

plaything of the populace, a thing of convention and pettiness and compromise. It is useless to upbraid modern playwrights for not producing great plays when in so small a matter as the putting upon the stage of so common a type of modern English life as a middle-class tradesman, one is not allowed to paint him thoroughly, according to one's poor judgment, in a faithful searching way, and giving, so far as the exigencies of dramatic art allow, a truthful picture of the man and his environment, and of the man moulded or modified by his environment. If a dramatist must not paint faithfully his brother British shopkeeper whom he has seen, how shall he be trusted to faithfully paint heroes and saints and demigods and other 'tremendous personages' whom he has not seen? The drama claims for its province the whole heart and nature and soul and passions of man; and so far as religion has to do with these, so far is the dramatist within his right in noting the scope and influence of religion upon the character he has to portray. The whole teaching of modern psychology, the conception of human character as a natural production arising from the action of the various surrounding agencies upon the individual man and his ancestors through countless ages and the reactions resulting therefrom: this doctrine forbids the dramatist to accept any reservation of a certain plot or parcel of a man's nature which must be screened off and veiled and assumed to be non-existent before the analysis of the character can be made. Every character is woven all of a piece; if some threads are taken out, the garment is mutilated and falls to bits. The whole of the nature of man is sacred to the dramatist, as the whole of the body of man is sacred to the physician. One part is not more sacred than another. The folly, the hate, and meanness, and envy, and greed, and lust of human kind are just as sacred in this sense as the higher and nobler qualities, and are treasured with the same care. One might as well dictate to a surgeon that in his survey of the human body he must omit to take note of the presence of such and such an organ and its influence upon the rest of the body—say the heart—because of some sacred mystery attaching to it, as to dictate to a dramatist that he shall not be allowed in his study of a certain character to mark, if necessary, the shaping and leavening of the whole of that character by the religious *milieu* in which it has been produced. It is for those who would deny to the dramatist the right to depict religious life upon the stage, to show either that religion has become a quite unessential and useless portion of human life, and is effete and defunct, and has no bearing upon character in England to-day, in which case the playwright can afford to treat it as a naturalist does an organ that has lapsed into a rudimentary state, or it is for them to show why religion should not occupy the same part in the dramatist's scheme and view of human life as it is supposed to do in the outer world around him—shall we say a seventh?

So far as the matter is part of the general compromise and tolera-

tion upon religious matters without which social life would be rendered grievously uncomfortable, it would doubtless be unwise to try to disturb the present equanimity and to arouse bitter passions that are now disarmed or slumbering. And also one would not willingly shock the sincere feeling of any worshipper, were it even of the most degraded and brutal fetish. There is a small enough stock of reverence in England to-day; one may well be content to endure a little of it wrongly directed and towards unworthy things.

But the matter is also part of the question of whether our drama shall ever rise to the dignity of its mission and exercise its right to pourtray, and interpret, and faithfully reflect the main and vital features of our national life; and upon this point the humblest writer for the stage has a right to be jealous and alert, and to see that his art is not rendered weak and lifeless, and its sustenance given to feed the beggarly array of decrepit prejudices that totter about this breathing world and suck into their numb and withered anatomies the nourishment that should go to build up a healthy body of public opinion.

Inasmuch as religion is a matter of controversy and doctrine, the dramatist may be content to leave it in the clouds where the arguments and sophistries of divines have floated it. In this respect the relation of art towards religion is fixed in Tennyson's memorable lines—

I take possession of man's mind and deed,
I care not what the sects may brawl;
I sit as God holding no form of creed,
But contemplating all.

In no case could it be profitable for the stage to become the backer or antagonist of any doctrine or creed. But inasmuch as religion is also a matter of conduct and practice and character, the drama has every right to take it for part of its subject-matter.

And before quite resigning ourselves to the dominion of the popular prejudice, which holds that the dramatist should blink the question of man's spiritual nature and beliefs, it may be as well to glance at the accepted relations of religion and the drama during the times of the greatest dramatic activity and creation. The Greek tragedians made unsparing use of their country's religion, and wove it into their plays. In masterful and unquestioned sway over the destiny of man, they reigned coequal with the gods, and usurped omnipotence in their dealings with the creatures of their hands. Again, all through our own Elizabethan writers there is the freest handling of religious matters whenever these come within the sweep of their pen. One has only to imagine the whole batch of dramatists of that era set to write a play that should be successful upon our modern English stage if produced for the first time to-day, to see how much the temper and state of preparation of the audience and the knowledge of the dramatist that what he writes will be accepted

seriously and in good faith, have to do with the production of great plays. We will take the three greatest and most representative names of that age, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, and ask how they dealt with religious matters. The comparison is very interesting, as it also incidentally discovers the different bent of each genius and the different texture of his mind. The essential reverence of these three writers will scarcely be questioned if reverence is to be reckoned by the wholesomeness of the feelings rather than by the squeamishness of the ears. Though even in the matter of words it may be asked whether the clean and healthy outspokenness of some of the Elizabethan writers is not more reverent of everything worth reverence than the putrid leer and imbecile suggestiveness of some music-hall songs that have been imported into the modern theatre.

To begin with Christopher Marlowe, 'Son first-born of the morning, sovereign star!' In Marlowe there is none of the familiar playful quotation of Scripture so frequent in Shakespeare, or the broadly comic portraiture of religious hypocrisy unctuously mouthing Holy Writ to its own ends that Ben Jonson delights in. Marlowe's fiery genius sets directly about its main ends, and in *Doctor Faustus* seizes the heart and core of the Christian doctrine, and appropriates as much as is necessary for the scheme of his play. There is no hesitation, no question in Marlowe's mind as to the perfect right of his art to enter this region and take full possession of it. Fragments of Christian dogma are tossed hither and thither in the burning whirlpool with waifs and strays of heathen history and mythology, while the living heat of the poet's imagination binds and mats all the strange ingredients into one liquid flame of terror, and the spectator watches, with harrowing suspense and breathless inescapable impression of reality, the damnation of a soul. Omitting the wretched buffoonery of the comic scenes as possible interpolations or concessions to the groundlings, there is no room left for any thought of reverence or irreverence. The question of the comparative truth of the Greek mythology and the creed of Christendom sinks into a matter of 'words, words, words,' as we contemplate the awful picture of the death agony of Faustus. Marlowe compels our acquiescence that *that* at least is real, is true. It would be impertinent to defend the *Faustus* against any possible charge of irreverence which the rancid, bilious temperament of superfine godliness might bring against it. No poet ever reaches such inaccessible heights of inspiration without remaining quite impervious and out of the reach of harm by any assault from that quarter. It could only be in an outburst of bewildered indignation or riotous satire that one could put the question, whether in the matter of reverence of man's spiritual nature the age that produced Marlowe's *Faustus* has any need to feel ashamed of itself when brought to the bar of the age that demanded a version of the same legend brought down to the average intelligence of a modern burlesque audience.

Upon turning from Marlowe to Shakespeare, we find a difference in the treatment of sacred subjects and the poet's attitude towards religion such as corresponds with the difference in the genius and temper of the two men. In neither of his four great tragedies is Shakespeare employed upon so vast and tremendous a theme as Marlowe had to work upon in *Faustus*. Neither *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, nor *Othello* have the same inherent supernatural grandeur, though all of them are far more human and domestic. It is useless, though it is most interesting to speculate, supposing that the ground had not been already occupied by Marlowe, what Shakespeare might have given us if he had treated the legend of Faustus in the meridian of his powers, in the *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* period.

In no respect is the varied universal play of Shakespeare's genius, and his royal dominion over all things human and divine, more fully shown than in the use he makes of the Bible. He treats the Scriptures as if they belonged to him. Bishop Wordsworth, in his *Shakespeare and the Bible*, finds in the poet more than 550 Biblical quotations, allusions, references, and sentiments. *Hamlet* alone contains about eighty, *Richard the Third* nearly fifty, *Henry the Fifth* and *Richard the Second* about forty each. Shakespeare quotes from fifty-four of the Biblical books, and not one of his thirty-seven plays is without a Scriptural reference. Genesis furnishes the poet with thirty-one quotations or allusions, the Psalms with fifty-nine, Proverbs with thirty-five, Isaiah with twenty-one, Matthew with sixty, Luke with thirty-three, and Romans with twenty-three. Shakespeare does not take religious dogma for the foundation of any play, as Marlowe did in *Faustus*, nor does he search into the private life of religious persons as Ben Jonson and Molière did. All the bishops, friars, and legates who figure in his plays do so in their official capacity. How significant is the wide difference of Shakespeare's portraiture of hypocrisy in the 'prentie Angelo' from Ben Jonson's and Molière's portraiture of the same vice in the Banbury Puritan and in the *Tartuffe*!

What most strikes us in considering Shakespeare's attitude towards religion is the thorough saturation of his plays in the spirit and sentiment and phraseology of the moral rather than the doctrinal portion of Scripture. Though doctrinal allusions are far from scanty in his works, yet they are so little pronounced, so vaguely or discreetly worded, or belong so clearly to the official position of the speaker rather than to the conviction of the author, or are so common to all the sects, or if pertaining to one of them are cancelled by allusions to other doctrines sanctioned by other sects: in a word, so little sectarian bias peeps out in Shakespeare, that Catholics and Anglicans and Independents have alike claimed him as belonging to their communion.

Shakespeare may or may not have been a believer in baptismal grace. It is, however, refreshing in the present dearth upon our stage of original English comedy to find so lively a compensation

for its absence at our theatres, and so illustrious a proof of its present and perennial vitality in English life, as is afforded by the spectacle of a bishop laying^O the flattering unction to his soul that Shakespeare was a devout believer in this same doctrine of baptismal grace, because of two rather meagre and casual allusions to it which Shakespeare has placed in the mouths of two such widely diverse and problematic subjects for the operation of the sacrament as Henry the Fifth and Iago. Our sense of obligation to the good bishop is further deepened by his skilful complication of the situation in the introduction upon the scene of Mr. Bowdler. Mr. Bowdler, it appears, in his *Family Shakespeare*, has, with an excess of cautious reverence which the bishop feels must cause the judicious reader surprise and regret—Mr. Bowdler has seen reason to put half-asunder such an evidently unsuitable pair of yokefellows as Iago and baptismal grace, which Shakespeare had joined together. Mr. Bowdler has omitted the latter of Iago's lines:—

To win the Moor—were 't to renounce his baptism,
All seals and symbols of redeemed sin.

Could ingenuity of mortal man have devised a more exquisitely humorous situation than is here, without any connivance of our own, forced upon us? What aspect of the imbroglio to glance at first or last, what logical way out of the manifold perplexity, whom to sympathise with first or most, Bishop Wordsworth or Mr. Bowdler, or Shakespeare handcuffed between them, one knows not, so thickly the higgledy-piggledy crowd of incongruities come tumbling upon us! Poor timid Bowdler, very anxious to preserve Shakespeare for our families if one could do it without offence to decency and religion, still more anxious to preserve our families pious and respectable from contamination by Shakespeare's irreverence and loose talk, must at least stop Iago's mouth from blabbing of matters that Iago has no business to know anything about. Good bishop must have our Shakespeare for a devout Anglican, and lo! here is baptismal grace in our Shakespeare's soul, apparently tottering upon the rickety foundation of two incidental quotations in the lips of two such dubious connoisseurs of spiritual matters as Harry of England and the Spartan dog, while our poet's confirmed, desperate, ineradicable, irreclaimable, irrefragable paganism stands sure and 'foursquare to all the winds that blow,' based upon no less than one hundred and twenty-nine adjurations and appeals to heathen Jove and Jupiter, to say nothing of the rest of the Pantheon. Good bishop will, however, at all costs have our Shakespeare for a sound Churchman; will, in the present predicament, hazard the matter and baptise him will-he nill-he, were it but for the sake of so illustrious an example to his countrymen in a schismatic nineteenth century. And now up comes the wretched Bowdler with his whitewashing apparatus, and, applying the proverbial zealous ignorance of indiscriminate 'Church restoration' to Shake-

speare, is actually shaking down one of our slender props of grace in the poet's soul; has actually taken away from us the welcome evidence of the irreproachable Iago—we must hasten and bolster up the frail tenement with our own episcopal shoulders and administer a gentle episcopal chastisement to Bowdler, the well-meaning, mischief-doing little man!

Shade of that immortal genius, with what a smile of kindly pity dost thou elude all our attempts to cabin, crib, and confine in the fetters and tatters of our particular sect, thy spirit whose creed was broad and general as the casing air, as wide and universal as the beneficent heaven whose arch rests impenetrably bright or impenetrably dark over every soul of man! How small a concern Shakespeare had for creeds and doctrines may best be gathered from the absence of any marked influence upon his plays of the religious struggle which England had passed through in the previous generation. And yet he is steeped in the language and spirit of the Bible. And it is just this attitude of his towards the English Scriptures that fits him to be the representative poet of England. With more care for dogma he might have sunk into the mere poetical figurehead of a sect or a creed; with less care for morality his work would have lacked the deep and permanent foundation, that all great art instinctively chooses, of resting upon wide-reaching principles of justice and truth that all human hearts as instinctively recognise and accept. The hateful, foolish, convenient maxim so often dinned into our ears of late, that the English modern drama should teach nothing and believe in nothing, receives no countenance from the greatest dramatists of the past, least of all from Shakespeare. The greatest art is as instinctively, as relentlessly, though as unobtrusively moral as Nature herself. One cannot always perceive it, but there is no escaping it. Dante inflicting the tortures of damnation upon myriads of innocent babes is as relentless as Nature in England to-day condemning myriads of English babes to the deep damnation of the life-long inheritance and propagation of their fathers' and forefathers' vices and diseases and crimes. Nature can do that; so can Dante, and Calvinists may take heart of grace from contemplating the fact.

It will not be necessary to dwell upon the didactic side and purpose of Shakespeare's constant employment of Scriptural phrases, precepts, and aspirations. Many of his best known and most frequently quoted passages are parallelisms or paraphrases of Scripture morality, or of some part of that large body of moral axioms and worldly wisdom and justice which belongs alike to the Bible and to other systems of religion and philosophy. Instances are so numerous and well known that they will occur to everyone. It is generally and carelessly assumed that these didactic passages convey the nature and extent of Shakespeare's relations and obligations to the Bible. But this is far from being the fact. His didactic use of Scripture history and

morality, though it is the noblest and most valuable, is by no means the only result, nor is it the personal and distinguishing mark, of Shakespeare's close acquaintance with the Bible. Many other poets have freely employed Scripture for serious and didactic ends from Milton down to Montgomery. What distinguishes Shakespeare is the perfectly free and playful and every-day use he makes of Scripture by putting it into the mouths of all sorts and conditions of people on all sorts of occasions. Surely those keen huntsmen of 'lewd and pernicious enormity' in innocent places, those playgoers who strain at the gnat of a solitary Scriptural allusion in a modern play, can have no notion what herds of camels they swallow every time they witness a play of Shakespeare's in its integrity.

How utterly subservient Shakespeare deems the treatment of religion upon the stage to the preservation of dramatic truth and reality may be seen in *Richard the Third*, where religion and morality become the flimsiest child's baubles in the merciless intellectual grasp of the tyrant.

Iago, besides being an authority on the efficacy of baptismal grace, is 'full of most blessed condition' in his reference to Holy Writ, and his constant display of wise and moral maxims. Poor Bowdler cannot understand it, and smells irreverence.

Richard the Second so far allows his sense of human injury to get the better of his sense of religious propriety that he institutes a comparison in the matter of treachery between himself and Christ, and earlier in the play he cries out upon Bagot, Bushy, and Green as 'three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas!' Poor Bowdler can do nothing but hold up his hands in horror and will certainly excise the passage, and Bishop Wordsworth shall smilingly pat his approval. No possible testimony to the efficacy of baptismal grace to be squeezed out of such a line! Away with it!

Shylock has several allusions to Old Testament personages and facts, whose use is not very apparent to the dim, bewildered, tender-conscienced, narrow-visioned Bowdler. While what can family respectability and piety make of such a speech as, 'Yes, to smell pork; to eat of the habitation which your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into?' a speech in which the heights of dramatic propriety and religious impropriety are simultaneously reached at one bound. Bowdlerism can only sorrowfully shake its poor bewildered head at the dramatist's readiness to sacrifice every rag of deference to its pet prejudices, and, at all costs, to give the full and exact truth of Shylock's manner of speech.

There are a large number of Scriptural allusions in Shakespeare which apparently have neither any moral to enforce, nor any special dramatic fitness to the speaker or the occasion. Of such is Antony's—

Oh, that I were
Upon the hill of Basan to outoar
The horned herd!

which shows Shakespeare's, rather than Antony's, diligent study of the Old Testament, and which indiscriminate and unnecessary employment of Scripture language must again shock and grieve our poor sensitive Bowdler, and fill the soul of that great mountain of British Bowdlerism, Samuel Johnson, with 'pity and indignation.' Leaving Bowdlerism to digest or reject as it may this frequent indiscriminate and casual employment of Scripture by somewhat unqualified persons, we pass on to notice what is more shocking and irreverent still, the extensive acquaintance with sacred terms and topics shown by Shakespeare's clowns and comic personages.

Hamlet and *Richard the Third* may justly have some concern with the affairs of conscience, but what moral necessity, except perhaps the sufficiently obvious and imperative one of shocking all the tribe of Bowdlers, can there be to give Lancelot Gobbo a long soliloquy about conscience and the devil? What is there to be said for Cassio's broaching the awful tenets of Calvinism in a state of drivelling drunkenness? How are we to view the utter disregard of all poor Bowdler's sense of moral fitness, the reckless, callous, ingrained want of all consideration and fellow-feeling for jaundiced, green-sick, sour-milk, retchy, maudlin, sniffing, nibbling, dyspeptic, venomous, blear-eyed, addle-headed, spasm-bitten, puffy, flatulent, east-wind-swollen, nineteenth-century religiosity, which Shakespeare discovers in his unscrupulous relish for putting, on comic occasions, Scriptural allusions and terms and scraps into the mouths of such personages as Sir Toby Belch, Feste, Moth, Armado, Jaques, Celia, Touchstone, Mrs. Quickly, Justice Shallow, Prince Henry, Pinch the schoolmaster, Dromio of Syracuse, Mrs. Page, the gravedigger, the clown in *All's Well*, and the porter in *Macbeth*? 'Most unkindest kind cut of all,' and double superlative topsy-turvy perversion of all reverence, morality, and religion as Bowdler understands them, the arch-quoter and arch-purloiner of odds and ends from Holy Writ in all Shakespeare is none other than, whom could one guess?—Sir John Falstaff. Sir John—Heaven forbid one should fail of all due honour and respect to him when he comes so pat to support one's theory!—Sir John never loses an opportunity of patching up his old body for heaven by seasoning his conversation with godly saws and ancient instances. He is a perfect mine of Scriptural illustration, and seems to have had every qualification for editing a Reference Bible. 'I am as poor as Job, my lord, but not as patient.' 'In the state of innocence Adam fell, and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villainy?' 'Oh, if men were to be saved by merit, what hole in hell were hot enough for him?' 'A whoreson Achitophel.' 'I never see thy face but I think on hell-fire and Dives that lived in purple, for there he is in his robes, burning, burning, burning.' 'Slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth where the glutton's dogs licked his sores.' 'In the shape of man, Master Brooke, I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam, because I know also life is a shuttle,'—

two quotations and a dubious pun in one sentence. 'If to be fat is to be hated, then Pharaoh's lean kine are to be loved.' 'If then the tree may be known by the fruit.' 'And for thy walls a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the prodigal.' 'His face is Lucifer's kitchen, where he doth nothing but roast malt-worms.' 'I think the devil will not have me damned lest the oil that is in me should set hell on fire.' No abuse, good Mr. Bowdler, no abuse in the world! he does but dispraise reverence before the wicked, that the wicked may not fall in love with it. 'God be thanked for these Scriptural quotations; they offend none but the virtuous.'

Bowdlerism stands aghast, shuddering, wofully 'tickled in its catastrophe;' cannot for its life understand how this reckless want of reverence for all its consecrated baggage and pedlar's pack of shibboleths and symbols and phrases, is yet twinned with the deepest heart-reverence for virtue, and truth, and justice, and faith, and honesty, and beauty, and righteousness.

But, O Bowdlerism, think it over, what if Shakespeare's main idea about religion was even briefly this, the very same as another Teacher's idea about the Sabbath which also poor British Bowdlerism can never bring itself to accept—namely, that religion was made for man, and not man for religion.

On leaving Shakespeare and turning to Ben Jonson we are again met with a characteristic change in the poet's attitude towards Scriptural things. 'Broad-based, broad-fronted, bounteous, multi-form' Ben is more akin to Molière than to Shakespeare in his treatment of religious affairs and persons. Though Ben has no religious figure of such grave and terrible importance and tragic significance as Tartuffe, he has drawn the hypocrites of his time with a fierce and unsparing hand. There is a riotous glee and overflowing merriment of satire in his delineations of Puritan hypocrisy in *Bartholomew Fair* and the *Alchemist*. The full-length portrait of Zeal-of-the-land Busy is without parallel and beyond all chance of competition in its inimitable force of broad truthful humour and merciless exposure of that constant type in English life, the religious professor who has but one object in life, the promotion of the self-same and identical interests of the glory of God and his own stomach. The scene in the fair, in which, after having gorged himself with Bartholomew pig as a protest against Judaism, he upsets Joan Trash's basket of gingerbread images as a protest against Popery, is one of the finest and richest pieces of comedy in our literature. A noticeable feature of Ben Jonson's religious professors is their inveterate habit of quoting Bible phrases. His deacons quote Scripture by the yard. Tribulation Wholesome, Ananias, the Banbury man, and Dame Purecraft are incurably afflicted with this loquacity of Scriptural quotation. One meets with as many as sixteen Scriptural allusions and phrases in about as many speeches. Ben Jonson seems to have been troubled with no qualms about the propriety of making his religious persons speak their

natural everyday language. To what a small extent this perfectly free treatment of Scriptural matters in Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Jonson is part of the general coarseness and freedom of speech in that time, is seen by the impossibility of tearing out and wrenching away these several portions of their works without great damage and injury to the remainder, and leaving the writer's mind and spirit misrepresented and mutilated; while almost every coarse and indecent expression in these writers may be readily stripped and detached from the setting in which it is found.

The mere mention of *Tartuffe* and its acknowledged position as one of the glories and masterpieces of universal dramatic literature is a sufficient reply, one would think, to all who urge that it is not lawful to treat religion upon the stage. The play and Molière's preface to it remain as a triumphant assertion for all time of the sovereignty of the drama in its own domain. And that domain is the whole of the nature, and heart, and passions, and conduct of men.

There is an old proverb which will of course be flung at any modern playwright who mentions such names as Shakespeare, Marlowe, Molière, and Ben Jonson. He will be reminded that fools rush in where angels fear to tread. But by your leave, good folks, the boot is fast stuck on the other leg this time. There is no maxim that forbids even fools to tread where angels have rushed in, and it is for you to prove how and why a modern playwright does wrong in treading after those whose shoe-latchets he is unworthy to loose. The quotation upon the stage by any character of any portion of the noblest example of our noble literature could never have sounded strange in modern ears until the debts of our language to those writings had been forgotten and annulled by those who would rather see our stately and beautiful mother-tongue turned into the roaring, gossiping, evil-speaking trollops of every vile resort, than employed as the mouthpiece and bearer of any intelligible message to mankind.

The success or failure of any individual play is of the merest momentary consequence, and need not here be brought into our thoughts. But the matter of a free atmosphere for dramatists to work in, the matter of some sort of an appeal or tribunal beyond the heated, changeful prejudices and caprices of the populace, is of the greatest importance to the future of the drama.

The question of the right of dramatists to faithfully depict modern religious life is only part of the much wider and more general question of their right and duty and ability to deal faithfully with whatsoever aspect they occupy themselves with of the huge unwieldy mass of modern human life. That larger right and duty indubitably contains the smaller; nay, cannot in any way be detached from it.

HENRY A. JONES.

CONFESSIONS OF AN ETON MASTER.

THERE is probably no institution on which the opinion of the initiated few is so hopelessly at variance with that of the uninitiated many, as that venerable relic of mediæval times which is known as the 'Eton system of education.' The typical patriotic Etonian is so thoroughly possessed with the conviction that in all material points Eton has attained not only pre-eminence, but perfection, in comparison with other schools, that he cannot by any argument be brought to admit that his *Alma Mater* can be in need of reform—reform, the bugbear of public schools, 'that hateful invention of overbearing Radicals,' as it was once characteristically described in a letter to an Eton magazine. The shrewd remark of a great American moralist, that 'the axis of the earth sticks out visibly through the centre of each and every town or city,' is true in a marked degree of Eton, as viewed from the Etonian standpoint; indeed, only those who have had personal experience of it can realise with what supreme content, what huge complacency of self-satisfaction, the Etonian regards the great school of which he is, or has been, a member. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the popular idea of Eton is very far from being equally complimentary; for to an outsider Eton generally appears the very incarnation of idleness and luxury, and its *alumni* little better than a horde of selfish and thriftless youngsters, who, under the specious name of education, are taught vicious habits of extravagance and self-indulgence.

The appointment of a new head-master at Eton has of late drawn especial attention to the management of the school, and invited renewed discussion of its merits and shortcomings. Much of this controversy must necessarily be somewhat barren and unprofitable, for, as I have just shown, there is little basis for a useful exchange of views between the uncompromising Etonian and the implacable outsider. As one, however, who does not belong to either of these extreme parties, I venture to offer an opinion on this vexed question of Eton education, and as I have been intimately acquainted with the place for the last eighteen years, and have spent five years there as a boy, and ten as a classical master, I hope my suggestions may not be entirely without weight.

The cardinal point of Eton education is the so-called 'tutorial

system.' That is to say, each boy, in addition to the regular work of the school, does certain preparatory work with one of the classical tutors, who corrects and signs his exercises, hears him construe the lessons before they are done in school, and maintains a general supervision over his studies. The advantages and disadvantages of this system are at once obvious. It is certainly an advantage to a boy to have throughout all his school career one tutor, to whom he can always look for advice and assistance, and with whom he can establish closer ties of friendship than usually exist between master and boy, though it has yet to be shown that the house-master cannot occupy the same position. On the other hand, it may be urged that it is a great waste of time that a boy should be obliged to repeat the same lessons to two different masters, and that such a system, by necessitating an enormous sacrifice of time on the tutor's part, thereby renders the regular school-work a matter of almost secondary consideration; for how can a master conduct his school-work efficiently, when he is distracted in his capacity of tutor by having to construe all the lessons and look over all the exercises that are set in *other* parts of the school?

Another grave complication which results from the tutorial system is the inequality between classical and mathematical masters. The latter, who are usually unable to perform the duties of private classical tuition, are thus excluded from that part of an Eton mastership which is held in most repute and is by far the most lucrative; while if they have boarding-houses of their own, they are compelled to hand over the direction of their boys' studies to some young classical tutor and content themselves with what (in spite of the recently invented name of '*house-tutor*') is in reality a subordinate position. The non-classical masters are accordingly in a constant state of rebellion against the present system, and openly avow that they will not rest until they have obtained complete equality with their classical colleagues; hence a very unsettled and uncomfortable state of affairs, which has certainly had a mischievous effect on the general work of the school.

There is again a third disadvantage in the tutorial system—viz. that it makes the introduction of modern subjects far more difficult than it would otherwise be. Hitherto, French, mathematics, and science have been taught in a casual and half-hearted manner, simply because the classical masters have insisted on appropriating so much of the boys' time that it is impossible to teach anything effectually in the remainder. If modern subjects were to be seriously introduced and a '*modern side*' instituted, boys would be compelled to drop a large part of their present classical tuition; and this would necessitate the abolition of the tutorial fee, and the reorganisation of the whole system of payment. What wonder if, under such circumstances, the study of modern subjects has not flourished at our greatest public school?

It will be seen from what I have already said, that the Eton tutorial system is by no means the smoothly working machine that its votaries would have us believe it to be; I hope presently to show that it is the great obstacle in the way of all real reform at Eton, and that until it is done away with, there can be no substantial improvement in the method of education. *Delenda est Carthago*—the tutorial system must be abolished—is to be the moral of this article. But before we proceed to consider how this revolution can be accomplished, it may be well to see what truth there is in the popular opinion concerning Eton itself.

I believe there is much exaggeration on both sides; not only in the patriotic determination to see no fault in anything Etonian, which may be set aside as the childishness of real or overgrown schoolboys, but also in the hostility of those who brand all Eton boys as irreclaimably idle, and deny even the merit of good intentions to those who have the management of the school. I am afraid the malady which is at the root of Etonian troubles is more complicated and deep-seated than any mere idleness, pure and simple, among the boys; for whereas the remedy for downright idleness is comparatively easy and expeditious, it is extremely difficult to reform an intricate and misdirected system of education. This, unfortunately, is precisely the fault of Eton; not so much the unwillingness of the boys to work, as the anomalies of a system which render useful work almost impossible, and the existence of certain 'interests' which, insensibly, of course, and indirectly, but none the less surely, prejudice the minds of the masters against reform. In the opposition which the majority of classical masters offer to all innovation, I am compelled to think the wish is father to the thought; as was once said of the Conservative party, they have some valuable possessions and they mean to 'conserve' them. On the other hand, the boys could certainly be made to work under a more sensible organisation; even now some of the more conscientious of them, besides the few who are ambitious, do a good deal of work, and even complain at times of being overtasked. In fact, it is not mere idleness that reigns supreme at Eton, so much as a *strenua inertia*—a busy sloth—which, with much bustle and profession, effects practically nothing, and, by the exhibition of its own worthlessness, drives the boys more and more to the worship of athleticism, that great deity of the youthful mind.

It is vain to point to additional school-hours, an increased number of exercises, examinations without end, and a general show of scholastic activity: the mournful fact remains, uncontroverted and incontrovertible, that under the present system little is taught, and little can be taught, and therefore a general spirit of heartlessness and discouragement (none the less real because it is not openly acknowledged; it would be high treason to do that) pervades alike the minds of masters and boys. The Eton system may be aptly compared to an oarsman who

through some unhappy peculiarity of mind persists in rowing against that part of a stream where the current is insuperable, and who, after vast expenditure of time and labour, and a masterly exhibition of oarsmanship, finds himself at the end in precisely the same position as when his work began. It would be unjust to call such an one idle; but it is also impossible to congratulate him on his progress; worst of all, it is doubly hard to convince him that his time is misspent, for he can point to his sweating brow and tired arms as evidences of his success. Even so it is at Eton—work there is, but useful work there certainly is not; little wonder then if the boys turn aside from the culture of the intellect, presented as it is to them under the guise of a perfectly barren and unprofitable labour, and give themselves over to a pursuit which is at least possible and practicable, and from which they gain some definite result—the culture of the body by athletic exercise.

But here it will probably be asked, What are the causes which make work at Eton so discouraging and unsuccessful? They may be described as faults partly in the choice of subjects taught, and partly in the method of teaching, the former being to some extent common to all public schools, the latter peculiarly inherent in that system of which we are speaking. In the first place, it can hardly be denied that it is a mistake to attempt to teach many subjects at the same time. Classics still remain the basis of an Eton education; yet the governing body are constantly making rules that this or that modern subject is to be introduced, without in any way explaining how it can be taught efficiently unless some portion of the classical work is allowed to be dropped. The result is, of course, disastrous both to the old studies and the new, for the effective teaching of the former is seriously impaired, while the merest smattering is obtained of the latter.

Again, a serious mistake is made in aiming at an impossibly high standard of classical teaching, the whole system of which seems to be based on the assumption that every boy is capable of being made a scholar or grammarian. Accordingly, the dullest and most backward boys are plunged, together with the cleverest, into that great vortex of mistaken and unsuccessful teaching, from which there emerge ninety-nine blockheads to one scholar; nor is it possible to see how this can be remedied, until headmasters awake to the fact that the attempt to teach the niceties of scholarship and the elegancies of Latin verse must ever be useless, and worse than useless, in the case of a large majority of boys. It is vain to attempt to take refuge in that ingenious after-thought, which has lately been put forward by some apologists of the old classical system—viz. that the object of education is not to learn, but ‘to learn how to learn;’ not so much to acquire actual knowledge as to train the mind so as to be capable of acquiring it; for, even if we grant this very large assumption, still the retort is imminent, that under the present

system boys do not 'learn how to learn.' The most telling part of Mr. Walter Wren's indictment of the public-school system, is where he disposes of this most unvarratable claim, and from my own experience at Eton I can certainly corroborate what he says :—

You would not believe it possible how utterly ignorant are many of the public schoolboys who are sent to us. They literally do not know how to read a book. I don't mean to say that they do not know their alphabet, and cannot read a book aloud ; but that they have absolutely no idea of reading a book in order to absorb its subject-matter.

This may sound extraordinary ; but it is after all only the necessary result of what is known as 'a classical education'—an education, that is, in which a boy is allowed to grow up in perfect ignorance of the literature and grammar of his own language, in order that he may devote much time to Latin and Greek scholarship, a pursuit in which, in nine cases out of ten, he is naturally incapable of success. He devotes the time, and the time is lost ; for in the end he fails to master the Latin and Greek, and has to go elsewhere to be taught something more within his powers.

Secondly, as regards the method of teaching employed at Eton, I fear it must be admitted that it is distinctly and deplorably bad. Those who are unacquainted with the inner working of the school, who see only its imposing exterior, and are impressed by the *prestige* of its antiquity and renown, would find it difficult to believe how utterly unscientific (to use the mildest word) is the system of education employed. To begin with, the divisions are of enormous size, seldom numbering under thirty boys in each, and occasionally over forty, and these divisions are placed in the charge of men who, whatever their own classical accomplishments may be, are wholly destitute, in all but a very few cases, of any special ability for undertaking so arduous a charge, having generally come as young men direct from the university, without any previous training for the profession of master. It is, indeed, passing strange that the duty of instructing boys 'to learn how to learn' should be so confidently committed to those who have themselves never been taught how to teach !

The size of the divisions is the first serious difficulty that a master has to grapple with ; the next is the system of preparing work 'out of school.' Owing to the fact that the division masters are also classical tutors, their time is so much occupied with pupil-room work that it is impossible for them to see the boys in their division except at the fixed school-hours, which are short and not very numerous ; the task of preparing school-work is therefore left in the main to the boy's own discretion, and his fear of detection by his tutor or division master if it be neglected. It is obvious, however, that with such thoughtless and improvident creatures as boys, the passing pleasure of the moment will generally have more weight

than any consideration of future penalties; work is therefore constantly neglected, and hence results a constant friction between master and boy, with punishments, and arrears of work, and punishments, and arrears again, all of which might have been entirely avoided by the simple expedient of making the boy in the first place prepare his lesson under supervision.

It will now be readily understood that though much work is *set* at Eton, little is really *done*, except of course by a few model boys who often, as I said before, find themselves positively overtaken, while others, of a less conscientious frame of mind, enjoy comparative immunity from labour. The masters, on their side, struggle courageously to exact the work, and there are a few who are so gifted by nature with the faculty of managing boys as to be able to produce some small results; the majority certainly fail unmistakably, though their failure is not much to be wondered at, as the very conditions of the struggle render success almost impossible. Each classical master meets his division on the average for three schools each day, the length of the schools being only three-quarters of an hour, in which time he is expected to ascertain if some thirty or forty boys have prepared their lessons properly, and to punish those who offend in the matter of punctuality, good conduct, and industry. In the interval between the schools the master is fully occupied in private work with his own classical pupils' work, which, though called private, is yet absolutely necessary to be done; while the boys in his division are on their part carried into captivity by their tutors, mathematical masters, French masters, science masters, and any one else who has a demand on their time.

In the perplexity and confusion of this complicated system there are of course many opportunities for an idle boy to play off one master against another, and shirk his work altogether; it is certainly a very disheartening and up-hill struggle for a master who wishes to perform his duty thoroughly. I have often known it happen that the same boy is 'sent for' after school by several different masters, all desirous of extracting from him some arrears of work; while the offender himself, with an impartial forgetfulness of all, and remembering the old proverb 'In for a penny, in for a pound,' quietly betakes himself to the playground, and gives himself up to complete, though only temporary, enjoyment. In the meantime his tutor is fuming with impotent rage in pupil-room, or perhaps laboriously correcting the weekly copy of verses which the truant will soon be expected to show up, signed and corrected, in school.

This reminds me to mention what is perhaps the most startling feature of the Eton system of education—the way in which the bulk of the work is made to fall on the shoulders of the tutor rather than the pupil. Vicarious labour is in great vogue at Eton, for not only does the 'out of school' preparation give unexampled opportunities for copying and getting help from other boys, but the whole arrangement of pupil-

room work is such as to entail a maximum of trouble to the master and a minimum to the boy. As the most glaring instance of the faulty methods of the old Eton system, and its utter disregard of the value of time, it may be worth while to describe as briefly as possible the manner of teaching Latin verse which is actually in use at the present time; though it is understood that the new headmaster will shortly modify some of its most objectionable details.

Every week a copy of verses is set by each of the fifteen or sixteen masters who take fifth-form divisions, and these verses have to be done by the boys as best they can, and shown up for correction not to the master who set them, but to the classical tutors. The tutor corrects the verses, eliminates 'false quantities' and all other mistakes, in the course of which operation he has himself to compose a good deal of Latin poetry, and then returns the copy to the boy, who writes a fair copy out of school, and finally shows up both copies to the division master at the end of the week. Now it is a very doubtful question (or rather, most people will say, it is *not* a very doubtful question!) whether Latin verses are worth teaching at all. Verse composition may be called 'the Sick Man' of classical education, and the period is probably not far distant when, in spite of all the nostrums and remedies prescribed by the Sick Man's friends, in the way of improved verse-books and English-Latin dictionaries, remedies which have at least the merit of soothing the patient's last agonies, and rendering them less grievous to those who are compelled to stand round his death-bed, it will go the way of all flesh, and be consigned to the oblivion suitable to all antiquated lumber. But, assuming for the present that verses must be taught in our schools, we shall all be agreed that they ought to be taught as efficiently as possible. Yet, when we examine the Eton method, we find that it is so curiously contrived, so marvellously and wonderfully made, as to be in every respect most useless and unprofitable, and to involve a ruinous waste of time to the master, with every facility of being idle for the boy. In the first place, unless the verses are done under supervision there is no safeguard against copying; in fact it is notorious that many boys habitually get their work done for them, and in some houses there are regular verse-makers—accommodating poets who turn their natural gifts to some account for the public welfare. Secondly, the labour thrown upon the tutor is out of all proportion to the benefit derived by the boy; for the task of reading, understanding, and correcting copies of verses, the subjects of which were set by other masters, and are therefore quite strange and often very puzzling, is a herculean labour from which even the ancient grammarians might have shrunk in dismay. Thus two masters are set to work to get a copy of verses from one boy, and even when they have got it, they cannot feel certain it is not done by somebody else! All this folly would be saved, if the verses were done entirely in

school, and left wholly to the correction of the master who set them. Nothing but waste of time can possibly result from the exercise being taken to the tutors; indeed this is obviously done solely for the purpose of creating tutorial work and maintaining the *raison d'être* for the tutorial fee.

These, it seems to me, are the chief defects in the Eton method of education, and they are nearly all connected with one fatal error—the idea that it is wise to allow boys to choose their own time and place in preparation of their lessons. Well may those who are taunted with being professors of the ‘cramming system’ retort on their public-school adversaries that the ‘shamming system’ is still more injurious. For I fear that ‘shamming’ is the chief result of that ‘Liberty’ which is the pride of Eton boys, above all others, to possess, and on which they are often congratulated from the pulpit of the college chapel under the well-known phrase of ‘the liberty of this great public school.’ There is always a fascination in the mere name of liberty; yet the liberty to be idle is a privilege which it is decidedly unwise to allow to school-boys, who are certain to abuse it. Indeed it is inconceivable that the original founders of the Eton system had a deliberate intention of giving their boys any such liberty; but no doubt through the growth of the school, and lack of efficient organisation, it became more and more difficult to enforce a proper preparation of work; whence arose what may aptly be called the voluntary system of education, which, by a happy afterthought, somewhat similar to the discovery that learning is less important than ‘learning how to learn,’ was glorified under the name of liberty. Under this system many boys learn the art of doing the minimum of work required, with the least possible trouble to themselves, at the cost, I think, of a good deal of self-respect and straightforwardness of character; others make an honest attempt to do their duty, but, owing to the immense amount and the perplexing nature of the work, they are generally discouraged by the sheer impossibility of the task set before them, and finally succumb to the surrounding atmosphere of athleticism. Few who are conversant with Eton will venture to deny the truth of Sydney’s Smith’s remark—‘The boy who is lexicon-struck in early youth looks upon all books afterwards with horror, and goes over to the blockheads.’

In condemning the so-called liberty of public-school education, I do not of course mean to imply that there is any merit in the contrary extreme of personal interference and constant supervision at every point of a boy’s school career; for it is doubtless a wise plan to put all reasonable trust in a boy’s honour and to avoid irritating him by petty and unnecessary restrictions. In the case of boys in the highest part of the school who have proved themselves trustworthy, and are old enough to work satisfactorily by themselves, greater liberty as regards the time and manner of their work might confidently be

allowed; nor is there any reason why those exercises which are really voluntary, such for instance as are done in competition for a prize and involve extra work beyond the ordinary routine, should not be left entirely to the boy's own judgment and discretion. But in dealing with ordinary boys, and in the case of work which is held to be an integral part of the regular school teaching, it is surely right to see that what is set is done; it cannot strengthen a boy's character, but must have the contrary effect, to give him a 'liberty' which will probably inure him to habits of procrastination and carelessness at the very time of life when he is supposed to be learning regularity and obedience. It is curious to observe, that as long ago as the year 1800, De Quincey had noticed this defect in the Etonian character, which he contrasts with that of his fellow-students at the Manchester Grammar School:—¹

The grave kindness (he says) and the absolute sincerity of their manner (at Manchester) impressed me most favourably. I had lived familiarly with boys gathered from all quarters of the island at the Bath Grammar School; and for some time, when visiting Lord Altamont at Eton, with boys of the highest aristocratic pretensions. At Bath and Eton, though not equally, there prevailed a tone of higher polish; and in the air, speech, deportment of the majority could be traced at once a premature knowledge of the world. They had indeed the advantage over my new friends in graceful self-possession; but, on the other hand, the best of them suffered by comparison with these Manchester boys in the qualities of visible self-restraint and of self-respect.

This failure of the Eton system to produce satisfactory results in the way of education is the more deplorable, on account of the undeniable excellence of the material of which the school is composed. Every year some two hundred new boys are entered, a large proportion of them finely bred, active little fellows, thoroughly good-tempered, docile, and anxious to give satisfaction. Some have excellent intellectual ability; others of course are very stupid; but it should be remembered that many of these latter, though apparently hopelessly dull in the peculiar classical *curriculum* which is alone recognised at Eton, would develop unexpected powers if a wider and more liberal choice of subjects were allowed. At any rate the boys, previous to their entry at Eton, have had no experience of the voluntary or the vicarious system of education; they have been made to learn their lessons thoroughly, and have not acquired the art of neglecting their work or getting it done for them by their schoolfellows. In this healthy state of body and mind they are brought in shoals at the beginning of each school-time by their anxious parents or guardians, who are determined to obtain for them the best possible education, and launched into that great vortex of which I before spoke. At the end of four or five years they emerge; and what is then their condition? I speak only of intellectual acquirements: possibly, as is sometimes urged, the social advantages of Eton outbalance educa-

¹ De Quincey, vol. i. p. 45.

tional defects; but as far as learning or 'learning to learn' is concerned, I fear the average Etonian has fared but indifferently.

The seventy Collegers and a handful of industrious Oppidans may keep up appearances by gaining university scholarships and the like, but the rank and file of the school are hopelessly and irretrievably unintellectual. They know little; they hate books; they regard scholars with good-humoured indifference or neglect; they worship athletes with an ever-increasing veneration: to mention the Newcastle scholar of the current year would be to the majority a painful effort of memory; the Captain of the Boats, or the Captain of the Eleven, is a deity ever present before their minds. I protest that in my experience of Eton I have known nothing so sad as to watch the gradual process of deterioration in the industry of a new boy. For the first fortnight or so all is perfection; the boy is punctual, diligent, eager to do his work conscientiously; then comes a period when he begins to look about him, and to note with a mild surprise the indifference of other boys to their lessons, and the inability of the masters to enforce thorough diligence; finally he yields to the temptation that everywhere surrounds him, eats of the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge (or rather Ignorance), and gradually sinks into a state of mental inactivity. An amusing story used to be told of two brothers, members of a well-known Etonian family, which, whether apocryphal or not, will serve to illustrate what I have been saying. The *major* was being severely rated by his tutor on account of his idleness at Eton, and his more industrious *minor* was held up as at once a pattern and reproof. This unjust aggravation of an admitted offence was more than he could bear, and he hurriedly and earnestly pleaded, in perfect simplicity, and confident of thus instantly righting his injured reputation, that his *minor* had only lately entered the school, while he had been an Etonian some years. 'The last shall be the first, and the first last,' is a prophecy which has its daily fulfilment at Eton.

What then can be done to remove the various obstacles that at present bar the way of educational success at Eton? I believe the first, the most indispensable, change must be the abolition of the tutorial system. This change may perhaps be effected quietly and gradually, but unless it be done thoroughly, and by one who is far-sighted enough to see the full import of his measures, no true reform is possible. For I think that all who are interested in the cause of education will admit that reform at Eton, if we are to have any, must be effected by means of some such measures as I will now proceed to indicate, the most important of which will be seen to be quite incompatible with the present system of tuition.

1. The attempt to teach many subjects at the same time should be given up. If mathematics, science, history, geography, and modern languages are to be successfully taught, we must recognise

the necessity of dropping some portion of the classical work ; and instead of being all forced into the classical groove, boys must be allowed to choose those subjects which they are naturally most capable of mastering. In other words, a 'modern side' must be established, and classics must be deprived of the supremacy they have so long enjoyed. This, which at most other schools might be a simple and natural arrangement, would involve a really momentous change at Eton, because it would necessitate the abolition of the special privileges at present held by the classical masters. For if a large number of boys ceased to study classics as the main branch of their education, what would become of the classical tuition, the 'construing' and the 'verses' and the 'private business,' for which every tutor at present receives twenty guineas per annum for each pupil ? It is obvious that this money could no longer be paid to the classical tutors, whose assistance would no longer be required ; it is consequently not difficult to understand that any depreciation of the value of classical learning is very unpopular among the most influential Eton masters. A modern side means practically the abolition of the tutorial system, and the abolition of the tutorial system means the readjustment of the whole question of salaries, which in a competitive and anomalous state of affairs such as prevails at Eton must of course be very distasteful to the most prosperous, and therefore most powerful, of the tutors.

2. All the regular schoolwork, except perhaps in the upper part of the school, should be done under supervision, instead of being left to the boy's discretion as to the time and method of preparation. It would seem at first sight as if this arrangement might be made to harmonise with the tutorial system, but this is not the case, for in proportion as the work is taken out of the hands of the tutor and done under the direction of the division master, there is less and less necessity for keeping up the old tutorial system. The saving of time and labour that would be effected by any such change must tend more or less to throw the tutor out of work, and necessitate at any rate a reduction of the tutorial fee. Accordingly we find that any thoroughgoing plan of this kind, though in itself perfectly simple and demanded by the plainest dictates of common sense, has hitherto found no favour whatever with the authorities at Eton. The plea of boyish 'liberty' has been put forward, and the corrupt old system perpetuated year after year, the solemn farce of leaving boys to prepare their own work at their own time being religiously played out, in order that existing institutions may not be interfered with.

3. The size of the divisions should be greatly reduced. The task of teaching and maintaining discipline over more than thirty boys is one which very few masters are capable of discharging efficiently ; indeed it may be doubted if anything exceeding half that number is not likely to endanger real excellence in teaching, such as one might

surely look for at the first of English public schools. The difficulty of managing troublesome and unwieldy divisions is, and has always been, one of the most fruitful causes of failure in the Eton system; yet whenever the question is brought forward, and remonstrance made, the answer is always the same—that the School Fund is not prosperous enough to warrant the appointment of more masters. It should be remembered, however, that the School Fund would be prosperous in the extreme the moment the tutorial system were abolished or even modified. At present some 18,000*l.* are annually devoted towards the payment of the tutorial fees alone; if this money were paid directly to the School Fund instead of going indirectly to classical tutors, it is evident that not only might a much fairer and more equitable plan of salaries be devised, but that there would also be a considerable margin to be used for the appointment of more masters, and the consequent lessening of the number of boys in each division. The large divisions are in fact merely the necessary outcome of an anomalous system of payment, by which individuals profit largely at the expense of the community. The plea of insufficient funds is quite fallacious; the real difficulty here, as in every other question of reform, lies in the existence of the tutorial system, and the stubborn opposition of its votaries to any real change.

4. Lastly, I would urge that the system of teaching might be made much more efficient, if some accessory improvements were carried out in certain minor, but by no means unimportant, matters. Leave of absence to visit parents and friends should not be granted in the indiscriminate manner which at present prevails. Instead of allowing each boy to take his *exeat* at any time he chooses, to the constant annoyance of division masters, and great detriment to work, there should be one fixed time in the half which might be a true holiday to boys and masters alike. The length of school hours should be increased, and the absurd habit of having *three* half-holidays in the week should be at once dropped, together with the still more amazing custom of observing saints' days and certain other days as whole holidays. It is not so much the mere loss of time thus occasioned that is to be deplored, though that too is considerable, as the fact that these constant interruptions in the school routine distract the attention of the boys from all literary occupation, and give opportunities for endless matches and athletic contests, which foster the spirit of athleticism at the expense of all other considerations. It will hardly be believed by some of my readers, when I state that the number of whole and half-holidays in the summer school-time of 1884, was forty-four, exclusive of Sundays, while the 'whole school days' numbered only thirty-five. How is it possible that boys who are turned out to run wild from midday, or at any rate from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m., on more than half the days in the week, can become otherwise than indifferent to their work? It is useless to plead that they

have plenty of work set them to prepare in their rooms, if they choose to do it. The fact remains that the majority do *not* choose to do it, or at any rate to do it properly; and it is small consolation to know that a few conscientious boys have enough, or too much, to do, while the others are enjoying immunity from labour. Still less satisfaction is it to remember that many of the idlers pay the penalty for their thoughtlessness by being compelled to write long 'punishments,' and clear off arrears of work at unseasonable hours, for all these penalties would be almost entirely unnecessary if only a rational and practical method were adopted, by which the boys might be *made* to do their work, instead of being merely *told* to do it.

There is nothing new in the proposal of these remedies; they have often been suggested before, and will probably have to be often suggested again, before Etonian patriots condescend to consider them. For let there be no mistake as to who are the real opponents of such reforms. It is not a fact, as is often wrongly stated, that the parents of the boys, in their complete content at the satisfactory management of the school, would be made uneasy by any alteration in so perfect a system. I am sure the parents are much maligned on this point; for the majority of them are fully aware of the defects in the teaching at Eton, and would welcome any change which would make the education a real and not a nominal one. But there is a minority of parents, men who were themselves educated at Eton, and fully imbued with all the prejudices of the place, who more frequently visit their old school and keep up a closer connection with it, and thus pose as representatives of the parental class, and make their own opinions pass for those of the less demonstrative majority. It is these men, Etonian to the core, and determined to see no fault in what they have always understood to be perfect, who encourage the authorities of the school in their resistance to all changes, and make any real reform impossible. Their sentiments are admirably expressed by Sydney Smith in his essay on 'Methods of Teaching Languages'—'Aye, aye, it's all mighty well—but I went through this myself, and I am determined my children shall do the same.' These are the parents who delight to think that their sons are engaged in the same boyish freaks which they themselves used to perpetrate; who rejoice to hear of their being 'swished,' because that is a proof that they are idle, and idleness is one of the characteristics of a gentleman's education.

But while this noisy and patriotic minority are loudly asserting that *savoir-faire* is better than book-learning, there can be little doubt that the great body of parents are at heart discontented at the lack of efficient teaching and stringent government. Unfortunately they are scattered over the country, unable to combine together through having no bond of union as the Etonians have, and therefore despair of obtaining any redress. And certainly it would be useless,

and worse than useless, to look for any substantial reform from the governing body, or staff of masters of Eton as at present constituted. It is notorious that the majority of the governing body are tinged with the old prejudices in favour of a classical education; while the preponderance of classical masters at Eton and the superior influence they exercise ensure the rejection of any scheme of reform which would be likely to injure the interests of the dominant party. It is only through public opinion that any change can come; and public opinion can only be moved by non-Etonian parents making known the causes of their discontent and exposing the anomalies of the system.

The newly elected headmaster, in spite of his strong conservative tendencies and previous dislike of innovation, is credited in some quarters with a determination to make the school-teaching really efficient. It is understood that the main features of the system he will shortly inaugurate are briefly these: An increase of the number of hours devoted to mathematics and French; the gradual introduction of German; and, on the other hand, a slight, it is to be feared a very slight, diminution of the work at present most unnecessarily entrusted to the classical tutors. The verses are to be partly done in school, and then taken for correction to the tutor, who, however, will only underline mistakes, instead of practically rewriting the copy, as is now done. All this is excellent as far as it goes; but, unless I am greatly mistaken, it will not be found to go very far. It is evidently the result of two conflicting tendencies which have each influenced the headmaster's action: one, the desire to do something to allay the grave dissatisfaction which undoubtedly exists in non-Etonian circles; the other, a strong predilection for the tutorial system. It is to be feared that the latter feeling will, for the present at any rate, prevent any chance of a real and radical reform; indeed the forthcoming changes recall, ominously enough, those made by the late headmaster on his appointment some fifteen years ago, which were then regarded by some people as of great importance, though the results have entirely falsified all such expectations. For surely it is obvious enough that the mere addition of hours to the teaching of modern subjects is in itself of little use unless boys are allowed to drop some portion of their classical studies. Modern languages cannot be successfully taught without the establishment of a modern side, if only for this one reason, that it is absolutely impossible for boys to learn everything at once. The attempt to teach a smattering of everything must always result, as now, in a very Babel of languages and medley of sciences. The position of M. Jourdain amidst the conflicting claims of his various teachers—the *maître de musique*, the *maître d'armes*, the *maître de danse*, and the *maître de philosophie*—was not one whit more perplexing and deplorable than that of an average schoolboy at Eton

or elsewhere compelled to work at the old *curriculum* of Latin and Greek, and also to give his attention to modern languages, mathematics, science, history, and geography!

To the questions, Why is not Greek dropped? Why is not a modern side instituted? Why are Eton boys allowed to prepare, or not to prepare, their work as they please? Why are the divisions so large as to preclude the possibility of efficient teaching?—one answer, and one only, can be given. It is because the old tutorial system cannot by any ingenuity be adapted to modern requirements, and because the authorities at Eton are determined to bolster up that antiquated institution as long as they possibly can do so. The best that can be said of recent and forthcoming changes is that, however slight in themselves, they must perforce tend in the right direction, and, by leaving less and less excuse for the existence of certain anomalous interests, prepare the way for a thorough and drastic reform. A headmaster, determined to carry out a really liberal scheme, would find much to encourage him at Eton—a fine soil, though overgrown with many weeds; good material to work upon, though hampered by rusty and antiquated machinery; ready assistance from the non-classical and non-Etonian masters, who see clearly the defects of the system and are anxious to reform them. It may be thought that the headmastership of Eton would not be a pleasant post for a true reformer, as he would soon bring a nest of hornets about his ears, in the form of injured interests and indignant patriots; but, on the other hand, there should be no lack of inducement to a strong man to undertake a work which would be supremely interesting and supremely useful. One thing is quite certain—that, unless some change for the better be somehow brought about, the Poet Laureate's eloquent denunciation of a degraded university will soon be found to have a special applicability to Eton:—

Therefore your halls, your ancient colleges,
Your portals statued with old kings and queens,
Your gardens, myriad-volumed libraries,
Wax-lighted chapels, and rich carven screens,
Your doctors, and your proctors, and your deans
Shall not avail you when the day-beam sports
New risen o'er awakened Albion—no,
Nor yet your solemn organ-pipes that blow
Melodious thunder thro' your vacant courts
At morn and eve; because your manner sorts
Not with this age wherefrom ye stand apart;
Because the lips of little children preach
Against you—you that do profess to teach,
And teach us nothing—feeding not the heart.

H. S. SALT.

THE NAVY AND THE ADMIRALTY.

THE eager discussion on the condition of the navy (or, to state the question with greater exactness), whether or not it is a fact that we have a navy adequate to our wants, has been prolonged for a very considerable time without leaving a clear and definite conviction on the public mind as to how this question should be answered.

It is not, I am convinced, necessary to go over the ground on which, confessedly, we have all taken our stand. Nothing need be added to enforce the universal admission, that no country in the world, at any period of its existence, had so much wealth afloat on the seas, or heaped up upon its shores in every quarter of the globe, as our own. It will, I fear, be less generally admitted that, in spite of all its errors, follies, shortcomings, faults, and even crimes, the existence of the British Empire is to us a glory, and to humanity a boon. Its destruction would indeed be the extinguishing of a brilliant light, the overthrow of a striking landmark in the progressive path of mankind. Be that as it may, we need no other reasons than the natural geography which has made such an empire as ours possible to accept the position that a powerful, a supreme navy is the right arm of its defence and of its maintenance. Every statesman in the country, from the extreme economist such as Mr. Cobden to the so-called ultra-Jingo, meets upon this common ground—‘We must have a navy;’ and the contest only begins when we come to ask, Is the navy we have adequate to our wants?

I must say, before entering upon this disputed point, that any war save a defensive one is abhorrent to my mind. Almost equally repulsive to me is the thought of adding to the heavy burden already resting upon us in the shape of taxation. But it is evident that we must have a navy, and that an inefficient navy represents simply so much hardly earned money whirled into an unfathomable gulf. It is only by producing and maintaining a navy adequate to our wants—in other words, an efficient navy—that we can justify any expenditure upon it at all, and it is inevitable that without a large expenditure we cannot have such a navy. The first point which the public should understand and thoroughly master, before it can be satisfied as to the adequacy or inadequacy of our navy, is, that a number of ships do not constitute a fleet, and that two or three fleets are not a navy.

They are essential and component parts of a navy, but they are far from being the whole. A large number of steam and armoured ships wants a whole flotilla of companions and tenders for its action, and it requires for its maintenance and for its efficiency, docks, coals, and harbours provided with defensive means. It must have these scattered, as are its duties, in all parts of the world, and of these requirements, without which such a navy as ours cannot exist, the public hears but little, for little has been done to provide them. On these details, however, will depend its power of national defence, the protection of our commerce, and the safety of our possessions. The subject requires a far larger grasp, and a more comprehensive view of all its bearings, than can be given in the pages of this Review. Those who have paid any attention to it stand aghast at the negligence and procrastination which have been shown in its treatment and consideration. I now turn to many who are content to look upon a navy as a mere aggregation of ships, and believe that all other things are matters of secondary importance, sure to be properly dealt with sooner or later by the several departments to which they belong; whose great anxiety is to know chiefly, how we stand with France as to the number and quality of our ships of war—France being rightly considered the next great maritime Power to ourselves. I must say it is not easy to treat this subject briefly and yet thoroughly, to give such details as will prove, but not overlay, the case, and to cause the truth to shine out of the heaps of contradictory facts, figures, suppositions, and conclusions with which it has been overclouded.

It would be as natural as it would be agreeable to solve this problem by accepting without question the assurances of public and responsible administrators, by adopting their figures, and by accepting their conclusions as oracles of fate. Unfortunately, there is a thorough and universal distrust of the utterances of public men. Whether or no that distrust, that absolute want of confidence in every statement they make, be well or ill founded, it exists, notwithstanding that their position is one that ought to give their assurances absolute authority.

Now much of this distrust can be traced to the manner in which their statements are drawn up. The very latest official expositions of the numbers of the two ironclad fleets as affording a means of comparison of their power are incomplete and inaccurate. There is a large number of ironclads in the navy lists of both countries—upwards of sixty in number—from which large deductions, we all know, must be made to obtain the relative fighting strength which it is desired to compare; and until we know what deductions are made by the officials on each side, and the reasons for making them, each of us outsiders can only speak doubtfully and with hesitation even of the numerical force that can be relied on. To some of us it appears evident, that if the English forty-six ironclads—according to one

account, forty-four according to another—officially given as the total non-obsolete ships we possess, do not include ships building and those not complete, many ships that ought to be struck off from under the heading given in the Parliamentary return are unduly and misleadingly retained.¹ If, again, these ships have been struck off, and the list includes ships building and now completing, the number of French ships is not correctly given, those building and completing being omitted. We have no common ground to stand on; the deductions from both lists must be made arbitrarily, and the conclusions aimed at will be of uncertain value. This information has not been given us.

There is, however, a simple way of dealing with the subject, and it has been used with considerable effect on various occasions. It is this. Take the aggregate number of the ships of the rival navies, and opposite that, place the aggregate displacement of the navies to be compared. Wherever lies the largest figures, there is the superiority! In this case it will be found enormously on the side of England!

Of all the delusions practised on a bewildered public this method is the most deceptive, and, not wishing to use a harsher term, it is the most illogical. Of course no comparison can be called by the name which does not take into account the armament, armour, speed, handiness, coal endurance, and sea-going qualities of the ships. These questions, though they are all-important in giving the value of ships as fighting machines, belong to experts, and cannot be thoroughly discussed in the pages of this Review.

I may illustrate my meaning of the valueless nature of the comparison made in this way, by saying: a certain commodity—national security we will call it—has to be purchased. A and B are rivals and competitors for the article. A possesses say sixty coins, B say forty, and not only does the aggregate number but the aggregate weight of A's coins greatly exceeds that of B's. Is A therefore justified in believing that with his sixty coins he can outbid B, and purchase the commodity he requires over B's head? Will not the first question be, What is the value of your sixty coins? May it not be, that forty coins weighing much less than sixty coins have intrinsically greater value, and therefore greater purchasing power? It almost seems childish to state such truisms, yet it is a fact that such reasoning, advanced in sentences somewhat hazily indistinct, is served up to the public. There cannot be anything more absolutely fallacious than a comparison of such very heterogeneous ships as those which compose the fleets of France and England resting on numbers and displacement only. As the value of each coin, and not its number and weight alone, can measure the purchasing power respectively of A and B, so the worth of each ironclad in the respective navies must be

¹ Abstract of both the Fighting and Sea-going Divisions of the British Navy—Armoured Ships.

taken in conjunction with their aggregate number, before a fair comparison can be made of their relative fighting powers. By neglecting the things necessary to a fair comparison, it would seem that persons whose official positions compel them to become optimists, and who adopt what is called a broad system of classification, arrived at a statement that England had a superiority of fifteen ships non-obsolete, or of sixteen according to another authority.

It is evidently not desirable to make this article too technical, but I may just refer to other points bearing on what we need to arrive at a fair comparison.

The displacement tonnage of a ship is exactly equal to her whole weight at a given draught of water; and I shall use the word tonnage in that sense in the little I have to say about it. If we suppose a ship of 300 feet long to be cut into sections (across her length) thirty feet long, each of those slices, so to call them, will represent a portion of the tonnage of the ship, and when the tonnage of the ten slices is added together the result will be the *total* tonnage of the ship, of which each slice is a certain amount. It may be granted that the total amount of the tonnage of an armoured ship is one item amongst several in estimating the value of such a ship, should they be ships of somewhat similar armament, &c., but it is very questionable whether the *total* tonnage of two armoured ships, one armour-plated as in the French system along the whole length of her water-line, the other, as in the modern English system, armoured only along one third of her length, can be compared at all; or, if compared, whether the amount of tonnage armoured should not be considered as confined to that portion (or to those slices of the ship) armoured at the water-line. If so, the total tonnage of the French ship would be reckoned up against about one third of the total tonnage of the English ships, and according to that reasoning the aggregate tonnage of the French ships would be enormously in excess of that of the English. Therefore, according to the Admiralty contention on this subject already referred to, the French Navy would be enormously superior to ours. So much may be said here about tonnage. I may refer those who desire to follow the subject further to a most admirable lecture given by Sir Edward J. Reed, at the Royal United Service Institution, where this subject was lucidly explained, and illustrated; by one of the great masters in the science of naval architecture.

I cannot pass over, without serious mention, the very doubtful, because wholly unproved, system of armour-plating involved in the modern system adopted by our naval constructors. I mean the armoured citadel, combined with the unarmoured ends, of which we have so many examples. As far as could be done without introducing too many technical details, the subject was incidentally discussed in the pages of this Review with reference to the *Inflexible* (see vol. iii. pp. 278-295).

I only now wish to say that two very important recommendations made by the committee, whose report I then analysed, have been entirely disregarded. And those who are to fight our battles in these ships will do so with a knowledge that their safety depends, not on the capacity of the armour-plated citadel to float the whole ship and preserve her stability, though relying on this statement made by authority—Parliament sanctioned its construction; the ship was afterwards completed in disregard of the understanding thus entered into—but on certain wholly untried systems of water-tight decks, cells, cork, coal storage, and stores, which may or may not supply the buoyancy deficient in the citadel, when its unarmoured ends are riddled and destroyed by shot and shell. I know naval officers, from the Admiral of the Fleet downwards, by whose side I would be proud to stand in any straits, or, if I were younger, whose lead I would follow through any difficulties—men of thoughtful experience and in the full maturity of their faculties both of mind and body—who look upon these ships with dismay; knowing that they would probably have to command them, and risk the honour of the flag in a ship whose existence under fire rests on untried hypotheses. What they ask is, that a trial may be made of this cellular system of defence as it is actually applied to our modern ships. They ask that such a test shall be applied to this system as will give them the same knowledge of its qualities under fire as they now possess of the behaviour of armour plates, or as their forefathers had with respect to wooden ships. A demand like this ought not to be inconsiderately thrust aside on account of its cost. Should the system when thus tried prove a failure, what an immense saving of money and of national honour would ensue! Should it prove triumphantly successful, it would enable naval officers without distrust and without suspicion to take, as they are ever ready to do, their lives and their reputations in their hands, in confidence that the weapons they were using would not betray them. Our naval superiority or our commanding position, whichever they choose to call it, would then have some basis to rest on.

The value that may attach to the strong opinions of a large body of naval officers is much augmented of late by the remarkable development of their scientific education. On the value of fighting ships their opinions have been formed both by study and experience. The former has been aided by valuable lectures and prize essays given by the United Service Institution, by papers read at the Institute of Naval Architects, by the means of study afforded at the Royal Naval College, and by some training in artillery subjects and in the use of torpedoes. There is, however, a strong feeling that much greater facilities for acquiring every kind of experience than exist now might be afforded them with advantage.

To refer to the armaments of our ships is about the most unsatisfactory task a man could possibly undertake. He has to go over a

long series of blunders, disappointments, and inefficiencies, while the best result he can obtain is that at present (notwithstanding that our rivals had difficulties as great, perhaps greater, than our own) there is a certainty that in this most essential factor of the efficiency of a fleet we are far behind, not only France, but other nations also.

Whichever way we turn to investigate the value of our fighting ships, as components of fleets or squadrons, we are met with the same deficiencies, the same incompleteness, the same want of accessories so essential to their efficiency. The construction of the modern ironclad rests on no exhaustive experience; its efficiency unknown; the armament is nowhere; the coal supply that can be carried is limited—dangerously limited—in amount, and when drawn upon in some cases compromises the defensive power of the ship; the speed is far below that attainable; the draught of water is excessive; the protection of the ship under water against torpedo attack is nil; the cost enormous. It cannot be too often repeated that an aggregation of ships—ironclads and others—is not a navy; that a navy to be effective requires that its fighting ships (ironclads) should carry with them tenders and auxiliaries of various kinds; that it requires for the defence of commerce the swiftest ships that can be constructed, both with high speed, and large coal endurance: some, very largely protected by side armour and armoured decks; others, with less but still substantial protection, in which the water-tight deck counts for much; that it requires two classes of torpedo-boats, one class to be carried by the ironclads themselves, the others to be of a very high speed, sea-going, and capable of taking care of themselves. So deficient are we in these component parts of a navy, that when Sir Edward Reed was asked to give his judgment as to what were the most urgent of the measures that should be taken for increasing the navy, he proposed, as the very least that could be done, an extra expenditure of upwards of six millions of money in a well-considered and far-sighted programme, to which I must refer hereafter in juxtaposition, I had almost said, to the phantom project of the Government. The augmentation of the ships of the fleet, however, is far from being all that is required to constitute a navy. It must be remembered that its ships are of iron and steel, and that the rapid fouling and deterioration of these metals in salt water is a serious set-off against their usefulness. No remedy for this inconvenience has been found but in frequent docking. It must also be recollected that ships are meant to fight, and that after an action water-logged ships drawing perhaps three or four feet more than their normal draught will have to be provided for. Where are the docks which can render this aid to disabled ships? Where are the fortified ports within the shelter of which such ships are to find the docks without which they cannot live?

In like manner, where are the coaling stations? How are they defended? What securities do they offer for the safe coaling of the ships resorting to them?

I know that I shall be answered, This is not the Admiralty business, or at least not wholly so. I can only say, Fie upon the system which excludes from the duty and responsibility of the Admiralty such essential elements of naval power, as the armament of its ships, the construction of its docks in adequately defended positions, the security and abundance of its coal supplies for its ships! Can any greater condemnation of a system be found than that which follows from a knowledge that the Admiralty is not exclusively charged with the responsibility for these matters? Can it be said of the system, of departments of State, that it works well? Can it be said that it even works at all?

The answer will be found in a report nearly two years old, to which Lord Carnarvon referred the other day, which has not been published, or even, as is complained of, communicated to a committee employed in an investigation of a somewhat similar subject.

We are told as a defence for this neglect of protecting coaling stations, ports, etc., that earthworks are a better defence against ironclads than masonry, and that plans are accordingly being devised for earthworks; and we are told, as a compensation for the delay occasioned by this change of plan, that no great loss of time will take place in the ultimate defence of these places, as there are no guns to put into the earthworks; and we may take comfort by reflecting that there are no earthworks into which the guns can be put, so the coal stations remain undefended! With all these deficiencies before him, the head of the naval administration, not long ago, is reported to have said that if he had four millions of money he would not know what to do with them. But a change has come o'er the spirit of his dream. Between the end of August and the beginning of December it is well known that a great outcry arose in the public press as to the state of the navy, followed by a great conviction of the public mind that it was neglected and unsatisfactory. Too much cannot be said in praise of the courage and public spirit of the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which enabled one of its correspondents who knew the facts to bring The Truth about the Navy into startling prominence. The flame spread from the columns of the newspapers to the streets, and from the streets to the sanctuaries of Whitehall. The Secretary of the Admiralty's speeches fell on unheeding ears: 'the state of the navy was most satisfactory; they had built tons of ironclads;' 'there were numbers of aggregate tonnage without end;' 'there were alarmists and evil-minded panic-mongers;' my Lords knew everything, 'nobody else knew anything.' Public opinion, however, refused to credit this voice of the charmer, charm he never

so wisely, and waited with much anxiety for the exposition of the state of the navy which had been promised to Parliament. When the oracle had delivered itself in Parliament, it amounted to something like this.

That the attention of the Admiralty had been seriously and persistently directed to the maintenance of our naval supremacy, which it was essentially necessary to uphold; that a much larger amount of ironclad tonnage had been built annually during the last year or two than in the preceding years; that hasty work, or work undertaken in a panic, was much to be deprecated; that it was wise and economical to proceed slowly, in view of the great amount of scientific knowledge that was going about; that it was unwise to increase the number of dockyard workmen; that ironclads could not be built in four years, but probably might be completed in five; that although in naval warfare it is not becoming to us to be behindhand or to follow the example of others, and that the initiative should belong to us; it was the case that France was building two more ironclads than we, and completing one more than we had in hand, yet there was an immense superiority in numbers and in the aggregate tonnage of our ironclads—how made up we have already seen. A melancholy apology for the state in which the armament of the ships was found to be, having been gone through, the proposals were ushered in, which, notwithstanding the various statements just made, and the preponderance of numbers and tonnage attributed to England, the Admiralty were prepared to make. Before stating or discussing these, it would be as well, as the diplomatists say, to *prendre acte* of the declaration as to naval supremacy, as to taking the initiative, not falling behind, &c., the admission as to construction and fitting of more ironclads in France than in England, it will be also well to note that there is something to be said respecting the length of time required to build the ironclads which it is proposed to add to the English navy.

The Admiralty proposal as given to the House of Lords, differs from that presented to the Commons. I have not found it possible to reconcile them. According to the version in the House of Lords, there is a slip in a private yard about to become vacant by the launch of the *Benbow*. As soon as that event occurs, a new ironclad is to be placed on that slip, and a design, prepared with much care and thought, is even now ready for her. In her Majesty's dockyards there will be three slips vacant at the end of this financial year, say in March next: it is intended to place ironclads on these slips as the slips become vacant, and as soon as the designs are prepared, which is not the case at present, as was emphatically explained.

The programme as presented in the House of Commons was more favourable to the maintenance of our supremacy, as two of the ironclads proposed were to be built by contract instead of one, and hopes were

held out that no impediment would be thrown in the way of contractors expediting the work as much as possible, the importance of which is considerable. In the House of Lords we were told that an ironclad could not be built in less than five years (they have, as a matter of fact, often occupied six or seven years); but the report of a committee on the conditions on which contracts for shipbuilding are given out completely confutes this assertion, which is as incredible to the Admiralty as it is to the private shipbuilders.

In substance the report says that the time occupied in building a ship under contract compares favourably with that required in the dockyards. 'Three out of the six years so occupied might be saved.' It would appear that much-abused science has not so much to do with these sad delays as the imperfection and incompleteness of the specifications furnished to the builders. A complete specification, which of course implies on the part of the designers a perfect knowledge of their own minds and an exposition of their intentions, if based upon the adoption and carrying out of the gunnery and mechanical appliances known to be the best at the time, instead of imperfect and incomplete specifications and the adoption of every improvement in gunnery and mechanical appliances invented during the progress of the work, would shorten the time and immensely decrease the expense of completing it. And it is no doubt the proper system to adopt if it is desired to have a navy ready for work, for, after six or eight years' or even more incubation, which the latter process involves, every year, every month, brings some fresh improvement in details, every ship, even after ten years' waiting, goes to sea with some obsolete fittings and appliances on board.

• Passing from this subject to the other proposals of the Admiralty, we obtain the following summary, which, however, in many of its details, varies according to the place in which they were announced. The principal point of absolute agreement is that a sum of 3,100,000*l.* over and beyond the amount ordinarily asked for in the Navy Estimates is to be expended in shipbuilding, spread apparently over a period of five years; but I am unable to say whether the four ironclads, three of whose designs are still *in nubibus*, are to be paid for out of the ordinary shipbuilding votes or not. If they are, then there will be no addition made at this time to the number of ironclads always contemplated by the Admiralty, as it never could have been their intention to leave the slips vacant from which ironclads will be launched in the course of 1885. This uncertainty gives strength to the current belief that their whole programme is little better than a sham and a delusion.

Apart, then, from the construction of ironclads, the Admiralty, by way of giving effect to the need of auxiliaries for the fleet, propose to build two ironclad armour and torpedo boats, the type of which is

found in the *Polyphemus*. This ship's original performances were, to say the least, not brilliant: they may, however, now, after repeated trial and error experiments, be such as to warrant the multiplication of the type from which is expected a speed of $17\frac{1}{2}$ knots.

Five belted cruisers, ships of less dimensions, but of greater speed than the *Nelson* and *Northampton* class, some ten years old.

Fifteen auxiliaries to the fleet, of a type known as the *Scout* class, and thirty first-class or sea-going torpedo boats capable of taking care of themselves, of very great speed, and of taking the place of the numerous slow and ill-armed cruisers to which the police of the seas in peace time, and the protection of our commerce in war, has been hithert entrusted.

Even this meagre programme is not to be executed immediately, for all that is to be done in the year 1885-86 is to lay down and advance two ships of the *Polyphemus* type, ten of the *Scout* type, three of the belted cruisers, and ten of the first-class torpedo boats, thus leaving unprovided, for the completion of this programme, two belted cruisers, five auxiliaries to the fleet, and twenty torpedo boats.

Of this not inconsiderable portion of the flotilla, all we know is that they are not to be begun in 1885-86. We do not in the least know when any of the ships to be begun in 1885-86 will be finished, or what is their estimated cost. We have, however, a strong belief from various official utterances that the designs for these ships are not ready. As far, however, as we can make out, the sum of 3,000,000*l.* is to be expended, spread over five years, in making the proposed addition to our strength, without which we have *no* fleet properly so called. There is, however, some hope that as these ships are principally or wholly to be built by contract, the rate at which they will advance will not be impeded by any action of the Administration—at least such is the comforting assurance that we have received.

Now it is but fair to say that to the very limited extent to which these proposals apply, and if they are really to be carried out, they are as good as could well be made—they are all, at any rate, in the right direction; but I should wish, before asking how it is that these additions to the strength of the navy are of such recent adoption that the designs for these ships are not yet prepared, to compare this still hazy programme with that proposed by one of the masters of the science of naval architecture, whose experience has been gained in and out of office, and in and out of her Majesty's dockyards, and whose competence for the task was acknowledged by the voice of the whole navy, when, through the Council of the Royal United Service Institution, he was called upon to state what were the most urgent measures to be taken for increasing her Majesty's navy. I refer to Sir Edward Reed, M.P., whose clear and definite programme I will subjoin:—

	1885-86	1886-87	1887-88
To complete these ships and to add four new ironclads	£ 750,000	£ 275,000	£ Nil
Adding one new ironclad and five armoured cruisers	1,000,000	1,100,000	1,100,000
Adding eight 18-knot unarmoured cruisers in two years	525,000	525,000	Nil
Adding fifteen auxiliaries in one year	480,000	1,900,000	1,100,000
Adding fifty first-class torpedo boats	600,000		
	3,355,000		
	1,900,000		
	1,100,000		
Total	6,355,000		

The first point was to complete rapidly and vigorously the unhappy three- and four-year-old ironclads now lingering into existence.

Notwithstanding that this programme was one of a very definite nature, and provided within three years for a very large increase in the effective strength of the navy, it was distinctly stated by the lecturer to be the very smallest possible proposal, and there was not a solitary individual who heard that lecture but was satisfied of their inadequacy to do full justice to our urgent wants, though they were more than content with the direction taken by the proposals.

Both Sir Edward Reed and the Government expressed in the clearest manner that their respective programmes were to be in excess of the ordinary naval estimates of expenditure. But while Sir Edward Reed proposes that 750,000*l.* be spent at once in accelerating the building and completion of ironclad ships, besides providing for a new ironclad, the Government expressly declines acceleration, thinks wise delays prudent and economical, plumes itself on never being in a hurry, and will do nothing till certain slips are vacant in their ordinary course of *festina lente*.

Sir Edward Reed's proposal, exclusive of the ironclads, comprises eight 18-knot unarmoured cruisers to be finished in two years, fifteen fleet auxiliaries to be finished in one year, and fifty first-class torpedo boats to be completed in one year; compared with which the Government proposals can scarcely be considered as seriously meant. They are indeed futile and contemptible to the last degree.

I must say that as a taxpayer I should have preferred a little more light on each of these proposals, though that of Sir Edward Reed is as the light of broad sunshine compared with the Cimmerian darkness of the Government; but let us pass on, having grasped two facts—one, the acknowledgment by the Government, after repeated assertions to the contrary, that the navy was inadequate to the wants of this country; the other, that this inadequacy is represented at

three millions of money by the Government, and at upwards of six millions by Sir E. Reed, the universal consent of the navy, the press, and the public. If the expenditure of this three millions is, as we have been officially assured, over and beyond the annual Navy Estimates—if it be essential in December, was it not equally necessary in August? If not, at what date did this urgency arise? If the discovery of that necessity were not quite recent, how is it that the designs for the ships have still to be prepared? First-class torpedo boats have been known to and ordered by foreigners in large numbers. In 1869 or 1870 the Government was negotiating for the purchase of Whitehead or locomotive torpedoes. In 1871 the ex-Controller of the Navy, in giving evidence before the Committee on Designs of Ships, expressed a belief that the great want of the navy was torpedo ships. Designs for belted cruisers have been in existence for more than ten years; and if belted or armoured cruisers of the *Nelson* and *Northampton* class required an improvement in many particulars, there has been surely time enough since these ships were tried to have had their designs ready. Everybody outside the walls of the Admiralty had seen and advocated the necessity of auxiliaries for a fleet. I believe we have actually two ready. It is impossible to escape from the conclusion that if these measures are necessary now, the Government has been guilty of incompetence of the most dangerous kind, a blind ignorance of what is required to constitute the material of a navy. If they are not necessary, the proposals are a piece of shameful extravagance, as they can only be justified by an acknowledgment of the inadequacy of the navy to perform the work expected of it; in which case, the public will believe that these measures are wholly deceptive and insufficient.

It is a bold assertion to make, but it really appears as if the administration of the navy is as little like what it ought to be as was that which, in the winter of 1854, provided the starving soldiers besieging Sebastopol with unroasted coffee-berries for their sustenance.

When we look at the delay, the improvidence, the wastefulness that have prevailed in all the departments concerned in the production and maintenance of a navy, we are tempted to ask whether the Administration has ever taken into consideration how a naval war is to be waged? Does the question ever arise before their minds, How shall we protect our commerce? Where are our fleets to be (when they have got them)? Where are our cruisers to be stationed? What are the objects to be aimed at? And what are the means to be employed to attain those ends? Shall we try to shut up our adversaries in their own ports? How shall we cover the seas through which our commerce must of necessity pass, with cruisers able to protect that commerce? How shall we provide them with coal? How shall we protect that coal from destruction? How shall we defend our

exposed cities and towns on our shores from attack? Shall we have time to meditate on these things, and to walk leisurely and talk rubbish about them, before the storm bursts? Where and what is our naval artillery? The millions asked for to provide armaments for our fleet shows the state of readiness we are in.

Committee after committee reports, plans after plans are given to Parliament, emulating the story of the Sibylline books by showing an ever-increasing necessity for expenditure. Meanwhile, the coaling stations are unprotected, the fortified ports, the deep docks—all that would enable us to face our foes in every part of the world—are still wanting.

Again and again, when we hear the Administration saying that they too wish to uphold the supremacy of Great Britain, we ask how it is possible, if they do so wish, if they do think our empire worth defending, they can act as they have done in the past, and as it is evident they will, if allowed, continue to act in the future.

The plea, the wretched plea, that they have done the best with the means afforded them, would be available only (even if it were well founded, which it is not) if they had boldly stated their wants to the Legislature, shown the dangerous inadequacy of our naval power, not only in ships but in all the accessories, which want of space forbids me to do more than glance at, to defend and secure the empire, and failed in their efforts either to convince Parliament or to obtain the necessary funds. The exact contrary is the fact: it is they who have misled the Legislature, scorned and stigmatised those who have represented the facts, it is they who have never ceased to vaunt our naval supremacy, who now ask for three millions of money to restore that commanding position, which they have so loudly asserted was incontestable. If from any cause they have shrunk from doing their duty, on them must fall the responsibility, the fearful responsibility, of inviting and of contributing to the fall of the empire.

Even now, at the eleventh hour, a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together may, with good luck, restore us to a position we never ought to have lost. That position has been defined by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and accepted by the public: it is the necessity of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. The public is indulgent and forgiving. It will throw a veil over past misdeeds; it will acknowledge that its own errors, its own shortcomings, and its own unwillingness to hear the truth, have contributed to this lamentable result. All it says is, 'Make good your words; do so at once, vigorously, honestly, and intelligently; no longer mistake words for facts, or believe assumptions to be demonstrations. The power behind you is immense, the engineering and mechanical skill at your command is immeasurable. Evoke them earnestly, as becomes men on whose shoulders rests the weight of empire. They will not fail you; and in the hope and security of the future the

past may be forgotten, as an ill-omened dream, never to return again.'

The whole object and scope of this paper would be missed if this recapitulation of national mismanagement did not briefly point out some of the reasons why every naval administration fails in fulfilling the trust that is reposed in it; and if it had not always, after a longer or shorter period of ineptitude, produced what officials are pleased to call scares and panics in the public mind.

It appears to me that the very existence and the frequent recurrence of these scares and panics points irresistibly to the conclusion that there is something singularly wrong in the administration of naval affairs; and further, that as these scares occur at intervals, whichever political party is in power, there is a very strong probability that the uneasy feeling of insecurity which prompts them has a solid foundation in fact. I wish, therefore, to say distinctly that, however much the officials of the day may be condemned, however strong may be the feelings elicited by the slightest sketch of the way in which the duties of naval administration have been left unfulfilled, it is the system which is to blame, it is not the administrators. It is clear to the mind of every thoughtful expert in the matter, that no Minister of Marine selected as ours are from Parliamentary partisans could, if they would, have done any better.

War is a great game, and, if great commanders and special abilities are required to play it successfully, great and special capacities are required to enable the players, by due preparation and forethought, to strike the blows which decide the fate of nations. In modern times we have known how Carnot prepared the victories of Napoleon, how Von Moltke prepared armies which crowned the Emperor of Germany in the palace of Louis the Fourteenth at Versailles, and we have seen the reverse of the medal in the workings of the Aulic Councils and in the miserable disasters which befell the British armies in the Crimea. I know that great commanders both by sea and land have sometimes proved able to compete successfully with foreign foes and domestic incapacity; but, surely, to rely on the great commander descending like a *Deus ex machina* is unworthy the action of reasonable men, and it is the very last expectation which should be held out if we wish to inspire security in the minds of those who compose our large disjointed and over-wealthy empire.

So long as the Minister of Marine is selected, as he now is, chiefly with reference to position, social as well as political, without regard to any special knowledge of the affairs which he will have to decide, or of the wants which it will rest with him to supply, so long as he is profoundly ignorant of the art of making war save in either House of Parliament for political purposes, so long must ineptitude and inefficiency mark the councils over which he presides, notwithstanding that his council or board be composed of able and unpolitical naval experts.

If I am asked why? and what is to prevent the experts from showing their chief how in time of peace war ought to be prepared, and how in time of war victory should be secured to our standards? I answer that while power and responsibility are attached solely to the minister who knows nothing and can know nothing; the naval experts cannot supply that in which he is deficient; they have no power to convince him if he will not listen to them, they have no responsibility but to him—for them the public does not exist. But if you must have a Minister of Marine a high-placed politician, however ignorant he may be of even such knowledge as is possessed by the head of a large engineering, or shipbuilding, or shipowning firm—if the advantage of his being a politician, certain of being defended by his party whatever errors he may commit, outweighs the disadvantages of ignorance and incapacity—at least take care that his council or board be responsible to the public, each in his own position, for the advice he gives the minister respecting those matters of which he is ignorant; subdivide that council or board into such departments as it is necessary to have for the proper division of labour, let no act or step taken in such division be valid without the signature of the head of that division, and let responsibility to the public, not to the minister only, be most strictly enforced. In this way only can the knowledge and practical experience of the naval experts at the Admiralty be of use to the country, and counteract the errors of the political chief who may be ignorant and must be inexperienced.

Does any one suppose for a moment that if every year, on the submission of the Navy Estimates to the House of Commons, the chief naval expert of that Council, the First Sea Lord as he is called, had had to sign a report appended to those estimates saying that the manning of the navy was adequately provided for, that a fleet and all its accessories which have been referred to in this paper was ready in sufficient numbers, and that the country was able to contemplate the sudden outburst of a war with calmness and security, he would have done so? Is it supposed that during the last ten or twenty years many First Sea Lords would have signed such a report and engaged their personal responsibility by allowing it to be presented to Parliament in their names? I frankly say that, though I have not known all the officers who have occupied that post, I have known several, and I never knew one who would have done so. I only give this case as one illustration of the effect of a total want of personal responsibility in the Council. Certainly, in the two principal divisions of Admiralty work, that relating to the *personnel* of the navy and that relating to the *matériel*, responsibility, understood in this way, is entirely wanting. Till this and much more in the same direction is accomplished, the most able naval council or board of Admiralty is entirely useless, and we may rely upon it panics and scares will never cease, and an adequate navy will never be forthcoming.

I must conclude, for my space is at an end, by recalling one circumstance which the public may put forward in extenuation of the utterly futile and ineffective course it has almost compelled the Government to pursue. The public has always viewed with suspicion, even with dislike, large expenditure proposed by the Government for warlike purposes, and it has been justified in that suspicion by the small results produced by large sums of money. The accounts given by the Admiralty of the cost of their proceedings were quite unintelligible to the majority of the public, and it is not saying too much to add that they were equally so to the agents of the Government who spent that money. For a moment this spell of darkness was broken through by an able officer of the Admiralty, who, just as he obtained a grasp of the subject and had begun some reforms of vital import in explaining the incidence of expenditure, was removed to Ireland to deal with Irish discontent. Without clear and easily understood accounts, there can be no economy: without economy, it is hard upon us to ask the taxpayer for his money. How the present system works, it is not difficult to imagine; but if certainty should be wanted, I cannot do better than refer to a report of a committee, from which I have already made extracts, as to the mode of purchasing ships, engines, and certain parts of the *matériel* of the navy. The importance of following up their suggestions will be only too evident.

Do we, then, wish to avoid scares and panics in the future? Select your Minister of Marine for his special knowledge of and abilities for the conduct of the duties confided to him. Make a proper division of the technical heads of Admiralty administration; bring home by name and publicity to all who direct these things individual and personal responsibility; be careful above all things that a system of clear, intelligible, and accurate account of the expenditure of the taxpayers' money shines clearly through the official acts and official proposals; bring the knowledge of what you do know to bear—as all men of business, all men of average intellectual ability, can do—on what you do not know, and you will have gone a long way to have an efficient navy, and to relegate into the obscurity of the past the not ill-founded scares and panics so hateful to the official mind and so unworthy of the national greatness.

ROBERT SPENCER ROBINSON.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. XCVI.—FEBRUARY 1885.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

WHAT do you mean by Imperial Federation? What is the real object of this Federation League which you and others are forming?

I have been often asked these questions of late, and my reply is, Such a union of the mother-country with her colonies as will keep the realm one State in relation to other States. Purposely I use the word *keep*, and not *make*. I do not say that we are trying by federation to make the empire one commonwealth in relation to foreign Powers, because at the present time it is one commonwealth.

Then why our League? why all this talk and fuss? why not let well alone?

For this reason: because in giving self-government to our colonies we have introduced a principle which must eventually shake off from Great Britain, Greater Britain, and divide it into separate States; which must, in short, dissolve the union, unless counteracting measures be taken to preserve it.

At our last Federation Conference a colonial statesman said, 'We have federation at this moment.' Quite true; Mr. Freeman's definition, which I then ventured to quote, is fulfilled. 'A Federal Commonwealth, in its perfect form,' he says, 'is one which forms a single State in its relations to other nations, but which consists of many States with regard to its internal government.'¹ Without doubt we have this perfect form; but how long can it last? The United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the different Australian

¹ Freeman's *History of Federal Government*, vol. i. p. 9.

colonies, New Zealand, and the Cape, are, it is true, many States as regards their internal government, and they are also one State as regards other nations. But why? Because the United Kingdom keeps to itself, and absorbs within itself, the foreign policy of the whole realm.

There is, indeed, still some semblance of subordination in respect to domestic legislation; but it is only a semblance, for the veto, reserved to the Crown, would not be used except in some extremely improbable, and practically impossible, case; as, for instance, the enactment of slavery. The colonists can tax themselves or educate themselves as they please; they can levy, as we well know, what Customs' duties they think fit; they can pass what marriage laws they like; they have disestablished their State Churches, and can, if they choose, set them up again; they may pass what Franchise Bills or Seats Bills they prefer; they can protect life, and limb, and liberty, and property by what criminal laws or by what police seem good to them; they have power to borrow money, and even to raise regiments of soldiers, and build and man ships of war; but they have no power to modify or participate in the foreign policy which may at any time bring them into war.

Now the real question is, will they continue to submit to this condition of subordination? As regards internal affairs the colonists have self-government. As regards foreign affairs, they are subjects, not merely of the Queen, but of our Parliament—that is, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, or rather of such of those inhabitants as are voters.

These two opposing principles—subordination on the one hand, and self-government on the other—we might almost say subjection and freedom—cannot long co-exist. This imperfect, incomplete, one-sided federation must end either in disintegration or in complete and equal and perfect federation.

It is true that as yet there are not many practical difficulties, though signs and symptoms are appearing. Witness the movement in the Dominion with respect to a Zollverein with the States, though I am glad to believe that this movement has less Canadian support than it had; and the recent Australian protests against German and French annexation. Already, whenever and wherever a self-governing colony finds itself damaged or endangered by the action of a foreign Power, it tries to control or modify or initiate the foreign policy of the empire; and we must bear in mind this fact, that the leaven of self-government has not yet had time to fully work. But there is great inconvenience, not to say real danger to peace, in this legal helplessness and powerlessness of the colonies. They try to seize the power of which they are deprived. They attempt, as it were, to right themselves by lynch law; as, for instance, when Queensland hoisted the Imperial flag in New Guinea without

the knowledge or sanction of authorities at home. In like manner, New Zealand threatens to annex the Samoan Islands, regardless alike of Lord Derby and Prince Bismarck.

I am not blaming Queensland for what it has done, or New Zealand for what it may wish to do. To force the hands of our Colonial and Foreign Offices may be the only way of obtaining attention for reasonable claims; but these dangerous modes of assertion would not be tried if they felt that they had an acknowledged voice in the decision of questions deeply affecting their interests.

There is a noteworthy anecdote in the *Croker Papers* just published. When the two old friends met together for the last time, twelve days before the Duke of Wellington's death, Mr. Croker reminded him how, some thirty years before, they had amused themselves in a drive by guessing what was the other side of the hill, and how when he had expressed his surprise at the Duke's guesses being so generally right, he had said, 'Why, I have spent all my life in trying to guess what was at the other side of the hill.' And the Duke stuck to his story, and turning round to Mrs. Croker, he said: 'All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do; that's what I call guessing what was the other side of the hill.'

I expect we have here the explanation of the moderate Conservatism in his old age of this incarnation of common sense. The Duke, notwithstanding his Tory prepossessions and prejudices, made a shrewd guess that democracy was the other side of the hill. I wish Ministries would guess more than they do. If the late Government had guessed what was at the other side of the hill of the Dual Control, or the present Government what was at the other side of Tel-el-Kebir, we should have had less trouble in Egypt; but forecast is equally needed, and perhaps even more wanting, in public opinion, which nowadays is, after all, our real government. I want, then, our leaders and guides of public opinion to consider what kind of colonial country they will find at the other side of this hill of colonial self-government.

And if we look at this question not merely from the colonial point of view, we shall see how requisite are forethought, and forecast, and preparation in the interests of the voters and taxpayers of the United Kingdom. We do not tax the colonies, but we do defend them, and I rejoice to believe that we shall continue to defend them.

Mr. Chamberlain had good warrant for his declaration at Birmingham that 'the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honour and integrity of the empire.' The democracy which will rule us in the future will be as ready to defend the rights of their fellow-countrymen all the world over as any monarchy or aristocracy in the past; but the people of the United Kingdom—the electors and elected of the House of Commons—will also feel that their colonial fellow-citizens

must bear their share of the burden of self-defence; nor do these fellow-citizens object to fulfil their duty; they are trying to fulfil it, they wish to bear their share. We see this in the militia regiments in Canada, and in the navies actually formed in Australasia, though I suppose few would deny that these movements for colonial self-defence are partial and incomplete, deficient not so much in expenditure as in system and organisation.

But if we ask the colonies to tax themselves for defence against possible attack from foreign powers, if we remind them that it is not just that we at home should bear more than our fair share of the cost of protecting them from invasion, we must confess that their demand for some participation in imperial foreign policy will gather strength, and therefore again we come to the conclusion that, if the empire is not to be broken up, there must be an organisation for mutual defence and for common control of foreign policy.

This does not imply that such an organisation must be at once and finally defined. Its form will change from time to time according to the increase of the strength of the colonies, whether absolute or relative. The principle of representation has for centuries been the lifeblood of the English Constitution, but it is only now attaining its full development, and in like manner there will be a growth of the principles of federation, though much quicker; for ideas now realise themselves in a year as fully as they used to do in a century.

If, then, I am asked how can the mother-country be kept united with her colonies? I reply, By an organisation for common defence, and a joint foreign policy. And again, to the question, Why not leave matters alone? I reply, Self-government will end in separation if there be no such organisation.

And this brings us to the really important and urgent question, What steps can be taken to initiate or establish this organisation?

But, before discussing this question, there is yet another question which must be admitted to go to the root of the matter, and which is still asked, though not so loudly as in years past. Why take any steps at all? Let the empire be broken up. Be content with training up the colonies to independence. Let them defend themselves, let them have their own Foreign Offices if they wish for such institutions. At any rate, if we must choose between disintegration and such federation as would imply any colonial control of Downing Street, then let disintegration come, and the sooner the better. England was great under Elizabeth, with no Dominion of Canada, no Australasian possessions, no Indian empire; why should not England continue great under Victoria, with Australia and New Zealand and the Cape independent, and Canada annexed to the States, and negro republics in the West Indies and West Africa, and India ruled by Hindoos or Mohammedans? Or, if the future result of separation be not independence; if not only our kinsmen in the

States, but our Continental neighbours Germany and France, apportion among themselves the empire which we throw away—after all, what harm? We shall, at any rate, have attained the result desired by those who wish to get rid of the trouble and cost of colonial responsibilities; as, for instance, my friend, Lord Norton, the keynote of whose article in this Review against Imperial Federation was the necessity of getting rid of the ‘mistaken idea that the colonies, being British, Great Britain must defend them.’²

But it is one thing to have the force and courage which win an empire, and it is another thing to have the cowardice and weakness which lose it. It is one thing to recall to our memory the energy and confidence of England’s youth, and the bold plans and grand aspirings and determined purpose of the Elizabethan heroes; and it is quite another thing to anticipate for our country a premature old age, and to take pride in the prospect of its second childhood.

Some years ago Mr. Millais sent a picture to the Exhibition, than which no picture ever impressed me more: Raleigh as a boy, on the Devonshire beach, looking wistfully over the Western sea, listening to the tales of an old sailor. Raleigh was the chief pioneer of our Colonial Empire and, as thus depicted in his hopeful dreaming youth, he was the true representative of the Elizabethan age. The weather-beaten veteran may be said in some respects to symbolise the England of to-day, with its proud memories of deeds of daring and endurance; but how would the old sailor have scorned the thought that the spirit of English enterprise was to die with him!

And so it is now. England, though old in her history, is youthful in her hopes, and in her confident belief in herself. I do not fear the answer which Englishmen will give to the question, Is the empire worth preserving? The instinct of this age, material as it is sometimes termed, revolts at the thought of disruption. You may call this instinct unreasoning; there are some facts too clear for reasoning. A man who is climbing a difficult peak does not argue within himself as to whether he should clutch the rock above his head, or let himself slide down the precipice by his side. But it will be said this is mere sentiment. Well, sentiment has ruled the world since the world began; and, moreover, history informs us of this noteworthy fact: that, wherever there is a deep and prevailing and powerful national sentiment, there are almost sure to be found strong economical and material grounds in its favour.

Talk of the cost—inveigh against the income-tax which may be needed for a navy strong enough to defend our wide-extended realm. True, an income-tax is an evil, but not so great an evil as no income to tax. More than any other country England’s income depends upon her trade, and statistics prove nothing more plainly than that with us the trade follows the flag, and it is a deduction so clear as to be

² *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1884, p. 516.

almost self-evident, that, if our flag be lowered, our trade will become less.

Emigration is becoming more and more a necessity, not for the working class only, but for all classes. It cannot be doubted that the facilities for a fresh career are already greater in our own colonies than elsewhere; and these facilities admit of great extension and improvement.

Nor must we forget that we are now fed from abroad. It is useless, nay foolish, to lament this fact. It could only have been prevented by stinting the natural growth of our population and starving it down; but I suppose no Free-trader will deny that it is better and safer that our food should be grown as much as possible in our own dominions rather than in foreign countries, with whom, until the millennium, war will be possible; and there is another economical consideration which the least sentimental of politicians cannot afford to ignore. Where should we be without our carrying trade, not merely for the import of our requirements and the export of our manufactures, but for that supply of the wants of other nations, which, by reason of our insular position, has fallen so largely to our share, and by means of which such large numbers of our people earn their living?

Coaling-stations are now necessary to a mercantile marine. Our steamships bring us our luxuries, our comforts, our necessities, our food, and the materials which we manufacture. What coaling-stations would an Elizabethan England have? and where would our steamships be without them? It will mean poverty in many a home, want of wages, and want of food, both because it is dear, and because there is no money wherewith to buy, should England's ships cease to crowd the seas; and they will cease to do so if they lose their colonial harbours for refuge in time of war; if, in short, to put the matter in as few and as plain words as possible, they cannot find well-defended English coaling-stations on every sea.

I think, however, I may take it for granted, that the permanence of the empire is the general, almost the universal, desire of Englishmen; and that if they become convinced, as I think they will be more and more every day, that this permanence can only be maintained by federation, they will universally ask this question, and ask it with a determination to get it answered: What steps can be at once taken to secure federation? How can we develop this temporary, incomplete, one-sided federation so as to give it probabilities of permanence?

For success in this endeavour two conditions are clearly necessary: there must be no attempt to deprive the colonies of local self-government. In the words of the resolution passed by the Federation League: 'No scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs.' And the aspira-

tions of the colonists, their hopes, their national ambition, must be fully acknowledged and considered. Their instinct, their sentiment, their self-interest must be kept on the side of union. They, as well and as fully as we at home, must feel that their future will be stronger, happier, better as members of the British commonwealth than as independent communities.

Bearing these conditions in mind, let us consider what federation proposals have been actually made. They vary greatly, from a Parliament for Greater Britain elected on equal terms by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies, to a working alliance as described by an Australian statesman in a thoughtful and important article in this Review for last December. Perhaps Mr. Douglas, the writer of that article, may wonder that I claim him as a federationist; but surely a working alliance requires terms and conditions of mutual defence and joint action towards foreign Powers.

But undoubtedly this would be the least possible development of the federal principle, as an Imperial Parliament would be its most complete form. There are two proposals for Parliamentary representation—(1) The admission into the House of Commons of members for the colonies, and probably, at the same time, an addition to the House of Lords of colonial peers. (2) The formation of a new and paramount representative assembly, which shall bear the same relation to our Parliament at home, and also to the Parliaments of the Dominion and of the other colonies, as that which Congress bears to the American State Legislatures, or the German Reichstag to the Prussian or Bavarian Landtags.

In the one case the colonial representatives would sit in a House which would discuss and attempt to solve, not only all imperial questions, but all those affecting the internal government of the United Kingdom; and, in the other case, they would be members of an assembly which concerned itself with imperial questions only.

Now the first of these proposals appears to me impracticable, or at any rate most difficult to work. The colonial representatives might be members of the House of Commons either with or without the power of taking part in home legislation; if they possessed such power, their interference would be looked upon with jealousy; if they did not possess it, their exclusion would be both difficult and obnoxious; and it would not be easy to draw the line between imperial and domestic questions, or to decide when the colonial member should be debarred from voting or speaking.

True it would be possible in theory to avoid this anomalous position; the assembly representing both the United Kingdom and the Colonies might deal with the internal affairs of the Colonies as well as with those of the United Kingdom; but it will be admitted that in practice this arrangement could not work. The colonies would not accept it for a moment, and they would be right in their

refusal, for the large majority of the governing body would have neither the knowledge nor the will to attend to their affairs. In comparison with questions affecting England, or Ireland, or Scotland, those relating to Canada, or Australia, or the Cape would be neglected; or, if not neglected, the Parliamentary block would be intolerable. Neither the present House of Commons nor any possible representative assembly with any possible division of labour would be able to add to the supervision of foreign policy, and the provision for the army and navy, not merely the multifarious subjects for legislation and discussion, every day increasing in number, which affect the relations of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom to one another and to their government, but also similar questions in the colonies with all their varied interests and conditions.

These objections would not apply to the Congress proposal. There is nothing anomalous, or in itself impracticable, in an Imperial Parliament with subordinate Parliaments; but, though it may be the ultimate form of federation, I think at present any attempt to establish it would be premature. This proposal would, I fear, be regarded with some suspicion in the colonies, for populous and rich and powerful as many of them already are, they are yet aware that at present, and for some time to come, they would be dwarfed individually, and even if combined would be weak in comparison with England; and there is no denying that the project would be startling and at first unacceptable to British public opinion. Why, it would be said, force upon us the difficulties of a paper Constitution and State Rights, and the necessity of some tribunal to decide when these rights are infringed or unduly extended?

But a Federal Congress is not the only form of federation, or even of complete federation. It is not, I believe, its most ancient form. At any rate, it was not the form of the League of the United Provinces, or of the Swiss Confederation as at first constituted, or of the German Diet.

I write humbly under the possible criticism of Mr. Freeman—who, by the bye, is long in fulfilling his promise to give us the history of the Federations of Switzerland and the Netherlands—but my impression is that, whereas in the one case the representatives of the different commonwealths deliberate as individuals and decide by the majority of members, in the other case they meet as agents of the different communities, not merely to represent their interests and express their opinions, but also to convey their wishes.

As distinguished from a Congress, we may call this form of federation a Council; and in our realm, under our sovereign, these agents would be at once ambassadors and citizens and subjects. This Federal Council might deal with peace and war, and treaties and negotiations, and also with all questions affecting the defence of the realm, the fortification of its ports and posts, the provision for its army and

navy, the determination of the strength of each service, and especially the respective contributions by each member of the Imperial commonwealth for such defence. At the Federation Conference last November I said I did not think that the time was come, nor that as yet it was necessary for the advocates of permanent union to decide between these two the ultimate forms of federation. I am still of that opinion, though I rejoice to see that there is that impatience of vagueness, that demand for detailed definition, which prove that the minds of men, and of many men, are becoming possessed by the idea of federation, and are determined to realise it.

Lord Grey has repeated in the *Pall Mall Gazette* the suggestion³ which he made in this Review in 1879—viz. the appointment of the agents of the colonies as privy councillors, and their constitution as a Board of Advice to assist the Cabinet, and especially the Colonial Secretary, in the management of colonial affairs; and Lord Lorne has further defined this suggestion⁴ and given excellent arguments in its support. It would be difficult to find any proposal supported by so great a weight of experience as this agreement between the veteran Minister who has an unmatched experience of the Colonial Office, and the man who has just returned from successful government of our largest colony.

Very likely our first step may be the formation of some such Board of Advice, which should bear the same relation to the Secretary for the Colonies as the India Council does to the Secretary for India, with this most important difference, that its members would be chosen by the Colonial Governments. The action which seems to me urgent may lead eventually to either the Federal Congress or the Federal Council; though if the former, it would probably be through the latter. Let us only keep in mind what we want—viz. an organisation for common defence, and an official acknowledgment of the right of the colonies to have a voice in the determination of foreign policy, especially when such policy directly affects their feelings or interests.

As regards defence, present facts show both the necessity for further steps towards federation, and the opportunity which this necessity gives for their being taken.

There are many discussions and disputes about the state of our navy; there are some who assert that the increased expenditure which the Admiralty is now incurring is altogether unnecessary; and there are many who believe it will not meet the requirements of the position; but all will agree in acknowledging this fact, that there are far more claims on the navy than there were.

Every fresh possession that has been added to the dominions of the Queen may at some time need defence. We must have ships of war all the world over to guard the shores of the realm. But our colonists will not deny that the duty of this defence of their

³ *Nineteenth Century*, June 1879, p. 953.

⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1885.

ports and cities lies primarily with them, and furthermore, that the protection of our commerce, the safe convoy of our merchant and passenger ships, is their business as well as ours. No Australian sheep-owner will deny that it is his interest to get his wool and mutton to our market; and the merchant who wishes to revisit the old country, or to see his business correspondents, and the successful emigrant who sends money to his brothers or sisters to come and help him in his farm, or to his old parents to live with him in his better home, will feel quite as strongly as we do at home that our magnificent liners must be secured against capture. As regards coaling-stations the case is still clearer. There is here no denial of responsibility. Mr. Douglas tells us that the Australian colonies 'have accepted and have acted up to the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty's Government in 1878,' and he adds his belief that they would go 'further, and if deemed desirable would form an arsenal and establish factories for war material.' But he doubts 'whether they would contribute to the fortification of Aden or Singapore, essential as these fortifications may be. They would,' he writes, 'probably say, "We will fortify coaling-stations on our own territory, but more than that we cannot undertake at present."' Now I venture to express my belief that, if the matter were fairly and fully brought before them, this would not be their reply. I think they would feel that the safety of the Red Sea route between themselves and England, and even the trade between Australia and China, could not be a matter of indifference to them.

But why not ask them for their opinion? This seems to me one of many kindred subjects which might be rightly brought before the Colonial Governments by the Colonial Secretary. Surely the necessity, admitted to be urgent, of strengthening the defences of the empire affords an excellent opportunity of initiating a Colonial Council, or, if the term be preferred, a committee of colonial representatives. I do not assert or suppose that Lord Derby ignores or disregards colonial feeling or colonial opinion. Probably he has private communications with the High Commissioner and the Agents-General, and possibly he sends private messages to the Ministers of a colony through its Governor; but is not this pre-eminently a matter for official rather than private communication?

It may be said, Why not send an official despatch to the Governor, requiring him to ask the Colonial Premier for an answer? But it would seem to me that this would be the means of communication most likely to obtain a negative reply. We do not want a Colonial Cabinet or Parliament to be forced to say at once aye or no to a proposal, but we want representatives of the colonies to be able, without committing those they represent, to aid one another in discussing with the Home Government such proposals, and after such discussion

to ask the sanction of their Governments to the conclusions at which they have arrived.

Is it impossible for Lord Derby to write to the Queen's representatives at Ottawa, and Sydney, and Victoria, and Adelaide, and Brisbane, and Auckland, and Hobart Town, and Cape Town somewhat to this effect? 'The necessity for recasting the defences of the empire is urgent. Her Majesty's Ministers wish to take counsel with your Government on the steps to be taken. Ask your Ministers to empower their agent in London, or if they prefer it to send some special representative to confer with me and with the representatives of the other self-governing colonies. Your Ministers will not be committed to any course recommended by such Conference until they have been informed thereof and approve.'

There would be no lack of subjects upon which such Conference would deliberate, though its main business would be to decide what should be the fair share of each colony in the provision of defence. The Colonial Secretary would require help. He would probably ask the aid of the First Lord of the Admiralty in arrangements for the Australian navies already formed; whether they should be incorporated with the Queen's navy, and if so, on what conditions of contribution; and if, as I trust, there be this incorporation, with what facilities for engaging colonial sailors, or training and examining colonial cadets, so that a naval career for both officers and men might be fully and fairly opened to the Queen's Australian subjects. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to consider on what terms the Imperial credit should be pledged for colonial loans for providing colonial forts and colonial coaling-stations; and I doubt not that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would feel that he was making a good bargain for the British taxpayer if he lent money for this purpose on his lowest terms; and certainly it would not be long before the Foreign Secretary would be called in.

Now surely some such Conference as this would be of immediate and practical use in meeting the colonial and foreign difficulties which beset the Government, and cannot be safely solved without regard to colonial feeling and deference to colonial opinion, and which will be more easily met by colonial aid.

But are we sure that these representatives of the colonies will always support the foreign policy of our Ministers? May they not sometimes thwart it, or at any rate attempt to influence and modify it? Well, and why not? England cannot go to war by herself, unless she cuts herself adrift from her colonies: five millions of Canadians or three millions of Australians have a right to some voice in the question whether they should be at war or not; and it will help to preserve peace if they exercise this right.

I know that there are those who have not this opinion—who, on the contrary, believe that federation would increase the chances of

war. You will, they say, thereby enable and tempt the colonists to drag you into war for their special and selfish objects; and at home you will encourage a vainglorious, aggressive, militant spirit which will lead first to defiance of other civilised nations, and then to mutual jealousy and suspicion, and finally to war. Nevertheless, I believe that there would be less danger of colonial wars, and that there would be an additional guarantee for European peace.

As regards colonial wars, I am glad to find my opinion confirmed by both Lord Grey and Lord Lorne. Lord Lorne gives as one of the chief 'advantages to be derived from the constitution of a Colonial Board or Council, that there would be more opportunity for the colonies to combine to further the views of one of their number, or to declare against any impracticable object, and less danger that any imprudent course should be entered on by any one colony without consultation with others and with Britain; while there would be also more strength for enforcing the wishes of any one colony by opportunity given for others to pledge themselves to assist;' and Lord Grey says, 'The English, at home would be able to secure support for their opposition to manifestly unreasonable colonial propositions among the reasonable colonial representatives; but,' he adds, 'when the English beyond the sea were unanimous in opposing home policy, there would be a fair presumption that we were in the wrong.'⁶ This Board would, in fact, be a tribunal which would pass judgment on selfish and impulsive and unreasonable proposals, and the necessity that they must be elaborated and defined in order to be defended in conference would have a moderating effect on agitations in the colonies themselves.

Nor would it be in the colonies alone that this moderating influence would be felt, for we at home may catch the war fever in the future as we have often done in the past. I am not one of those who believe that a democracy is more prone to war than an aristocracy or an autocracy. The working-men, who are the rank and file of the army, know that their wages depend on peace, and that upon them the blood-tax must weigh the most; and we may therefore expect them to be averse to war, though rather perhaps opposed to its continuance when the burden is felt than to its beginning. But, after all, the English working-man is an Englishman, with the combativeness of his race, and an apparent insult or aggression, or an appeal for sympathy and help, might strike a chord which would vibrate from Caithness to Cornwall, and raise a war-cry which would test the firmness of the strongest statesman to withstand. For we must remember there never was a great people so exposed to sudden and overpowering influences as will be democratic Britain. Compared with other nations, there are small local differences in occupation or

* *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 13, 1885.

* *Ibid.* January 9, 1885.

social surroundings, and the railway and electric wire weld together the thirty-one millions of Britons, and make them sympathise one with another almost as intimately as did the Athenians of old. On the other hand, though exposed to these sudden influences, we shall have especial power to resist them in the individual independence which is the chief characteristic of Britons, and which makes the British minority the strongest minority in the world. But the time may come when the peace minority may want help; and it would get it from the colonies in a federated realm.

Even such a tentative Council as is suggested, with power of deliberation, but without power of decision, would be an influence for peace. No war could be undertaken without the interests of the colonies being closely affected. We should both want their help, and expose them to danger. But this Council would have the opportunity and the right to express an opinion on any war, and without doubt it would seize the opportunity and exercise the right. And would it not have to be a contest undertaken on very strong grounds which would find support from communities so differently situated as would be the different members of the federated commonwealth? Time and space would tell in favour of peace: distance would make a difference in public opinion probable, and the telegraph would enable this difference to be expressed without delay.

Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of the Dominion, made a very short speech at the last Federation Conference, but there was a passage in it well worth remembering. He said he believed 'that the whole policy of Great Britain was opposed to aggressive war; and in any other war the people of Canada would be ready to take their share of the responsibility and the cost.'

These few words illustrate the twofold guarantee for peace which federation would give. The veteran Canadian statesman hints courteously, but clearly, that our greatest colony would be opposed to a war of offence, but may be relied upon in a war of defence.

Let me point out to the members of the Peace Society that here lies the best hope for their millennium, at any rate so far as this country is concerned. An aggressive war will be made more difficult, its dangers and disadvantages will be made more evident, the arguments against it will be more certainly and more strongly expressed; and as for a defensive war, if the union of the empire be consolidated, and Greater Britain obtains an effective organisation for common defence, where is the nation who would venture an attack?

But, in addition to its effect on our defensive strength and our foreign policy, we must consider the bearing which federation may have on colonial tariffs. It cannot be denied that some of these tariffs are a stumbling-block in the path of the advocates of permanent union.

The high duties levied on our manufactures by some of the colonies, and their protectionist feelings and legislation, have, it must be admitted, a disintegrating effect. I fully believe that, high as are these duties now, they would be higher in disunion. Compare, for instance, the Dominion tariff with that in the United States. But undoubtedly ill-feeling is produced by these tariffs, and none the less so because most of us at home believe that they damage the colonial consumer as much as they do the English producer. Nevertheless I believe there is nothing more certain than that we must leave to the self-governing colonies the power of levying such Customs as they think fit. Nominally the Crown has still the right to veto a Colonial Customs Act, but this is a power which any Minister would be most loth to advise the sovereign to exercise. It might be possible to withhold assent to differential duties in favour of the foreigner and against England; but the right to levy high duties on all imports, even with the object of protection, and not merely for revenue, must be admitted.

Such action can only be combated by argument and persuasion; but would not this Colonial Board of Advice be an excellent opportunity for persuasion? It would be clearly understood and declared that no resolution of the Board could commit any colony until approved by its Government; but the opinion of the Home Government, supported in all probability by many of the Colonial Governments, could not but have great weight in checking protectionist legislation in any colony, and I believe also in furthering Free-trade.

There is much to be said in favour of an Imperial Zollverein. It is a most tempting proposal both to those who care for Free-trade and to the advocates of Imperial union, but the difficulties are manifest. They can only be surmounted by a general policy: either by the universal abolition of Excise and Customs, or by similar Excise and Customs throughout the empire. There must be no indirect taxation, or it must be levied everywhere upon the same articles and to the same amount. I do not think we can expect newly-formed communities to raise their revenue solely by direct taxation, but the abolition of all Customs or Excise except upon intoxicating liquors and tobacco, and the general equalisation of these taxes, would make an Imperial Zollverein possible. It is not easy to overrate the benefits which such a fiscal union would confer, not merely upon the Queen's subjects at home, but upon those over the sea; but I can see no chance of successfully mooted such a project, or of obtaining that colonial assent which is absolutely necessary, except by help of some such Council as I have described.

There are those, however, who object to any immediate action, though they are not unfriendly to our ultimate object, and who think that we may do harm by raising the question of federation, and

that the formation of our League may be not only premature, but prejudicial to our cause.

Why, they say, alarm the colonists and the people of the United Kingdom by asking either one or the other to incur any sacrifices for the sake of union? Why not wait till some colony proposes to depart?

My reply is, I am anxious to avoid such proposal; and though I do not deny that some sacrifices are required, I maintain that they are but slight in comparison to the advantages which both parties will gain. Nothing can be bought for nothing in this world, but the consolidation of the realm can now be bought for little. What is the cost? To us at home, the acknowledgment that our fellow-countrymen over the seas have the right to express an opinion upon matters which may drag both them and us into war; to them, the obligation to consider whether they will not pledge themselves to an expenditure for defence which they have already shown their willingness to incur.

These are the sacrifices required for the formation of a Colonial Board of Advice, or the tentative Council above described. But, if the experiment succeeds, to what may we hope it will lead? At any rate to a saving of cost; not merely to an illustration of the old axiom that union is strength, but also to the proof that union is economy.

Strength in this case means economy, for there is nothing so costly as war, and an organisation for common defence will be both for the United Kingdom and for the colonies an almost certain insurance against war. We shall not have the wish to attack, and we shall be too strong to be attacked. The real danger is not that we may act too soon, but too late; not that action will be premature, but that it may have been postponed too long. If we wish to lose our colonies, we cannot more surely attain our desire than by the continuance of our present colonial policy, or rather by persisting in the refusal to have any policy at all.

It matters little that we talk about the blessings of union and our determination to preserve it, when the only rational explanation of what we do, or rather of what we do not do, is that we expect disunion.

I am not finding fault with the Government. Lord Granville and Lord Derby may have been long in making up their minds what course to take in South Africa or in the Pacific, but they may allege in defence that the country has not known its own mind. The fact is, public opinion, though powerful, requires and indeed expects to be guided. The power of public opinion over all rulers, over kings and emperors, and ministers and parliaments, is the great political fact of this age; but I believe governments, or at any rate our Government, will more and more find that not only in colonial, but also in

foreign, and even in domestic, affairs it is their duty and their interest not to wait on public opinion, but to attempt to guide it. But, however this may be, this halting, half-hearted uncertainty has the worst possible effect in the colonies. They do not know what we mean to do, and not even whether we mean to keep them or not, and so they embarrass us by isolated action.

Queensland had little confidence in British care for Colonial interests or in British sympathy with Colonial aspirations, and so she acted for herself. I read, a day or two ago, a telegram stating that at a meeting in Toronto Mr. Blake, the eloquent leader of the Liberal party in the Dominion, had demanded the power for Canada to make her own treaties. If this be true, it means that Mr. Blake is making a demand which implies disunion, and which would not be entertained by the United States or by any Federation now existing; but would he have made this demand if he knew that the principle of participation by Canada in Imperial foreign policy was admitted?

Again, as regards the irritation caused in Australia by the German annexations, it seems to me to be quite as much against the way they have been made as against the actual annexations. It is not so much that Victoria and Queensland fear the acquisition by Germany of tropical islands in the Pacific, as the fact that they suppose that we at home are leaving them alone with Germany, and letting Prince Bismarck do what he thinks fit.

For my part I am grateful to Prince Bismarck: he at any rate has a policy, and by carrying it out he is forcing us to make up our minds. He has made British public opinion speak out, and I rejoice at the action of the Government at St. Lucia Bay, and at the steps which we may hope they are taking to prevent the annexation of the Samoan Islands by Germany and the New Hebrides by France.

There is only one other objection to which I will allude. The members of the Federation League are told that we have no precedent in our favour; that a world-wide confederation with seas separating its members is a novelty in history. Yes, it may be a novelty; but there is another novelty, and that is the political effect of steam and electricity. This is not the time for alarm at novelties; the air is full of them. The new forces of civilisation are at work, and we in England at any rate are making a new departure. Let us be as little enslaved by precedent in our colonial policy as in our domestic legislation. But there is one feeling which is not new. Patriotism is not a novelty, nor, let men say what they will, is patriotism worn out. Are we the fellow-countrymen of our kinsmen in the colonies? Are we and they determined to continue to be fellow-countrymen? Do we and they love our country and care for its welfare? Do we and they believe that this welfare depends on the maintenance of union, and are we and they determined to maintain it?

These are questions which the new and the old electors of our ancient House of Commons and the voters for the newly-formed Colonial Parliaments alike will have to answer. They are questions which it will be the privilege and the duty of our two millions of new voters to assist in solving. Let these questions be asked by the opponents of federation as well as by its advocates. I do not fear the reply.

W. E. FORSTER.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since most of the above was written, Mr. Murray Smith, the Agent-General for Victoria, has received a despatch from Mr. Service, the Premier of his colony, giving his views on federation.

This despatch has already been published, but it seems to me so important that my readers should look at this matter from a colonial point of view, that I must beg them to re-peruse it in connection with the remarks I have made, and for which I cannot but be glad to find so much confirmation from so high a colonial authority.

Mr. Service, writing from Melbourne on the 20th of November, after saying that he wishes to explain the considerations which had influenced him to authorise Mr. Smith, not only to attend the last conference of the Federation League, but to give a general support to the movement, writes as follows:—

The chief of those considerations is the very anomalous position which these colonies occupy as regards respectively local government and the exercise of Imperial authority. In regard to the first, the fullest measure of constitutional freedom and Parliamentary representation has been conceded to the more important colonies; but, as regards the second, we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. Subjects of this part of the Empire may be deeply interested in the action or, it may be, the inaction of the Imperial authorities, but they have no voice nor vote in those councils of the Empire to which Her Majesty's Ministers are responsible; thus, in all matters in which the exercise of the Imperial authority has interests for them, that authority is, to all intents and purposes, an unqualified autocracy; on the one hand, we are under constitutional government, on the other under an antiquated autocracy or bureaucracy.

The weakness of this position has at times been most disadvantageously apparent, and its humiliation keenly felt. Lately, more especially, when policy of the highest concern to the Australasian colonies has had to be administered by the Imperial Government, we have occupied the position of outside petitioners to the Colonial Office, with scarcely more influence than a county member of the House of Commons. I thankfully acknowledge the courtesy extended by the Colonial Office to yourself, as well as, I believe, to the other Colonial Agents-General; but it is something more than concessions of courtesy that is needed. Colonial interests are sufficiently important to entitle us to some defined position in the Imperial economy—to some tangible means of asserting, if necessary, our rights.

It may be difficult to say in what way so vast and scattered an Empire can be federated; but any scheme that may be decided upon, while it cannot take from us anything that we at present possess, must give to the colonies more tangible influence, and more legal and formal authority, than they have now. I, therefore, had no hesitation in directing you to give a general support to the idea, guarding, of course, our local self-government.

A further consideration is that Victoria, and I am sure Australasia, is and always has been heartily loyal both to the Throne and the Empire—a national sentiment which has never failed to express itself on every suitable occasion. The notion, before now openly propounded by Professor Goldwin Smith and others, of disinte-

grating the Empire by cutting off the colonies, has, I am persuaded, little sympathy from Australasians—nor is this altogether a matter of sentiment; but we believe that the colonies, justly and wisely governed, may be tributaries of strength to the parent State; that they and it may be mutually recipients of numberless advantages. I am sure that I speak the mind of the colonists generally in expressing our desire to remain, as now, an integral portion of the Empire; and it is in this view, therefore, that I desire to support the movement for Imperial Federation.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

A WORD MORE ABOUT AMERICA.

WHEN I was at Chicago last year, I was asked whether Lord Coleridge would not write a book about America. I ventured to answer confidently for him that he would do nothing of the kind. Not at Chicago only, but almost wherever I went, I was asked whether I myself did not intend to write a book about America. For oneself one can answer yet more confidently than for one's friends, and I always replied that most assuredly I had no such intention. To write a book about America, on the strength of having made merely such a tour there as mine was, and with no fuller equipment of preparatory studies and of local observations than I possess, would seem to me an impertinence.

It is now a long while since I read M. de Tocqueville's famous work on Democracy in America. I have the highest respect for M. de Tocqueville; but my remembrance of his book is that it deals too much in abstractions for my taste, and that it is written, moreover, in a style which many French writers adopt, but which I find trying—a style cut into short paragraphs and wearing an air of rigorous scientific deduction without the reality. Very likely, however, I do M. de Tocqueville injustice. My debility in high speculation is well known, and I mean to attempt his book on Democracy again when I have seen America once more, and when years may have brought to me, perhaps, more of the philosophic mind. Meanwhile, however, it will be evident how serious a matter I think it to write a worthy book about the United States, when I am not entirely satisfied with even M. de Tocqueville's.

But before I went to America, and when I had no expectation of ever going there, I published, under the title of 'A Word about America,' not indeed a book, but a few modest remarks on what I thought civilisation in the United States might probably be like. I had before me a Boston newspaper-article which said that if I ever visited America I should find there such and such things; and taking this article for my text I observed, that from all I had read and all I could judge, I should for my part expect to find there rather such and such other things, which I mentioned. I said that of aristocracy, as we know it here, I should expect to find, of course, in the United States the total absence; that our lower class I should expect to find

absent in a great degree, while my old familiar friend, the middle class, I should expect to find in full possession of the land. And then betaking myself to those playful phrases which a little relieve, perhaps, the tedium of grave disquisitions of this sort, I said that I imagined one would just have in America our Philistines, with our aristocracy quite left out and our populace very nearly.

An acute and singularly candid American, whose name I will on no account betray to his countrymen, read these observations of mine, and he made a remark upon them to me which struck me a good deal. Yes, he said, you are right, and your supposition is just. In general, what you would find over there would be the Philistines, as you call them, without your aristocracy and without your populace. Only this, too, I say at the same time: you would find over there something besides, something more, something which you do not bring out, which you cannot know and bring out, perhaps, without actually visiting the United States, but which you would recognise if you saw it.

My friend was a true prophet. When I saw the United States I recognised that the general account which I had hazarded of them was, indeed, not erroneous, but that it required to have something added to supplement it. I should not like either my friends in America or my countrymen here at home to think that my 'Word about America' gave my full and final thoughts respecting the people of the United States. The new and modifying impressions brought by experience I shall communicate, as I did my original expectations, with all good faith, and as simply and plainly as possible. Perhaps when I have yet again visited America, have seen the great West, and have had a second reading of M. de Tocqueville's, classical work on Democracy, my mind may be enlarged and my present impressions still further modified by new ideas. If so, I promise to make my confession duly; not indeed to make it, even then, in a book about America, but to make it in a brief 'Last Word' on that great subject—a word, like its predecessors, of open-hearted and free conversation with the readers of this Review.

I suppose I am not by nature disposed to think so much as most people do of 'institutions.' The Americans think and talk very much of their 'institutions;' I am by nature inclined to call all this sort of thing *machinery*, and to regard rather men and their characters. But the more I saw of America, the more I found myself led to treat 'institutions' with increased respect. Until I went to the United States I had never seen a people with institutions which seemed expressly and thoroughly suited to it. I had not properly appreciated the benefits proceeding from this cause.

Sir Henry Maine, in an admirable essay which, though not signed, betrays him for its author by its rare and characteristic

qualities of mind and style—Sir Henry Maine in the *Quarterly Review* adopts and often reiterates a phrase of M. Scherer, to the effect that ‘Democracy is only a form of government.’ He holds up to ridicule a sentence of Mr. Bancroft’s History, in which the American democracy is told that its ascent to power ‘proceeded as uniformly and majestically as the laws of being and was as certain as the decrees of eternity.’ Let us be willing to give Sir Henry Maine his way, and to allow no magnificent claim of this kind on behalf of the American democracy. Let us treat as not more solid the assertion in the Declaration of Independence, that ‘all men are created equal, are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ Let us concede that these natural rights are a figment; that chance and circumstance, as much as deliberate foresight and design, have brought the United States into their present condition, that moreover the British rule which they threw off was not the rule of oppressors and tyrants which declaimers suppose, and that the merit of the Americans was not that of oppressed men rising against tyrants, but rather of sensible young people getting rid of stupid and overweening guardians who misunderstood and mismanaged them.

All this let us concede, if we will; but in conceding it let us not lose sight of the really important point, which is this: that their institutions do in fact suit the people of the United States so well, and that from this suitableness they do derive so much actual benefit. As one watches the play of their institutions, the image suggests itself to one’s mind of a man in a suit of clothes which fits him to perfection, leaving all his movements unimpeded and easy. It is loose where it ought to be loose, and it sits close where its sitting close is an advantage. The central government of the United States keeps in its own hands those functions which, if the nation is to have real unity, ought to be kept there; those functions it takes to itself and no others. The State governments and the municipal governments provide people with the fullest liberty of managing their own affairs, and afford, besides, a constant and invaluable school of practical experience. This wonderful suit of clothes, again (to recur to our image), is found also to adapt itself naturally to the wearer’s growth, and to admit of all enlargements as they successively arise. I speak of the state of things since the suppression of slavery, of the state of things which meets a spectator’s eye at the present time in America. There are points in which the institutions of the United States may call forth criticism. One observer may think that it would be well if the President’s term of office were longer, if his ministers sate in Congress or must possess the confidence of Congress. Another observer may say that the marriage laws for the whole nation ought to be fixed by Congress, and not to vary at the will of the legislatures of the several States. I myself was much struck with the inconvenience of

not allowing a man to sit in Congress except for his own district ; a man like Wendell Phillips was thus excluded, because Boston would not return him. It is as if Mr. Bright could have no other constituency open to him if Rochdale would not send him to Parliament. But all these are really questions of *machinery* (to use my own term), and ought not so to engage our attention as to prevent our seeing that the capital fact as to the institutions of the United States is this: their suitableness to the American people and their natural and easy working. If we are not to be allowed to say, with Mr. Beecher, that this people has 'a genius for the organisation of States,' then at all events we must admit that in its own organisation it has enjoyed the most signal good fortune.

Yes; what is called, in the jargon of the publicists, the political problem and the social problem, the people of the United States does appear to me to have solved, or Fortune has solved it for them, with undeniable success. Against invasion and conquest from without they are impregnable strong. As to domestic concerns, the first thing to remember is, that the people over there is at bottom the same people as ourselves, a people with a strong sense for conduct. But there is said to be great corruption among their politicians and in the public service, in municipal administration, and in the administration of justice. Sir Lepel Griffin would lead us to think that the administration of justice, in particular, is so thoroughly corrupt, that a man with a lawsuit has only to provide his lawyer with the necessary funds for bribing the officials, and he can make sure of winning his suit. The Americans themselves use such strong language in describing the corruption prevalent amongst them that they cannot be surprised if strangers believe them. For myself, I had heard and read so much to the discredit of American political life, how all the best men kept aloof from it, and those who gave themselves to it were unworthy, that I ended by supposing that the thing must actually be so, and the good Americans must be looked for elsewhere than in politics. Then I had the pleasure of dining with Mr. Bancroft in Washington; and however he may, in Sir Henry Maine's opinion, overlaud the pre-established harmony of American democracy, he had at any rate invited to meet me half a dozen politicians whom in England we should pronounce to be members of Parliament of the highest class, in bearing, manners, tone of feeling, intelligence, information. I discovered that in truth the practice, so common in America, of calling a politician 'a thief,' does not mean so very much more than is meant in England when we have heard Lord Beaconsfield called 'a liar' and Mr. Gladstone 'a mad-man.' It means, that the speaker disagrees with the politician in question and dislikes him. Not that I assent, on the other hand, to the thick-and-thin American patriots, who will tell you that there is no more corruption in the politics and administra-

tion of the United States than in those of England. I believe there is more, and that the tone of both is lower there ; and this from a cause on which I shall have to touch hereafter. But the corruption is exaggerated ; it is not the wide and deep disease it is often represented ; it is such that the good elements in the nation may, and I believe will, perfectly work it off ; and even now the truth of what I have been saying as to the suitableness and successful working of American institutions is not really in the least affected by it.

Furthermore, American society is not in danger from revolution. Here, again, I do not mean that the United States are exempt from the operation of every one of the causes—such a cause as the division between rich and poor, for instance—which may lead to revolution. But I mean that comparatively with the old countries of Europe they are free from the danger of revolution ; and I believe that the good elements in them will make a way for them to escape out of what they really have of this danger also, to escape in the future as well as now—the future for which some observers announce this danger as so certain and so formidable. Lord Macaulay predicted that the United States must come in time to just the same state of things which we witness in England ; that the cities would fill up and the lands become occupied, and then, he said, the division between rich and poor would establish itself on the same scale as with us, and be just as embarrassing. He forgot that the United States are without what certainly fixes and accentuates the division between rich and poor—the distinction of classes. Not only have they not the distinction between noble and bourgeois, between aristocracy and middle class ; they have not even the distinction between bourgeois and peasant or artisan, between middle and lower class. They have nothing to create it and compel their recognition of it. Their domestic service is done for them by Irish, Germans, Swedes, negroes. Outside domestic service, within the range of conditions which an American may in fact be called upon to traverse, he passes easily from one sort of occupation to another, from poverty to riches, and from riches to poverty. No one of his possible occupations appears degrading to him or makes him lose caste ; and poverty itself appears to him as inconvenient and disagreeable rather than as humiliating. When the immigrant from Europe strikes root in his new home, he becomes as the American.

It may be said that the Americans, when they attained their independence, had not the elements for a division into classes, and that they deserve no praise for not having invented one. But I am not now contending that they deserve praise for their institutions, I am saying how well their institutions work. Considering, indeed, how rare are distinctions of rank and class in the world, how prone men in general are to adopt them, how much the Americans themselves, beyond doubt, are capable of feeling their attraction, it shows, I think, at least strong good sense in the Americans to have forborne from all

attempt to invent them at the outset, and to have escaped or resisted any fancy for inventing them since. But evidently the United States constituted themselves, not amid the circumstances of a feudal age, but in a modern age; not under the conditions of an epoch favourable to subordination, but under those of an epoch of expansion. Their institutions did but comply with the form and pressure of the circumstances and conditions then present. A feudal age, an epoch of war, defence, and concentration, needs centres of power and property, and it reinforces property by joining distinctions of rank and class with it. Property becomes more honourable, more solid. And in feudal ages this is well, for its changing hands easily would be a source of weakness. But in ages of expansion, where men are bent that every one shall have his chance, the more readily property changes hands the better. The envy with which its holder is regarded diminishes, society is safer. I think whatever may be said of the worship of the almighty dollar in America, it is indubitable that rich men are regarded there with less envy and hatred than rich men are in Europe. Why is this? Because their condition is less fixed, because government and legislation do not take them more seriously than other people, make grandees of them, aid them to found families and endure. With us, the chief holders of property are grandees already, and every rich man aspires to become a grandee if possible. And therefore an English country-gentleman regards himself as part of the system of nature; government and legislation have invited him so to do. If the price of wheat falls so low that his means of expenditure are greatly reduced, he tells you that if this lasts he cannot possibly go on as a country-gentleman; and every well-bred person amongst us looks sympathising and shocked. An American would say: 'Why should he?' The Conservative newspapers are fond of giving us, as an argument for the game-laws, the plea that without them a country-gentleman could not be induced to live on his estate. An American would say: 'What does it matter?' Perhaps to an English ear this will sound brutal; but the point is that the American does not take his rich man so seriously as we do ours, does not make him into a grandee; the thing, if proposed to him, would strike him as an absurdity. I suspect that Mr. Winans himself, the American millionaire who adds deer-forest to deer-forest, and will not suffer a cottier to keep a pet lamb, regards his own performance as a colossal stroke of American humour, illustrating the absurdities of the British system of property and privilege. Ask Mr. Winans if he would promote the introduction of the British game-laws into the United States, and he would tell you with a merry laugh that the idea is ridiculous, and that these British follies are for home consumption.

The example of France must not mislead us. There the institutions, an objector may say, are republican, and yet the division and

hatred between rich and poor is intense. True; but in France, though the institutions may be republican, the ideas and morals are not republican. In America not only are the institutions republican, but the ideas and morals are prevailingly republican also. They are those of a plain, decent middle class. The ideal of those who are the public instructors of the people is the ideal of such a class. In France the ideal of the mass of popular journalists and popular writers of fiction, who are now practically the public instructors there, is, if you could see their hearts, a Pompadour or du Barry *régime*, with themselves for the part of Faublas. With this ideal prevailing, this vision of the objects for which wealth is desirable, the possessors of wealth become hateful to the multitude which toils and endures, and society is undermined. This is one of the many inconveniences which the French have to suffer from that worship of the great goddess Lubricity to which they are at present vowed. Wealth excites the most savage enmity there, because it is conceived as a means for gratifying appetites of the most selfish and vile kind. But in America Faublas is no more the ideal than Coriolanus. Wealth is no more conceived as the minister to the pleasures of a class of rakes, than as the minister to the magnificence of a class of nobles. It is conceived as a thing which almost any American may attain, and which almost every American will use respectably. Its possession, therefore, does not inspire hatred, and so I return to the thesis with which I started—America is not in danger of revolution. The division between rich and poor is alleged to us as a cause of revolution which presently, if not now, must operate there, as elsewhere; and yet we see that this cause has not there, in truth, the characters to which we are elsewhere accustomed.

- A people homogeneous, a people which had to constitute itself in a modern age, an epoch of expansion, and which has given to itself institutions entirely fitted for such an age and epoch, and which suit it perfectly—a people not in danger of war from without, not in danger of revolution from within—such is the people of the United States. The political and social problem, then, we must surely allow that they solve successfully. There remains, I know, the human problem also; the solution of that too has to be considered; but I shall come to that hereafter. My point at present is, that politically and socially the United States are a community living in a natural condition, and conscious of living in a natural condition. And being in this healthy case, and having this healthy consciousness, the community there uses its understanding with the soundness of health; it in general sees its political and social concerns straight, and sees them clear. So that when Sir Henry Maine and M. Scherer tell us that democracy is ‘merely a form of government,’ we may observe to them that it is in the United States a form of government in which the community feels itself in a natural condition and at ease; in which, consequently, it sees things straight and sees them clear.

More than half one's interest in watching the English people of the United States comes, of course, from the bearing of what one finds there upon things at home, amongst us English people ourselves in these islands. I have frankly recorded what struck me and came as most new to me in the condition of the English race in the United States. I had said beforehand, indeed, that I supposed the American Philistine was a livelier sort of Philistine than ours, because he had not that pressure of the Barbarians to stunt and distort him which befalls his English brother here. But I did not foresee how far his superior liveliness and naturalness of condition, in the absence of that pressure, would carry the American Philistine. I still use my old name *Philistine*, because it does in fact seem to me as yet to suit the bulk of the community over there, as it suits the strong central body of the community here. But in my mouth the name is hardly a reproach, so clearly do I see the Philistine's necessity, so willingly I own his merits, so much I find of him in myself. The American Philistine, however, is certainly far more different from his English brother than I had beforehand supposed. And on that difference we English of the old country may with great profit turn our regards for awhile, and I am now going to speak of it.

Surely if there is one thing more than another which all the world is saying of our community at present, and of which the truth cannot well be disputed, it is this: that we act like people who do not think straight and see clear. I know that the Liberal newspapers used to be fond of saying that what characterised our middle class was its 'clear, manly intelligence, penetrating through sophisms, ignoring commonplaces, and giving to conventional illusions their true value.' Many years ago I took alarm at seeing the *Daily News* and the *Morning Star*, like Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, thus making horns of iron for the middle class and bidding it 'Go up and prosper!' and my first efforts as a writer on public matters were prompted by a desire to utter, like Micaiah the son of Imlah, my protest against these misleading assurances of the false prophets. And though often and often smitten on the cheek, just as Micaiah was, still I persevered; and at the Royal Institution I said how we seemed to flounder and to beat the air, and at Liverpool I singled out as our chief want the want of lucidity. But now everybody is really saying of us the same thing: that we fumble because we cannot make up our mind, and that we cannot make up our mind because we do not know what to be after. If our foreign policy is not that of 'the British Philistine, with his likes and dislikes, his effusion and confusion, his hot and cold fits, his want of dignity and of the steadfastness which comes from dignity, his want of ideas and of the steadfastness which comes from ideas,' then all the world at the present time is, it must be owned, very much mistaken.

Let us not, therefore, speak of foreign affairs; it is needless, because

the thing I wish to show is so manifest there to everybody. But we will consider matters at home. Let us take the present state of the House of Commons. Can anything be more confused, more unnatural? That assembly has got into a condition utterly embarrassed, and seems impotent to bring itself right. The members of the House themselves may find entertainment in the personal incidents which such a state of confusion is sure to bring forth abundantly, and excitement in the opportunities thus often afforded for the display of Mr. Gladstone's wonderful powers. But to any judicious Englishman outside the House the spectacle is simply an afflicting and humiliating one; the sense aroused by it is not a sense of delight at Mr. Gladstone's tireless powers, it is rather a sense of disgust at their having to be so exercised. Every day the House of Commons does not sit judicious people feel relief, every day that it sits they are oppressed with apprehension. Instead of being an edifying influence, as such an assembly ought to be, the House of Commons is at present an influence which does harm; it sets an example which rebukes and corrects none of the nation's faults, but rather encourages them. The best thing to be done at present, perhaps, is to avert one's eyes from the House of Commons as much as possible; if one keeps on constantly watching it welter in its baneful confusion, one is likely to fall into the fulminating style of the wrathful Hebrew prophets, and to call it 'an astonishment, a hissing, and a curse.'

Well, then, our greatest institution, the House of Commons, we cannot say 'is at present working, like the American institutions, easily and successfully. Suppose we now pass to Ireland. I will not ask if our institutions work easily and successfully in Ireland; to ask such a question would be too bitter, too cruel a mockery. Those hateful cases which have been tried in the Dublin Courts this last year suggest the dark and ill-omened word which applies to the whole state of Ireland—*anti-natural*. *Anti-natural*, *anti-nature*—that is the word which rises irresistibly in my mind as I survey Ireland. Everything is unnatural there—the proceedings of the English who rule, the proceedings of the Irish who resist. But it is with the working of our English institutions there that I am now concerned. It is unnatural that Ireland should be governed by Lord Spencer and Mr. Campbell Bannerman—as unnatural as for Scotland to be governed by Lord Cranbrook and Mr. Healy. It is unnatural that Ireland should be governed under a Crimes Act. But there is necessity, replies the Government. Well, then, if there is such evil necessity, it is unnatural that the Irish newspapers should be free to write as they write and the Irish members to speak as they speak—free to inflame and further exasperate a seditious people's minds, and to promote the continuance of the evil necessity. A necessity for the Crimes Act is a necessity for absolute government. By our patchwork proceedings we set up, indeed, a make-believe of Ireland's being constitutionally

governed. But it is not constitutionally governed; nobody supposes it to be constitutionally governed, except, perhaps, that born swallower of all clap-trap, the British Philistine. The Irish themselves, the all-important personages in this case, are not taken in; our make-believe does not produce in them the very least gratitude, the very least softening. At the same time it adds an hundred fold to the difficulties of an absolute government.

The working of our institutions being thus awry, is the working of our thoughts upon them more smooth and natural? I imagine to myself an American, his own institutions and his habits of thought being such as we have seen, listening to us as we talk politics and discuss the strained state of things over here. 'Certainly these men have considerable difficulties,' he would say; 'but they never look at them straight, they do not think straight.' Who does not admire the fine qualities of Lord Spencer?—and I, for my part, am quite ready to admit that he may require for a given period not only the present Crimes Act, but even yet more stringent powers of repression. *For a given period*, yes!—but afterwards? Has Lord Spencer any clear vision of the great, the profound changes still to be wrought before a stable and prosperous society can arise in Ireland? Has he even any ideal for the future there, beyond that of a time when he can go to visit Lord Kenmare, or any other great landlord who is his friend, and find all the tenants punctually paying their rents, prosperous and deferential, and society in Ireland settling quietly down again upon the old basis? And he might as well hope to see Strongbow come to life again! Which of us does not esteem and like Mr. Trevelyan, and rejoice in the high promise of his career? And how all his friends applauded when he turned upon the exasperating and insulting Irish members, and told them that he was 'an English gentleman'! Yet, if one thinks of it, Mr. Trevelyan was thus telling the Irish members simply that he was just that which Ireland does not want, and which can do her no good. England, to be sure, has given Ireland plenty of her worst, but she has also given her not scantily of her best. Ireland has had no insufficient supply of the English gentleman, with his honesty, personal courage, high bearing, good intentions, and limited vision; what she wants is statesmen with just the qualities which the typical English gentleman has not—flexibility, openness of mind, a free and large view of things.

Everywhere we shall find in our thinking a sort of warp inclining it aside of the real mark, and thus depriving it of value. The common run of peers who write to the *Times* about reform of the House of Lords one would not much expect, perhaps, to 'understand the signs of this time.' But even the Duke of Argyll, delivering his mind about the land-question in Scotland, is like one seeing, thinking, and speaking in some other planet than ours. A man of even Mr. John Morley's gifts is provoked with the House of Lords, and straightway he

declares himself against the existence of a Second Chamber at all; although—if there be such a thing as demonstration in politics—the working of the American Senate demonstrates a well-composed Second Chamber to be the very need and safeguard of a modern democracy. What a singular twist, again, in a man of Mr. Frederic Harrison's intellectual power, not, perhaps, to have in the exuberance of youthful energy weighted himself for the race of life by taking up a grotesque old French pedant upon his shoulders, but to have insisted, in middle age, in taking up the Protestant Dissenters too; and now, when he is becoming elderly, it seems as if nothing would serve him but he must add the Peace Society to his load! How perverse, yet again, in Mr. Herbert Spencer, at the very moment when past neglects and present needs are driving men to co-operation, to making the community act for the public good in its collective and corporate character of *the State*, how perverse to seize this occasion for promulgating the extremest doctrine of individualism; and not only to drag this dead horse along the public road himself, but to induce Mr. Auberon Herbert to devote his days to flogging it!

We think thus unaccountably because we are living in an unnatural and strained state. We are like people whose vision is deranged by their looking through a turbid and distorting atmosphere, or whose movements are warped by the cramping of some unnatural constraint. Let us just ask ourselves, looking at the thing as people simply desirous of finding the truth, how men who saw and thought straight would proceed, how an American, for instance—whose seeing and thinking has, I have said, if not in all matters, yet commonly in political and social concerns, this quality of straightness—how an American would proceed in the three confusions which I have given as instances of the many confusions now embarrassing us: the confusion of our foreign affairs, the confusion of the House of Commons, the confusion of Ireland. And then, when we have discovered the kind of proceeding natural in these cases, let us ask ourselves, with the same sincerity, what is the cause of that warp of mind hindering most of us from seeing straight in them, and also where is our remedy.

The Angra Pequena business has lately called forth from all sides many and harsh animadversions upon Lord Granville, who is charged with the direction of our foreign affairs. I shall not swell the chorus of complainers. Nothing has happened but what was to be expected. Long ago I remarked that it is not Lord Granville himself who determines our foreign policy and shapes the declarations of Government concerning it, but a power behind Lord Granville. He and his colleagues would call it the power of public opinion. It is really the opinion of that great ruling class amongst us on which Liberal Governments have hitherto had to depend for support—the Philistines or middle class. It is not, I repeat, with Lord Granville in his natural

state and force that a foreign Government has to deal ; it is with Lord Granville waiting in devout expectation to see how the cat will jump—and that cat the British Philistine ! When Prince Bismarck deals with Lord Granville, he finds that he is not dealing mind to mind with an intelligent equal, but that he is dealing with a tumult of likes and dislikes, hopes and fears, stock-jobbing intrigues, missionary interests, quidnuncs, newspapers—dealing, in short, with *ignorance* behind his intelligent equal. Yet ignorant as our Philistine middle class may be, its volitions on foreign affairs would have more intelligibility and consistency if uttered through a spokesman of their own class. Coming through a nobleman like Lord Granville, who has neither the thoughts, habits, nor ideals of the middle class, and yet wishes to act as proctor for it, they have every disadvantage. He cannot even do justice to the Philistine mind, such as it is, for which he is spokesman ; he apprehends it uncertainly and expounds it ineffectively. And so with the house and lineage of Murdstone thundering at him (and these, again, through Lord Derby as their interpreter) from the Cape, and the inexorable Prince Bismarck thundering at him from Berlin, the thing naturally ends by Lord Granville at last wringing his adroit hands and ejaculating disconsolately : ‘ It is a misunderstanding altogether ! ’ Even yet more to be pitied, perhaps, was the hard case of Lord Kimberley after the Majuba Hill disaster. Who can ever forget him, poor man, studying the faces of the representatives of the dissenting interest and exclaiming : ‘ A sudden thought strikes me ! May we not be incurring the sin of blood-guiltiness ? ’ To this has come the tradition of Lord Somers, the Whig oligarchy of 1688, and all Lord Macaulay’s Pantheon.

I said that a source of strength to America, in political and social concerns, was the homogeneous character of American society. An American statesman speaks with more effect the mind of his fellow-citizens from his being in sympathy with it, understanding and sharing it. Certainly one must admit that if, in our country of classes, the Philistine middle class is really the inspirer of our foreign policy, that policy would at least be expounded more forcibly if it had a Philistine for its spokesman. Yet I think the true moral to be drawn is rather, perhaps, this : that our foreign policy would be improved if our whole society were homogeneous.

As to the confusion in the House of Commons, what, apart from defective rules of procedure, are its causes ? First and foremost, no doubt, the temper and action of the Irish members. But putting this cause of confusion out of view for a moment, every one can see that the House of Commons is far too large, and that it undertakes a quantity of business which belongs more properly to local assemblies. The confusion from these causes is one which is constantly increasing, because, as the country becomes fuller and more awakened, business multiplies, and more and more members of the House are inclined to

take part in it. Is not the cure for this found in a course like that followed in America, in having a much less numerous House of Commons, and in making over a large part of its business to local assemblies, elected, as the House of Commons itself will henceforth be elected, by household suffrage? I have often said that we seem to me to need at present, in England, three things in especial: more equality, education for the middle classes, and a thorough municipal system. A system of local assemblies is but the natural complement of a thorough municipal system. Wholes neither too large nor too small, not necessarily of equal population by any means, but with characters rendering them in themselves fairly homogeneous and coherent, are the fit units for choosing these local assemblies. Such units occur immediately to one's mind in the provinces of Ireland, the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, Wales north and south, groups of English counties such as present themselves in the circuits of the judges or under the names of East Anglia or the Midlands. No one will suppose me guilty of the pedantry of here laying out definitive districts; I do but indicate such units as may enable the reader to conceive the kind of basis required for the local assemblies of which I am speaking. The business of these districts would be more advantageously done in assemblies of the kind; they would form a useful school for the increasing number of aspirants to public life, and the House of Commons would be relieved.

The strain in Ireland would be relieved too, and by natural and safe means. Irishmen are to be found, who, in desperation at the present state of their country, cry out for making Ireland independent and separate, with a national Parliament in Dublin, with her own foreign office and diplomacy, her own army and navy, her own tariff, coinage and currency. This is manifestly impracticable. But here again let us look at what is done by people who in politics think straight and see clear; let us observe what is done in the United States. The Government at Washington reserves matters of imperial concern, matters such as those just enumerated, which cannot be relinquished without relinquishing the unity of the empire. Neither does it allow one great South to be constituted, or one great West, with a Southern Parliament, or a Western. Provinces that are too large are broken up, as Virginia has been broken up. But the several States are nevertheless real and important wholes, each with its own legislature; and to each the control, within its own borders, of all except imperial concerns is freely committed. The United States Government intervenes only to keep order in the last resort. Let us suppose a similar plan applied in Ireland. There are four provinces there, forming four natural wholes—or perhaps (if it should seem expedient to put Munster and Connaught together) three. The Parliament of the empire would still be in London, and Ireland would send members to it. But at the same time each Irish province

would have its own legislature, and the control of its own real affairs. The British landlord would no longer determine the dealings with land in an Irish province; nor the British Protestant the dealings with church and education. Apart from imperial concerns, or from disorder such as to render military intervention necessary, the government in London would leave Ireland to manage itself. Lord Spencer and Mr. Campbell Bannerman would come back to England. Dublin Castle would be the State-House of Leinster. Land-questions, game-laws, police, church, education, would be regulated by the people and legislature of Leinster for Leinster, of Ulster for Ulster, of Munster and Connaught for Munster and Connaught. The same with the like matters in England and Scotland. The local legislatures would regulate them.

But there is more. Everybody who watches the working of our institutions perceives what strain and friction is caused in it at present, by our having a Second Chamber composed almost entirely of great landowners, and representing the feelings and interests of the class of landowners almost exclusively. No one, certainly, under the conditions of a modern age and our actual life, would ever think of devising such a Chamber. But we will allow ourselves to do more than merely state this truism, we will allow ourselves to ask what sort of Second Chamber people who thought straight and saw clear would, under the conditions of a modern age and of our actual life, naturally make. And we find, from the experience of the United States, that such provincial legislatures as we have just now seen to be the natural remedy for the confusion in the House of Commons, the natural remedy for the confusion in Ireland, have the further great merit besides of giving us the best basis possible for a modern Second Chamber. The United States Senate is perhaps, of all the institutions of that country, the most happily devised, the most successful in its working. The legislature of each State of the Union elects two senators to the Second Chamber of the national Congress at Washington. The senators are the Lords—if we like to keep, as it is surely best to keep, for designating the members of the Second Chamber, the title to which we have been for so many ages habituated. Each of the provincial legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland would elect members to the House of Lords. The colonial legislatures also would elect members to it; and thus we should be complying in the most simple and yet the most signal way possible with the present desire of both this country and the colonies for a closer union together, for some representation of the colonies in the Imperial Parliament. Probably it would be found expedient to transfer to the Second Chamber the representatives of the Universities. But no scheme for a Second Chamber will at the present day be found solid unless it stands on a genuine basis of election and representation. All schemes for forming a Second Chamber through nomination, whether by the

Crown or by any other voice, of picked noblemen, great officials, leading merchants and bankers, eminent men of letters and science, are fantastic. Probably they would not give us by any means a good Second Chamber. But certainly they would not satisfy the country or possess its confidence, and therefore they would be found futile and unworkable.

So we discover what would naturally appear the desirable way out of some of our worst confusions to anybody who saw clear and thought straight. But there is little likelihood, probably, of any such way being soon perceived and followed by our community here. And why is this? Because, as a community, we have so little lucidity, we so little see clear and think straight. And why, again, is this? Because our community is so little homogeneous. The lower class has yet to show what it will do in politics. Rising politicians are already beginning to flatter it with servile assiduity, but their praise is as yet premature, the lower class is too little known. The upper class and the middle class we know. They have each their own supposed interests, and these are very different from the true interests of the community. Our very classes make us dim-seeing. In a modern time, we are living with a system of classes so intense, a society of such unnatural complication, that the whole action of our minds is hampered and falsened by it. I return to my old thesis: inequality is our bane. The great impediments in our way of progress are aristocracy and Protestant dissent. People think this is an epigram; alas, it is much rather a truism!

An aristocratical society like ours is often said to be the society from which artists and men of letters have most to gain. But an institution is to be judged, not by what one can oneself gain from it, but by the ideal which it sets up. And aristocracy—if I may once more repeat words which, however often repeated, have still a value from their truth—aristocracy now sets up in our country a false ideal, which materialises our upper class, vulgarises our middle class, brutalises our lower class. It misleads the young, makes the worldly more worldly, the limited more limited, the stationary more stationary. Even to the imaginative, whom Lord John Manners thinks its sure friend, it is more a hindrance than a help. Johnson says well: ‘Whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.’ But what is a Duke of Norfolk or an Earl Warwick, dressed in broad-cloth and tweed, and going about his business or pleasure in hansom cabs and railways like the rest of us? Imagination herself would entreat him to take himself out of the way, and to leave us to the Norfolks and Warwicks of history.

I say this without a particle of hatred, and with esteem, admiration, and affection for many individuals in the aristocratical class. But the action of time and circumstance is fatal. If one asks one-

self what is really to be desired, what is expedient, one would go far beyond the substitution of an elected Second Chamber for the present House of Lords. All confiscation is to be reprobated, all deprivation (except in bad cases of abuse) of what is actually possessed. But one would wish, if one set about wishing, for the extinction of title after the death of the holder, and for the dispersion of property by a stringent law of bequest. Our society should be homogeneous, and only in this way can it become so.

But aristocracy is in little danger. 'I suppose, sir,' a dissenting minister said to me the other day, 'you found, when you were in America, that they envied us there our great aristocracy.' It was his sincere belief that they did, and such probably is the sincere belief of our middle class in general; or at any rate, that if the Americans do not envy us this possession, they ought to. And my friend, one of the great Liberal party which has now, I suppose, pretty nearly run down its deceased wife's sister, poor thing, has his hand and heart full, so far as politics are concerned, of the question of church disestablishment. He is eager to set to work at a change which, even if it were desirable (and I think it is not), is yet off the line of those reforms which are really pressing.

Mr. Lyulph Stanley, Professor Stuart, and Lord Richard Grosvenor are waiting ready to help him, and perhaps Mr. Chamberlain himself will lead the attack. I admire Mr. Chamberlain as a politician because he has the courage—and it is a wise courage—to state large the reforms we need, instead of minimising them. But like Saul before his conversion, he breathes out threatenings and slaughter against the Church, and is likely, perhaps, to lead an assault upon her. He is a formidable assailant, yet I suspect he might break his finger-nails on her walls. If the Church has the majority for her, she will of course stand. But in any case this institution, with all its faults, has that merit which makes the great strength of institutions—it offers an ideal which is noble and attaching. Equality is its profession, if not always its practice. It inspires wide and deep affection, and possesses, therefore, immense strength. Probably the Establishment will not stand in Wales, probably it will not stand in Scotland. In Wales it ought not, I think, to stand. In Scotland I should regret its fall; but Presbyterian churches are born to separatism, as the sparks fly upward. At any rate, it is through the vote of local legislatures that disestablishment is likely to come, as a measure required in certain provinces, and not as a general measure for the whole country. In other words, the endeavour for disestablishment ought to be postponed to the endeavour for far more important reforms, not to precede it. Yet I doubt whether Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lyulph Stanley will listen to me when I plead thus with them; there is so little lucidity in England, and they will say I am priest-ridden.

One man there is, whom above all others I would fain have seen in Parliament during the last ten years, and beheld established in influence there at this juncture—Mr. Goldwin Smith. I do not say that he was not too embittered against the Church; in my opinion he was. But with singular lucidity and penetration he saw what great reforms were needed in other directions, and the order of relative importance in which reforms stood. Such were his character, style, and faculties, that alone perhaps among men of his insight he was capable of getting his ideas weighed and entertained by men in power; while amid all favour and under all temptations he was certain to have still remained true to his insight, ‘unshaken, unseduced, unterrified.’ I think of him as a real power for good in Parliament at this time, had he by now become, as he might have become, one of the leaders there. His absence from the scene, his retirement in Canada, is a loss to his friends, but a still greater loss to his country.

Hardly inferior in influence to Parliament itself is journalism. I do not conceive of Mr. John Morley as made for filling that position in Parliament which Mr. Goldwin Smith would, I think, have filled. If he controls, as Protesilaos in the poem advises, hysterical passion (the besetting danger of men of letters on the platform and in Parliament) and remembers to approve ‘the depth and not the tumult of the soul,’ he will be powerful in Parliament; he will rise, he will come into office; but he will not do for us in Parliament, I think, what Mr. Goldwin Smith would have done. He is too much of a partisan. In journalism, on the other hand, he was as unique a figure as Mr. Goldwin Smith would, I imagine, have been in Parliament. As a journalist, Mr. John Morley showed a mind which seized and understood the signs of the times; he had all the ideas of a man of the best insight, and alone, perhaps, among men of his insight, he had the skill for making these ideas pass into journalism. But Mr. John Morley has now left journalism. There is plenty of talent in Parliament, plenty of talent in journalism, but no one in either to expound ‘the signs of this time’ as these two men might have expounded them. The signs of the time, political and social, are left, I regret to say, to bring themselves as they best can to the notice of the public. Yet how ineffective an organ is literature for conveying them compared with Parliament and journalism!

Conveyed somehow, however, they certainly should be, and in this disquisition I have tried to deal with them. But the political and social problem, as the thinkers call it, must not so occupy us as to make us forget the human problem. The problems are connected together, but they are not identical. Our political and social confusions I admit; what Parliament is at this moment, I see and deplore. Yet nowhere but in England even now, not in France, not in Germany, not in America, could there be found public men of that quality—so

capable of fair dealing, of trusting one another, keeping their word to one another—as to make possible such a settlement of the Franchise and Seats Bills as that which we have lately seen. Plato says with most profound truth: ‘The man who would think to good purpose must be able to take many things into his view together.’ How homogeneous American society is, I have done my best to declare; how smoothly and naturally the institutions of the United States work, how clearly, in some most important respects, the Americans see, how straight they think. Yet Sir Lepel Griffin says that there is no country calling itself civilised where one would not rather live than in America, except Russia. In politics I do not much trust Sir Lepel Griffin. I hope that he administers in India some district where a profound insight into the being and working of institutions is not requisite. But, I suppose, of the tastes of himself and of that large class of Englishmen whom Mr. Charles Sumner has taught us to call the class of gentlemen, he is no untrustworthy reporter. And an Englishman of this class would rather live in France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, than in the United States, in spite of our community of race and speech with them! This means that, in the opinion of men of that class, the human problem at least is not well solved in the United States, whatever the political and social problem may be. And to the human problem in the United States we ought certainly to turn our attention, especially when we find taken such an objection as this; and some day, though not now, we will do so, and try to see what the objection comes to. I have given hostages to the United States, I am bound to them by the memory of great, untiring, and most attaching kindness. I should not like to have to own them to be of all countries calling themselves civilised, except Russia, the country where one would least like to live.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE House of Lords has certainly from its own point of view scored a complete victory. It has successfully maintained its right, so insidiously assailed for the last four years, and so loudly denied last autumn, to an effective voice in political measures of the first magnitude. It has gained its point that the Franchise and Seats Bills should be considered conjunctively. It has obtained into the bargain a voice in the framing of the Seats Bill. Its triumph has been magnified by the violence and contempt with which it has been attacked. From Cape Wrath to Land's End it was proclaimed that the opposition of the Peers to a majority of the Commons was something not to be borne, and that humiliation and extinction were the only terms that could be offered to them. How strangely these utterances read by the light of events! The hundreds who proclaimed them and the thousands who cheered them must certainly consider that the Peers have won a great victory. I think that they are right, and I have no wish to underrate it.

- But I do not think that we ought to rest content with the appreciation and enjoyment of our triumph. Surely it will be wise to examine our position with the help of the lights cast on it by the recent agitation, and to see whether there are no weak points that might be strengthened against future attacks. There cannot be a better moment for such a work. An institution can only reform itself profitably in time of peace. Once it is assailed, reforms gain it no credit with the public to which it must look for support, and are regarded by its enemies as symptoms of weakness. But if we carry out any reform now in the first flush of our victory, it will be evident that it is freely undertaken, and not forced upon us by weakness and pressure from without, as would certainly be believed if we waited until we were again threatened with an attack.

These considerations regarding the proper moment for reforms are both so unanswerable and so obvious, that one cannot help wondering why they should have been so continually disregarded as the history of the world tells us that they have been. One reason, I am sure, is that they are nearly always met and set aside by the very conclusive rejoinder that no reform is necessary. And so it will

be, I do not doubt, in the present instance. Many Conservatives will say 'Why not leave well alone? How can you be sure that reforms will not weaken rather than strengthen the House? And why do you assume that any strengthening of the position is necessary? It was strong enough to baffle our enemies this time; why should it not be strong enough the next?'

There is some plausibility about this view, but I think it is only superficial. In the first place it ignores too much the very important fact that the struggle was never fought out. The position was invested by an imposing show of force, and terrifically cannonaded from a distance; but the assault never came off. No doubt the strength of the position was one of the chief reasons why the enemy preferred negotiation to battle, but we must not lose sight of the fact that there was no fight. No one can tell what would have been the end of the struggle if Mr. Gladstone had appealed to the country against the House of Lords. We have no right to consider the strength of our position in the country as unmistakably established as it would have been if he had done so and we had beaten him.

The causes which made the Government so reluctant to attack were probably somewhat complex. I doubt if they estimated the actual popularity of the House of Lords in the country very highly. It is not an institution that appeals very strongly to the sort of men who belong to neither political party. No doubt the Conservatives as a body were prepared to support it, and many of them are keenly alive to its constitutional value. But I doubt their being ready to march on Birmingham or any other place to preserve its existence. On the other hand, the Liberal party, who are usually in the majority, dislike it almost to a man; while the whole Radical wing hate it with an enthusiasm that greatly outweighs in intensity any feeling of their opponents in its favour. If the existence of the House of Lords depended solely on a balance of the sentiment for and against it, I do not think it would last long. But Liberal leaders must have known well that the matter was not so simple as this. Disliking the House of Lords is not the same thing as abolishing it. If the quarrel had been fought out to the bitter end, the active supporters of the House would have received a considerable reinforcement from those who, for one reason or another, were not prepared for its abolition. There were men, amongst them several statesmen in high places, who shrank from giving such a wrench even to a constitution as elastic as ours, and dreaded the revolutionary means by which alone such a change could be carried out; there were men who, with no love for the way the House exercised its functions, vaguely felt that it was the last independent check upon the all-powerful democratic governing and legislating machine that we have gradually evolved; there were men who were simply not ready for such a change; men who believed in the necessity of a Second Chamber and preferred reform to abolition;

and men—I believe thousands of men—who were afraid of what the fall of the House of Lords might bring down with it. Some at least of these would have stood aloof, or supported the Conservatives, and their defection might have rendered the issue doubtful. To retain their support and to preserve its own coherency the Ministry would have been forced to aim at reform rather than abolition; and a reconstruction of the Second Chamber in accordance with democratic ideas is a task from which the strongest minister might well shrink. The wide difference between such an undertaking and any of the great reforms that our reforming age has witnessed is hardly sufficiently realised. Moreover, the reform of the House of Lords is exactly what many of the leading Radicals did not and do not want. They hold that a reformed House, even if its powers were restricted, would be so strengthened by having received the recent sanction of the country, that it would be more difficult either to coerce or to extinguish than the present one. Add to all this the natural if somewhat tardy reluctance of the Liberal leaders, and especially of Mr. Gladstone, to plunge their country into so dangerous a turmoil, and it is not difficult to understand why the Government declined battle. Neither Whigs nor Radicals saw their way clearly to what they wanted; and when Mr. Gladstone threw the weight of his great personal influence into the cause of peace both sections of his followers were on the whole content to acquiesce in the arrangement.

But the impression left on my mind by the recent agitation is not, I regret to say, to the effect that the House of Lords is safe for any length of time, greatly as its recent action has strengthened its position for the moment. Some of the causes which I have enumerated as telling in its favour in the late crisis seem to me to be of an evanescent or untrustworthy character. Many of them may be summed up by saying that the country was not ready for either the abolition or the reconstruction of the House of Lords. So great and important a change demands serious and deliberate examination in all its details; and even if this were not so, political parties always require time before committing themselves to reforms of magnitude; witness the slow and gradual process by which the Liberal party became unanimous upon the present extension of the Franchise. In addition to the real dangers of acting in a hurry, there is a half-superstitious dread of great changes which wears off as consideration renders the idea of them more familiar. The idea of ending or mending the House of Lords will be familiar enough next time the subject comes up, and the caucuses will have made up their minds which to declare for.

And there was one ominous feature in the agitation which no one could fail to observe. The audiences were almost invariably in advance of the speakers. Scarcely a word of deprecation was ever to be heard, while the most violent denunciations were the most loudly

cheered. Now in these days when it is the custom of the people to show the way, and of the leaders to follow, this fact is full of significance. If any reluctance and compunction were exhibited, it was by responsible politicians rather than their supporters. I am afraid there can be little doubt as to which will convert the other. Nor do I think it open to question that the hostility of the masses who attended these meetings will be sharpened by the way in which they have been baulked, and made to look foolish.

Then, again, the extension of the Franchise must add immensely to the numerical weight of our opponents. I think this is indisputable. To the old roll of three million electors we have added two million, nearly all belonging to one social stratum. That amongst the new voters there will be very many sensible and moderate men I do not doubt for a moment, but no one who reads the working man's newspapers, or studies the reports of the Trades' Union Congresses, can possibly persuade himself that, as a class, the new voters will be favourably disposed towards such an institution as the present House of Lords. Depend upon it, we shall find the new electorate a much less sympathetic tribunal to appeal to than the old one.

So very serious is this last consideration, taken with the others, that I can imagine anyone asking whether it is not futile to attempt to preserve the House of Lords as an effective political power in the face of it. I do not think so, for this reason.

In one way, the position of the House of Lords is stronger than at any previous period in modern history. There never was a time when the need for a Second Chamber was so obvious and so strong. Forty or fifty years ago it might have been considered a fifth wheel to the waggon. The theory that ministers were the King's quite as much as the people's, and therefore required constant watching by the representatives of popular right, was scarcely extinct. Constituencies were not so highly organised as now, and members who represented them enjoyed a very considerable freedom of action. As a consequence, the House of Commons was still, in great measure, independent of the Government, and exercised over it a strict and jealous censorship. The strongest Ministry was never safe from the possibility of its censure, and the natural end of Cabinets was to be dispatched by its adverse vote.

This state of things has quite passed away. The idea of ministers owing a duty to anyone but the people only survives practically in the inconvenient and now meaningless custom of making them seek re-election on taking office under the Crown. Parties in the constituencies have been organised to such an extent that nearly every member comes into the House seriously pledged in all directions either to men or measures. The change was inevitable, but so are the results. As ministers have become wholly identified with the people, the attitude of the House of Commons towards them has

necessarily changed, and it has become the servant rather than the master of the Government. Its function of watching ministers in the interests of the people has become the stalest of dead fictions. Hostile criticism, and voting that might endanger the Government, have become the monopoly of the minority in opposition. The business of the majority is to support their party leaders through thick and thin. Woe be to those who fail to do so. It is little use for them to appeal to the disciplined constituency whose mandate they have disobeyed. With a few exceptions, which only illustrate the rule, since they are cases in which the constituencies are in advance of the leaders, they do not fail. On important occasions there is hardly a pretence of voting for reasons above party. The old excitement over divisions on votes of confidence has almost wholly disappeared. Everyone knows now how they will go.

Two very serious consequences result from this change in the character and spirit of the House of Commons. In the first place, a minister who is a popular favourite, and commands a working majority, can commit almost any folly without fear of a reverse in the House of Commons. Secondly, there has arisen among the minority an ominous tone of despair about resisting first-class Government measures, however bad, by any means but sheer wasting of time, which reveals one of the secret causes of the growth of obstruction.

It is easy to see how these results increase the necessity for a Second Chamber. The House of Commons is no longer as trustworthy as it used to be, either as a censor of ministers, or as a revisor of Government measures. And the House of Lords is the only other constitutional check during the life of a Parliament upon despotic misgovernment, and the passing of unwise laws. There never was a time when its abolition would be felt so seriously by thoughtful and moderate men, or when any addition to its strength and dignity would be more cordially welcomed.

There is another consideration which ought to encourage us to reform. The deeper the subject is inquired into, the more evident I believe it will become that no radical reconstruction is required or even desirable. The changes most necessary for raising the House in popular estimation, and strengthening its position in the country, are of no revolutionary character, but are in harmony with the essential spirit of the institution, and will graft themselves naturally and easily on to the existing lines. Six centuries ago the House of Lords was an assembly of all the chief notables and dignitaries of the country; that is to a great extent what it is now; that is what I think we ought to make it more completely. I believe that such an assembly of great notables, officials, and men of distinction, responsible for their action to no electoral body or bodies, but to the country at large, and therefore free to perform their duties in a spirit

of the purest patriotism, would constitute a stronger and less obnoxious Second Chamber than any elective Senate that could be devised under the conditions that exist in this country.

I think one could obtain a very fair idea of what the House of Lords ought to be, and consequently of the line that reform should take, by reading the speeches that were made during the autumn in its defence. The chief points usually put forward in its favour were—

That it contained the ablest debaters in Parliament.

That its ranks were continually recruited by the ennobling of the most distinguished Englishmen.

That it conducted its affairs in the most business-like manner.

That it was the only remaining constitutional check upon despotism.

That it acted as a political second court to the Lower House, and gave the country, when necessary, opportunities of reconsidering the Bills of the House of Commons before they became law.

That it exercised these functions in a patriotic rather than a party spirit.

That it often initiated wise legislation.

Now I think this is a very good picture of what the House of Lords should be, and allowing for the fact that, like all advocates' statements, it only tells one side of the story, a very true picture of what it is. But its omissions are striking. There is not a word in it about the merits of great men's sons and grandsons, or of large landowners, as legislators. I believe a foreigner might have read the great bulk of the speeches that were made on our side from end to end without discovering that there was a hereditary or a landowning element in the House.

Considering how large these elements are, this silence is very significant. I think it shows a general feeling among the stoutest champions of the House that their preponderance is a point it is wiser not to dwell upon; and that whatever merits it has had better be kept for private appreciation.

But there is no hiding or disguising the characteristic features of an institution like the House of Lords. It has to exist, if it can, under the fierce light of public criticism. What is more, it has now to become, on pain of extinction, such a Second Chamber as a great democracy will respect, or at least consent to tolerate. We must face this fact; and, if we do, we must ask ourselves whether such a democracy is likely to tolerate a Second Chamber in which the hereditary element is quite overwhelming.

I for one cannot believe it. The arguments that to some extent justify the hereditary principle are of a secondary and indirect character, by no means easily appreciated by plain men; and the thing itself can appeal but little to the sympathies of the great mass of the people.

It will be said that this argument points to nothing short of the abolition of the hereditary principle. I do not admit this. The question is one of quantity and degree. It might be felt quite tolerable to have a certain hereditary element in the House, and yet quite intolerable that it should be overwhelming. If the English people comes, as I hope it will, to regard the House of Lords as an assembly of the great dignitaries and most distinguished men of the country, it may see nothing very incongruous in the holding of hereditary seats by county magnates, whose properties and great responsibilities pass from father to son; or at least may be willing to tolerate it, as many things not held to be completely justifiable are tolerated in this country. None the less it might feel it monstrous that the Second Chamber should be swamped by such an element. And the same line of argument applies to the great preponderance of the landowners. Large landowners are very proper persons to be peers. But landowners are a class, and every class, however good, has its special defects, which renders it undesirable that any class, in such a limited sense of the word, should preponderate overwhelmingly in the national Senate.

What we have to do then is to alter the proportion that the hereditary peers bear to those who have been ennobled for distinction; and the obvious way to effect this is to make a limited number of eminent men life peers, and to attach life peerages to certain high offices and positions in the State.

It will be asked, 'Whom would you make peers?' I answer, 'distinguished men of many kinds.' A seat in the House of Lords ought to be the natural culmination of a great and honourable career. The chief reason why it has not been so, except in a very limited way, up to now, is that for hereditary peerages great wealth is a *sine quâ non*. You could not make Professor Huxley an hereditary peer, because his great-grandson, without even a property to qualify him, might be totally unfit for such a position. Numbers of eminent men have been excluded from the peerage on this ground, and the House of Lords has been a great loser thereby.

I have mentioned Mr. Huxley's name because he occurs to me as representative of a type that a Second Chamber ought certainly to contain. Apart from his scientific attainments, he has contributed to the political and social problems of his day more incisive and valuable thought, and more practical work, than half the people who consider themselves statesmen. I have often thought that there must be something defective in the political arrangements of a nation in which such a man cannot obtain a direct and recognised voice in the councils of the State, unless he is prepared to give up his time and his priceless labours, and to sit in Parliament as a delegate representing other men's opinions.

I will make no attempt to enumerate now the posts and offices to

which life peerages might be attached. But—merely by way of suggesting one class as an example—why should not all the judges receive *ex officio* seats in the House of Lords? No intellectual class is so familiarly known to the people at large, or so generally respected and admired. They are all men who have earned their position by ability and character, and their peculiar knowledge is of special value in a legislative assembly. No one will deny I think that the judicial peers who were instituted a short time ago have proved a valuable addition to the strength of the House. It will be said perhaps that the character of English judges for the strictest impartiality and rectitude has always stood so high in general estimation as compared with that of the judges of other nations that we should be extremely careful how we risked it by dragging them into the political arena. If they were to be selected for peerages by the leaders of either party there would be some force in the objection. But if they are to sit *ex officio* it falls to the ground, unless we are to suppose that English ministers will habitually consider political opinions in appointing judges. They need belong to no party. There would be nothing to prevent them from treating political questions in the judicial and independent spirit that I think should be a characteristic of the House of Lords.

Whether it would be advisable to limit the number of hereditary peers by means of some system of selection amongst themselves, as well as to increase the number of distinguished life peers, seems to me doubtful. It would give us a less unwieldy House, and there exists a precedent for it in the elections of the Scotch and Irish peers who sit in the House. But the proposal bristles with practical difficulties. On what principle are peers to be elected to seats? The Scotch and Irish systems, which give all the seats to the party which has a majority, are of course indefensible and out of the question. And what is to become of the rejected peers? Are they to become political outlaws like the excluded Scotch peers at the present moment, who are unable to sit in either House of Parliament or even to vote like ordinary citizens? Surely they will not consent to such political extinction, and to give them admission to the other House or the right of voting for members is beyond the power of either the Crown or the House of Lords.

Moreover, I confess I am not anxious to see the country peers, whose presence on great division nights so scandalises some of our reformers, excluded from the House. I do not share the view that has been expressed from the Liberal side of the House of their unfitness for legislative duties. I believe there is many a man among these provincial noblemen who is a far shrewder and more valuable political unit than some of the busybodies who hang about London through the session, letting off little speeches on a great variety of subjects, or taking part in the somewhat trivial and dreary business that forms the greater portion of our annual task. Many of them are

thoroughly in touch with the local opinion of the counties in which they reside. They form sometimes a truer estimate of the real importance of the political questions of the hour than we can do who live in the atmosphere of political strife. If they sometimes carry big divisions, they not unfrequently refuse to carry them, as Conservative leaders and whips could testify.

A much more objectionable class are the fops and rowdies, of which there are sure to be occasionally a few in any Chamber composed on the hereditary principle. But their number is so small, and they are so seldom seen, that it is a question whether it is worth while to run any risk for the sake of getting rid of them.

Whether the number of hereditary peers is diminished or the number of life peers increased sufficiently to balance them matters little so long as a substantial alteration in the proportion between them is effected. To that reform I believe that all others are of secondary importance.

I have no sympathy whatever with proposals for making the House of Lords a representative, in the sense of an elective House. It is not only that I believe that an assembly composed of the most distinguished men, the judges, the chief officials, and the great magnates of the country, would be far more likely to gain a hold upon the popular imagination than any that we should be likely to obtain by the best elective system that we could devise; but I believe that such an assembly, from the very fact of its non-representative character, and its profound consciousness thereof, can carry on the functions of a Second Chamber with less friction than any other. Its members being responsible only to the nation at large, and thus at once unhampered

- by obligations to constituents and unable to shift the responsibility for their actions on to the shoulders of any electorate, it is easier for such an assembly to rise above party feelings, and to sink its own predilections in the treatment of political questions, and far easier for it to yield gracefully to the opinion of the popular Chamber. There may be a dispute between them on this question or on that as to which represents what may be called the better mind of the country; there can never be any dispute as to which is the representative House.

Make the Upper Chamber an elective one and this valuable clearness of distinction between their positions disappears. They are placed in a false position of rivalry. The duty of customary deference to the assembly which represents the people becomes less obvious, and its practice more difficult. At the same time the interference of such a Chamber is felt to be more invidious by the popular House. The very fact that its authority is based on a representative sanction inevitably suggests the question, whenever there is a difference of opinion between them, which House is the more representative of the two; and there is a tendency to try all disputes upon this false issue. The popular House feels that the less representative Chamber

ought always to give way. What right has any limited electorate to override the suffrages of the people? France has given us lately a very good example of the ill-working of the system.

It will be said perhaps that the American Senate is a success. The political circumstances of America are so widely different from our own that any analogy drawn from the Senate would be most unsafe as a guide. In the first place, the Americans possess in the State legislatures a set of political bodies on which to found a Senate to which we have, and can have, no equivalent in this country. These State governments rest on the widest popular basis, exercise most of the powers of independent states, and are regarded by the people with as much loyalty and respect as any other part of the constitution. No county or other divisions that we could invent on which to base a Second Chamber could possibly hold a like position in English eyes.

Secondly, those constitutional questions that form the most dangerous element of friction between our two Houses are dealt with in America by neither of them, but by the judiciary.

Lastly, the American House of Representatives holds a totally different position in popular estimation from the House of Commons. That House is the only power in the English constitution which directly represents the people. The American House shares its popular character, not only with the Senate as described above, but with the President, who is elected by the people, and wields more power than most constitutional sovereigns. The same thing may perhaps be said of an English Prime Minister. But there is this difference between them. The President is independent of the House of Representatives. He owes to it neither his election nor his powers. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, is only connected with the people through the medium of the House of Commons; and his powers, and even his political existence, are dependent on his ability to conciliate and control it. He may outshine it and dwarf it, but he is too much a part of it to be its rival.

For all these reasons the Americans feel an indifference to the supremacy of the House of Representatives that is not likely to find any parallel in English sentiment towards the House of Commons, in our day at any rate.

I look with no less distrust upon all schemes having for their object the equalising of political parties in the House. They seem to me not merely futile, but misleading in a very dangerous way. It ought never to be admitted for a moment that party victories in the division lobbies should be a chief aim of leaders, or party objects paramount considerations in the House of Lords. Every peer should feel that he has a duty above and distinct from his party allegiance. And I may say that this patriotic ideal is better maintained in practice in the House of Lords than the general public is apt to fancy. Party organisation of course there is, and party discipline

strict enough on occasion. But it can only maintain existence on the condition that the leaders of the majority exercise it with great forbearance, and take a national rather than party view of their general duty. No man could lead the House of Lords for two sessions who did not recognise this obligation. When a Liberal Government is in power, Bills innumerable are passed, which would be rejected at once if the majority did not admit the duty of governing its conduct by the widest view of the interests of the nation. The cases in which it does oppose the House of Commons are exceptional, and seldom undertaken without great reluctance. Mr. Gladstone, during one of his Scotch speeches, seemed to be suddenly struck by this generally forgotten aspect of the conduct of the House of Lords, when he looked back on his long career and called to mind the vast catalogue of reforms that had somehow been passed in rapid succession under its auspices.

Party discipline is a necessity in such an assembly. Without it there would be an uncertainty and an inconsistency of legislative action that the country would soon discover to be intolerable. But the House must beware of party spirit, which constitutes the greatest and most insidious danger that it has to face and guard against. It must never be forgotten that, whenever the House of Lords comes to be seriously regarded by the country as the mere instrument of the political party which happens to predominate within its walls, its doom is sealed. The party to which it is hostile will sweep it away the first time that it obtains a large majority at the polls, and there will be no one to say it nay. If the moderate men of the country could have been persuaded last autumn that the House of Lords was nothing but the unscrupulous tool of the Tory caucuses, the impending attack could hardly have been stayed.

The development of party spirit is a most insidious danger. The prevailing forces of the time are fostering it in several ways, and there are no practical tangible means of checking it. Party organisation is still growing in the country, and the House of Lords can hardly fail to be affected by the spirit of the day. And when an institution is standing on the defensive, as the House of Lords has been doing, and is likely to do for some time, the tendency to party discipline grows as the necessity for standing firm in the ranks and trusting implicitly to leaders becomes paramount; and the increase of discipline creates the temptation to use it for party ends.

Individual attempts at independence are generally misunderstood, and do more harm than good. Our chief safeguard must be a vivid consciousness of the danger ever present in the minds both of the leaders and the rank and file. And I should hope that the creation of *ex officio* peers, such as judges and public officials, would give us a body of men who would keep themselves fairly free from party trammels, and form an independent element. And in connection

with this point, I should like to suggest a practical reform which will be smiled at as trivial, but which may not be quite unimportant. I should like to see the cross^s benches extended to the full width of the House. It would not hurt orthodox Tories and Whigs to sit on them, when there was no room anywhere else; and at present the accommodation for the independent is miserably insufficient. When the Prince of Wales and the royal Dukes are in the House, there is only room for about a dozen on the cross benches; while the nondescript piece of furniture between the Lord Chancellor and the table is usually monopolised by noblemen who are hard of hearing. Nowhere else can a peer sit down without ticketing himself as a follower of Lord Granville or Lord Salisbury. The 'cross-bench mind,' which the Duke of Argyll rightly considers so valuable, does not grow quite freely on party benches. If we want to have a strong independent section in the House, I think we shall do well to provide it with a place to sit.

Let me conclude by making clear my justification for writing this article. If the country were satisfied with the present constitution of the House, I should certainly not have presumed to advance any ideas of my own for its improvement. If the question of its reform had been a sleeping one, I should have been reluctant to say anything that might raise it. But it is one of the burning questions of the day. It may smoulder for a few years, but it is certain to come up for settlement before long; and woe be to us if we have not made a settlement before one is forced upon us from without. As soon as Parliament reassembles, Lord Rosebery intends to call attention to it with all the eloquence at his command, and no diffident silence on the part of Conservative peers can prevent an exhaustive discussion, anxiously followed by the public out of doors. I can have no hesitation then, as a Conservative peer, in pointing out the direction which I think that reform should take; especially when I believe, as I do, that it can be carried out upon Conservative lines, and that the Conservative leaders would do well to make this question their own.

PEMBROKE.

THE DUTIES OF DRAMATIC CRITICS.

OF all the incidents of a career of crime—I speak, as yet, without personal experience, but on the authority of many intelligent felons—the ordeal known as waiting for the verdict is one of the most unpleasant. The dramatic interest, the nervous tension, of the trial is over, and a period of torturing inactivity ensues. The irretrievable errors of the past rise in grim array before the mind's eye—arguments un urged, admissions made in inadvertence, lies unharmonised, alibis disproved, nervous impatience to get rid of the body, rash haste in pawning the plate, and a hundred other slips into the gins and snares that beset the path of crime. In some cases remorse intervenes to pile horror on horror's head, and the unhappy wretch writhes at the thought, not only of errors after the fact, but of the fact itself, from the first conception of its possibility right on to the finishing stroke. It is done and cannot be undone. His head is in the lion's mouth; he feels the points of its fangs upon his throat: will the mighty jaws open—or close?

• If anyone wishes to experience these interesting sensations, yet is restrained by nervousness or class-prejudice from a straightforward plunge into burglary or murder, he cannot do better than write a play and have it produced at a London theatre. In the interval between its production, say on Saturday night, and the appearance of the leading newspapers on Monday morning, he will acquire the most intimate experimental knowledge of the feelings of a murderer awaiting the verdict. In the commission of the crime there may have been some pleasure; during the trial, or, in other words, the first performance, he has at least been buoyed up by excitement; but between the fall of the curtain and the appearance of the criticisms there is nothing but dull inaction, unavailing regret and torturing suspense. It may be objected that the analogy breaks down, inasmuch as a play, however unsuccessful, cannot be reckoned a felony or even a grave misdemeanour. 'Not failure, but low aim, is crime,' says Mr. Lowell, who, be it noted, has neither written plays nor criticised them. Had he done so he would have made an exception as regards the dramatic world, where low aim is a merit, and failure, so far as its results are concerned, little less than a crime.

The author of a new play, like the proposer of a new law in Thurium, appears with a halter round his neck. By rare good fortune he may be dismissed without a stain on his character, and even with a certain amount of honour and glory; but the chances are that he finds himself gibbeted in half a hundred prints, great and small, for a fortnight to come. The first night no longer decides the fate of a play, bringing with it swift damnation or assured success. The final verdict lies, in most cases, with the critics; and though a first-night failure always bodes ill, a first-night success is but a fallacious omen for good. Many an author who has bowed and smiled to an enthusiastic house on Saturday night has found on Monday morning that he had reckoned without his critics. A glance at the three or four leading organs of opinion will often reduce to zero his hopes of honour and of profit alike.

From the very nature of the case, critics of plays and acting wield much more immediate if not much greater power than critics of the other arts. A poem or a picture remains to give the lie to an unjust judgment. Time is the court of last resort which must sustain or reverse the verdict of the passing hour. But in the theatre there is no appeal. Here judgment and execution go hand in hand, as in the vaults of the Vehmgericht. A piece of acting, and even a play on our non-literary stage, are too ephemeral to make a successful struggle against injustice. As well might a butterfly engage in a chancery suit. The actor or author, smarting under what he conceives to be a wrong, may writhe and cry out; the passers-by, unable or unconcerned to inquire into the case for themselves, merely shrug their shoulders and wonder why the fellow can't take his punishment like a man, since it doubtless serves him right. Of course there are compensations in the case. Many an actor enjoys a great traditional reputation which would not stand the test of a new trial; many a play has met with a favourable judgment which a less summary method of procedure would certainly have reversed. But unjust leniency in one case does not cancel unjust severity in another; indeed, the latter is probably the less hurtful of the two. All things considered, it is no exaggeration to say that there are in the literary world few more responsible positions than that of the dramatic critic of an influential daily paper. He has an immense power of dealing out personal pleasure or pain to those whom he criticises; a few strokes of his pen may involve the gain or loss of hundreds, nay, thousands, of pounds; and thousands of people are guided by his judgment in the selection of their theatrical fare. He may guide them nobly or ignobly, to the tables of the gods or to the troughs of the beasts that perish. In the course of time he may even create in the minds of his readers a certain habitual attitude towards the stage, on which the future of the English drama may in no small measure depend.

It can scarcely be superfluous, then, to inquire a little into the qualifications which this office demands, the obligations which it imposes. Society has a right to interest itself in the constitution of a court from which there is no appeal, and which holds in its hands the fortune and professional reputation of a large number of citizens. The leading London critics of the day—a dozen, or at the outside a score, in number—form such a court. It may seem an exaggeration to say that there is no appeal from their judgment; but woe to him who has to trust to such a resource. Their verdict is well-nigh binding upon the provinces, it is heard with respect in America. Whenever they are unanimous, as in effect is generally the case,¹ they are irresistible. Their dispraise of an actor may throw him back years in his career. Only in the rarest cases does a play survive their condemnation.

This power has grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the daily press. Shakespeare and Burbage knew nothing of it. They were probably but dimly acquainted with the momentary elation of success and dejection of failure which chequer the career of a playwright or actor of to-day. A little more or less applause on the first production of a play, a slight rise or fall in the receipts of subsequent performances,—in these inarticulate ways did the public judgment utter itself. A play might attract more or less attention, but it was impossible to predicate of it absolute success or failure. In the eighteenth century theatrical life had become more self-conscious and the art of criticism had its professors and its amateurs. ‘The critics,’ however, mainly consisted of a certain section of the paying public, answering to our ‘first-nighters,’ who made it their business to be present whenever a new play or a new actor was brought forward, and either approved or incontinently damned as their humour suited, and then adjourned to the coffee-houses to talk it over. The criticism of the periodical press was short, perfunctory, stereotyped in its forms, personal in its methods, and made scarcely any pretence to impartiality. It fluctuated between the puff and the lampoon. Now and again some notable production, such as Addison’s *Cato*, would give rise to a war of pamphlets, laudatory and abusive. In the latter category the works of John Dennis hold a prominent place. Anything like the calmly judicial tone which criticism now endeavours to assume is scarcely to be found in the eighteenth century. That there were keen and able critics is not to be denied. A glance at the theatrical memoirs and satires of the century, at Cibber’s *Apology* and Churchill’s *Rosciad*, suffices to prove that they existed. But there were no specialists in the art, no men who professedly devoted a large portion of their labour and study

¹ This may seem a startling assertion, but it will be found that, amid all differences of detail, the unanimity of the critics in their final summing-up is generally surprising.

to giving the public an impartial record and estimate of the theatrical life of the day. The theatrical journals occasionally attempted were short-lived and tainted with unmistakeable partizanship.

About the beginning of this century newspaper criticism, as we at present know it, was born. Then do we find Leigh Hunt in the *News* and the *Examiner* applying to the mannerism of John Kemble such satire as, if applied to Mr. Irving, would be denounced by his devotees as scurrilous and profane. Then do we find Hazlitt in the *Chronicle* and the *Times* proclaiming the genius of Edmund Kean while analyzing his performances with rare discrimination. It is noteworthy, as showing how little cause we have to mourn over a decadence in the living drama of the day, that these two writers either condemn or ignore the dramatic authors of their time while they devote their whole attention to the actors. Leigh Hunt has the fangs of his sarcasm for ever fixed in Reynolds, Dibdin, and Cherry, and finds no merit in anything later than Sheridan and Goldsmith. His brother critics, too, he attacks unsparingly with reproaches very much like some which have been recently reiterated. He accuses them, among other things, of being more concerned to note 'the fashionables in the boxes' than the actors on the stage, and hints, not darkly, that their enthusiasm is apt to be stimulated by managerial chicken and champagne.

Here, too, I must name with reverence the name of Charles Lamb, patron saint of English theatrical criticism. The few pages which he has devoted to this art may well be the despair of those that come after. With all his narrowness of view and taste for paradox, he had the insight, the sympathy, and the style which, could we but approach them, might transmute the journey-work of criticism into enduring literature.

The middle of the century found men of great ability engaged, at least occasionally, in theatrical criticism. Two of the most instructive and delightful books ever written on the drama are composed of studies made about this period—George Henry Lewes's *Actors and Acting*, and Professor Henry Morley's *Journal of a London Playgoer*. These are in many respects models of what criticism should be, but they were produced under conditions widely different from those of the present day. Theatres were not so numerous as they are now, the theatrical public was very much smaller, theatrical enterprise did not involve such vast interests. Moreover, without unduly glorifying our own age, we may say that the native English drama has made a great stride since those days, while the French drama, with which English criticism is so largely concerned, has advanced from Scribe to Augier. As we read Professor Morley's *Journal*, interesting as it is, we cannot but reflect that, after all, the critics of thirty years since must have had a hum-

drum, easy time of it. A single season now brings as many 'great events'—productions demanding serious thought and study—as are to be found in any five of the years chronicled by Professor Morley. To indicate the extent of the change, I may note that the opera as well as the theatres came under this genial critic's cognisance. At the present day it would be hard to find anyone with the special knowledge of both subjects now considered indispensable, while no single man could possibly get through the amount of work involved in such a combination of offices. At the height of the season he would have to be in three or four theatres at once.

I cannot continue this sketch of the progress of criticism without naming contemporary workers in the field, whom it would be presumption in me to mention whether with praise or blame. Suffice it to say, that as theatrical life has widened, and public interest in the drama has increased, all the leading organs of opinion have found it to their interest to devote to the theatre that careful attention which only a few used formerly to bestow upon it. Already in 1866 Professor Morley notes how 'there has sprung up during the last three or four years in several of our journals a healthy little breeze of public criticism.' The time is now long past when a freshman on the staff of a newspaper was sent to do the dramatic criticism, with the hope of rising, by diligence and good luck, to the office of police-court reporter. Men of education and experience fill the critical stalls, men who can rub shoulders on equal terms with the representatives of literature and art whom an important first night now attracts to the theatre. Even the higher criticism does not disdain the drama. Writing some three years ago, I complained that the great reviews scarcely acknowledged the existence of an English theatre, and no one thought of questioning the statement. Now things have changed. Within that short space of time articles on theatrical subjects have appeared in all the monthly and most of the quarterly reviews.

My purpose, then, is not to criticise the critics, but to state a few of the doubts and difficulties which beset their path. Speaking as a humble member of the confraternity, I wish to dwell on some of its manifold responsibilities. We have duties to fulfil towards managers, authors, and actors, towards the public of the day, and towards English literature at large. What are these duties? And what are the main obstacles to their fulfilment?

We may take for granted, in the first place, that honesty without which sound criticism is impossible. The critic who, from whatever motive, calls a thing good which he believes to be bad, or bad which he believes to be good, is clearly false to his fundamental duty—the duty towards himself. Involuntary bias, involuntary narrowness, involuntary blindness, are quite sufficiently active sources of error. I should be sorry to insult my cloth by dwelling upon voluntary falsity,

whether mercenary or malevolent, as a thing probable or even possible. Granted this cardinal virtue, or rather this freedom from original sin, I would plead for a robust code of critical morality than some people are prepared to sanction. For instance, we hear it spoken of as an enormity that a critic should either write or adapt plays. Why not? Though it be a fallacy that no one can criticise an art who has not practised it, there is yet no doubt that the most valuable insight into the technique of dramatic writing is to be obtained either by original effort in the field, or by the analysis and reconstruction of foreign work which is involved in the act of adaptation. Why must we conclude that what the critic gains in knowledge he loses in moral fibre? Given common honesty, he can surely resist the not very terrible temptations thus thrown in his way. A man who would virulently condemn a rival adapter or slavishly praise a manager from whom he expects an order, is of the corrupt corruptible, and would be bribed or bought in some other way though a law should be passed separating the professions of critic and playwright as jealously as those of solicitor and barrister. It would be sad for English criticism did we require to sing 'Lead us not into temptation' in this pitiful key.

A much more delicate and difficult question is that of the extent to which a critic may wisely enter into personal relations with actors and authors. It is foolish to argue that he should shun those whom he has to criticise, as though they brought with them a contagion not to be escaped save by the disinfectant intervention of the footlights; yet it seems to me that the air of the theatrical clubs is but moderately conducive to sound criticism. Involuntary bias of all sorts is only too easily contracted in these pleasant caravanserais. How far he may yield to their charms is a question upon which each critic must be a law unto himself. He will determine according to the strength or weakness of his critical judgment; if it be strong, he may brave the danger; if it be weak, he will do well to shun it.

I may perhaps be allowed to illustrate my meaning from my own experience. Rightly or wrongly, I have very strong opinions as to the merits of plays, and can give reasons, good, bad, or indifferent, for the faith that is in me. But on questions of acting my judgment is more or less infirm. Striking genius and utter incompetence I can recognise as well as another, but in the vast debateable land of respectable mediocrity I am very much astray. My judgment changes from time to time; what pleased me last year may bore or shock me to-day; and moreover I find myself at variance on questions of acting with critics to whose judgment I cannot but bow. Therefore I avoid the society of actors, while as regards authors I have no such scruple. My judgment of plays errs on the side of dogmatism; it will formulate and express itself, rightly or wrongly, in spite of all possible friendship or enmity. In criticising adversely the work of an acquaintance I may perhaps take unusual pains to be courteous, but courtesy towards friends

is no fault; on the contrary, I think with contrition of the occasions when I may have been betrayed into discourtesy towards strangers.

I believe, then, that I can resist any tendency to bias arising from personal acquaintance with authors, while with actors I am conscious that the reverse is the case. To know an actor is to render my judgment of his performances doubly undecided. I may know him so slightly as to be quite unaffected by personal regard or dislike, yet the mere familiarity with his looks, tones, and manners in private life unsettles my estimate of him as an artist. The bias thus created is often to his disadvantage.² I seem to have got once for all behind his mask, so that nothing he may do produces a perfect illusion. The result is that my praise or blame of him is thenceforth half-hearted and conventional. I feel that the mirror in which I see him is warped. The image presents a misty and blurred outline, and I have to try by a laborious effort of mind to reconstruct its true contours. From the moment when this effect became clear to me, I have avoided, as far as possible, the company of actors, even though I thereby incurred a certain loss; for there is nothing more instructive than to hear a party of actors 'talking shop.' What little insight I may possess into the technique of the art has been gained from conversation with actors. Had I the advantage of knowing a veteran whom there was no chance of my ever having to criticise, I should sit at his feet with reverent attention, assured of acquiring, directly or indirectly, the most valuable knowledge of the methods of his art. In the society of players on the active list I feel that I am paying too dearly for my whistle.

My only excuse for the egoism of these confessions is that they illustrate my meaning. A weak judgment should avoid the risk of bias, a firm judgment may brave it. The critic must search his own soul, form an honest estimate of his strength and his weakness, and act loyally in accordance with that estimate. It may be mistaken, but if he has done his best he can do no more.

We may probably take it as a general rule, that the task of criticism should, as far as possible, be kept apart from that of purveying news and gossip. The theatrical paragraphist has his distinct place in the world of journalism, since the public is from old eager for glimpses behind the scenes. He must haunt the clubs and coteries, sometimes, alas! the bars and tap-rooms, and must enter into direct relations with 'the profession' at large. All this the critic should avoid, unless he is content to become a mere chronicler of dramatic events. The plan adopted by the *Paris Figaro* in dealing with the drama may be commended for imitation. It has a serious and able critic in the person of M. Auguste Vitu; a witty

² Is it to this tendency that Hazlitt alludes when he says, 'The only person on the stage with whom I have ever had any intercourse is Mr. Liston, and of him I have not spoken "with the malice of a friend"?'

chronicler of first-night incidents and gossip, who conceals, under the signature 'Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre,' his name of Arnold Mortier;³ and in addition to these two, a theatrical sub-editor, who does not attempt to give any literary form to his daily column of mere news. M. Vitu, from his stall, devotes his whole attention to the play and the acting; M. Mortier flits about from the crush-room to the green-room, records the emotions and sayings of the actors, describes the dresses of the ladies, enumerates the 'fashionables in the boxes,' to use Leigh Hunt's phrase, and, in short, chronicles the hundred trifles which go to make up a Parisian 'Soirée Théâtrale.' This is a wise division of labour. There is no possible reason why the public should not be gratified with an account of the incidents of a first-night, which, after all, is a social event like any other; but there is every reason why the social event and the artistic event should be kept distinct and treated of separately. The purveyor of news is always under a certain obligation to those who provide him with it; the critic should be under no obligation to anyone.

So far we have been considering the means by which a critic may avoid bias and undue influence, and form an unprejudiced as well as an honest judgment. But a greater problem remains behind. Having formed his honest judgment, how is he to utter it? 'Truthfully,' is the obvious answer; but about any work of art there are many different truths to be told and many different ways of telling them. It may be strictly truthful to say of a picture that its frame is gorgeously gilt, or, like the Yorkshire critic, to assure the public that 'the paint must have cost a matter of five pounds, let alone the man's time a-laying of it on'; and this is a form of truth by no means uncommon in the theatrical criticism of the day. Even when we come nearer to telling the whole truth, or rather the essential truth, we may temper it in fifty different ways. We may serve it up with honey or with vinegar. We may hurl it forth with Carlylean emphasis, or enunciate it with the sweet-reasonableness of Emerson. We may make it cut like a sword, sting like a whip, or soothe like a caress. There is of course a time for everything: a time to be bitter and a time to be sweet; a time to speak, as the French say, 'brutally,' and a time to use conventional phrases; a time for indignation and a time for persiflage; a time to 'slate' and a time to refrain from slating. The critic's motive-power should be enthusiasm for the best interests of the English stage, but tact must be the rudder which shapes his course.

One thing is quite evident, namely, that the critic must be an opportunist. He must rarely give rein to the idealist in his composition. He must take the drama as he finds it, and give due credit to all honest workmanship even on a quite unideal level. It is only

³ I regret to have to record the death of this brilliant journalist, which took place on the 2nd of January. His *chronique* is continued in the *Figaro*, I know not by whom.

Beau Tibbs who demands to have his money returned because a frank farce is not 'a tragedy or an epic poem, stap my vitals!' The satyr-play has its artistic justification as well as the trilogy. Honest fooling is not to be despised; indeed, it is much more useful and respectable than pretentious heroics. It necessarily and rightly occupies a large place on any popular stage. It has its own standards by which to be tried. We must not attempt to find the height of a sugar-loaf by barometric observations, and then cry out upon its pettiness because the atmosphere at the top is not sensibly rarer than at the bottom. Only when the fooling becomes dishonest is it to be absolutely condemned—when it panders to pruriency, when it vulgarises what is beautiful and venerable, whether in human nature, or in history, or in art, and when it descends to mere witless imbecility, which, if it does nothing else, dulls the public sense for worthier humour. Even then there is a just mean to be observed in denunciation. Disproportionate ire tends to secure for the managers of the Nudity and Frivolity theatres the very successes of scandal which they most covet, and one cannot do the drama a greater disservice. When, as is usually the case, an immoral play is dull and puerile as well, let us dwell on the dulness rather than on the immorality; when it happens to be clever and amusing, let us give the devil his due, and say so. Nothing can be more hurtful to a critic's influence than a moral Charles the First's head shaking its gory locks in everything he writes. People refuse to be rough-ridden day after day or week after week by a hobby, however respectable. Though we be as virtuous as Malvolio there will still be a demand for cakes and ale which will still find its supply. The critic's function is not that of the temperance lecturer, but of the public analyst; not to denounce the fare altogether, but to give people clearly to understand the true nature of what they are consuming.

When we come to the higher walks of the drama, catholicity of taste is still a prime requisite of good criticism. If I have a private partiality for five-act tragedies in blank verse—this, thank heaven, is a mere hypothesis—let me not therefore sneer at stirring melodrama, and pooh-pooh cup-and-saucer comedy. The critic must always start, indeed, from his own individual impressions. To like and dislike vividly and heartily is his first qualification. He must not be always posturing in his judgments, and considering what he ought to like rather than what he does like; but neither must he make fetishes of his fads and sacrifice everything to them. Let him always dwell on the merits rather than the defects of earnest effort, however imperfect. Let him not be imposed upon by pretentious claptrap, but stand unshaken and unawed amid papier-mâché earthquakes and avalanches of blank verse, maintaining, as Emerson says, 'that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though the ancient and honourable of this world affirm it to be the crack of doom.' When his

judgment is at variance with that of the majority, let him give full weight to the popular verdict, and tell how the piece pleased the gods though it displeased Cato—or *vice versâ*. Let him avoid, as far as possible, critical commonplaces, such as 'the idea is not strikingly original,' 'the characters are either lay figures or caricatures,' and so forth. Such remarks may be taken for granted in the vast majority of cases. What we demand of a playwright is not to tell an absolutely new story, but to tell his old story freshly and well. If, by chance, he does hit on a novel theme or draw a character with keen and just observation, let us point it out as a striking merit, instead of sneering at him, in other cases, for a defect which, in these days, is almost inseparable from the conditions under which he works. Above all things, let us in this sphere keep our moral judgment on the alert. The no-ideals of irresponsible farce are much less injurious than the false ideals of would-be moral comedy and drama. An undue concession to narrow prejudice or cowardly convention should be unsparingly denounced because it is insidiously and subtly destructive.

Let me point my moral with a modern instance. A few months ago Mr. H. A. Jones produced a play in which a prominent character (a religious hypocrite) made use of two or three of the scriptural quotations which, as everyone knows, are so common in the mouths of men of his type. In accordance with an old and utterly irrational prejudice, some of the audience chose to hiss these phrases. There was not a trace of irreverence in the introduction of the quotations; they were used to cloak nefarious purposes; but that Scripture can be, and often is, so used is a proverbial commonplace. Nor were the malcontents obeying any instinct of habitual piety, like that of the old Scotchwoman who forbade her son to read the newspaper with the 'holy' drawl which had always been associated in her mind with the reading of the Book. They would have guffawed at a gross jest and kindled into enthusiasm over an insidious double-meaning. The hisses were the result of nothing more respectable than an unreasoning tradition, which, regarding the theatre as a place profane, deems sacred phrases as inappropriate within its walls as a crucifix at a witches' sabbath. Here was an occasion on which the critics should have come resolutely forward to denounce and ridicule an absurdity of ignorant and thoughtless habit on the part of the public whom they address. Unfortunately they missed their opportunity. They did not precisely defend a prejudice which is totally indefensible, but they more or less strongly remonstrated with Mr. Jones for venturing to fly in the face of so venerable an irrationality. It was eventually left to Mr. Jones himself to justify, in the pages of this Review, his temerity in making a hypocrite speak the dialect of hypocrites.

That a critic should own a serious artistic ideal seems to me beyond doubt, though he should not fall into the Quixotic mono-

mania of attempting to chastise everyone who does not do homage to his particular *Dulcinea*. To sit stolidly at one point of view is not a practical method of criticism. M. Zola has tried it in France, and despite his keenness of observation and vigour of style, he cannot be said either to have depicted the French stage truly, or effectively to have influenced its development. This is an error, however, into which we in England are little apt to fall. The lack of a progressive ideal is our great weakness. Where we have any ideal at all, it is too apt to be retrogressive. Some of us are inclined to accept the gospel according to Shakespeare as a final revelation in which are summed up all the law and the prophets. Now the true relation of Shakespeare to our modern stage is a very delicate question, not to be determined in a volume, much less in a paragraph. So much, however, is clear: to play Shakespeare worthily may be a high function of the English stage, but cannot be the highest; while to imitate Shakespeare, if it be a rational endeavour at all, cannot be the noblest aim of the English dramatist. Shakespeare may be a part, but cannot be the whole, or even the greater part, of a worthy critical ideal. Lessing, if I may say it with reverence and gratitude, pinned his faith to an Aristotelian foot-rule quite inapplicable to the Teutonic drama. In the same way a Shakespearean standard is now an anachronism. It may be too long or too short—I suspect it is both at once—but in any case it is useless and cumbersome.

It does not come within my purpose to say much of what may be called the technique of theatrical criticism, the literary forms best suited for it. These must be determined by the demands of the audience whom the critic addresses. There are three well-defined methods of dealing with a theatrical production: the narrative, the historic or anecdotic, and the analytic or critical properly so called. To tell in detail the plot of a play is not, on the whole, a plan to be commended. Unless the tale is told with unusual narrative power, it is almost certain to be tedious and confusing. Even if it escapes this danger, it conveys an unfair impression of the play, and takes the edge off the reader's curiosity and interest when he comes to see it. Yet this method is necessarily adopted by the critics of the daily papers, addressing a public to which a new production is primarily an item of news and only secondarily a piece of literature. The leading Parisian critics, too, incline more or less to the narrative form. Perhaps the true mean is hit by M. Francisque Sarcey, who, seizing with just instinct upon the central situation or idea of a play, gives, in a paragraph, a better insight into its plot than a less skilful writer might give in a column, and thus endows his analytic narrative, if I may call it so, with the chief attractions and advantages of both styles.

The historic and anecdotic method is much in vogue with writers who have a long memory and a gossiping style. They dwell on former revivals, on the actors who have filled this part and that since the

days of Betterton, on the fortunes of this or that French original when it was produced in Paris. Even in dealing with new plays they love to discover analogies with forgotten efforts of unremembered playwrights. Of such work one can only say that though often interesting and delightful, it is not criticism. The analytic method has this disadvantage, that it tends to become dry and technical, to address itself to authors and actors rather than to the great public. Conscious of this tendency, the critic should strive against it, repress what is pedagogic in his style, and remember with Hazlitt that 'the insipid must at all events be avoided as that which the public abhors most.'

If I may hint at what seems to me a fault in English criticism, I should say that too much space is given up to phrases, more or less conventional, with regard to the actors while the merits of the play are often superficially considered. This habit has survived from the time when English plays were merely contemptible, while some of the greatest actors the world has ever seen afforded material for detailed criticism, neither conventional nor stereotyped; from the time when Leigh Hunt dismissed 'Reynolds, Dibdin, and Cherry' as beneath the notice of a rational man, and devoted his whole attention to John Philip Kemble, Mrs. Siddons, Mrs. Jordan, Elliston, and their great contemporaries. Now the times have changed. The merit of our plays and of our acting is more nearly on a level; and this being so, it seems to me that criticism of acting, in which individual whim and fancy, sympathy and antipathy, necessarily play a large part, is at once less fruitful and less interesting than criticism of plays. This impression may be due to my own keener interest in authorship than in acting, but it seems to be shared by the leading French critics, who, even in dealing with the *Comédie Française*, make their comments on the actors very short indeed. I do not argue that acting should be by any means neglected, but merely that the critic need not hold it his duty to assign particular praise or blame to each individual member of a large cast. Sometimes the acting demands careful consideration, since the play must be seen, so to speak, through its performance, and the merits and defects inherent in the one separated from the merits and defects proper to the other; but as a general rule the play, which is, or ought to be, a piece of English literature, is of greater importance than the acting, however meritorious.

A recent article by the Earl of Lytton in this Review has revived an old discussion as to the merits and defects of the system of first-night criticism. Its defects, indeed, are patent enough. That an artist who has devoted months, perhaps years, to the study of a great Shakespearean part should have to stand or fall by the impressions received by the critics on one nervous evening, and that the most influential of these critics should have to formulate their impressions

at lightning speed, with no time for reflection, and with nerves either jaded or over-stimulated, is clearly not an ideal condition of things. The merits of the system, on the other hand, are not positive merits but mere excuses, resolving themselves into the assertion that, for the present at any rate, no other plan is practicable. This is quite true. The public demands immediate news of an important theatrical production just as of a debate in Parliament or a dynamite explosion. Even if this were not so, the idea which has sometimes been mooted of establishing a 'critics' night' (the third or fourth performance) would in nowise mend matters, as it would merely expose actors to two nervous ordeals instead of one. The remedy which has sometimes been attempted, of inviting the critics to an elaborate dress rehearsal before the public first night is open to grave objection and is in most cases scarcely practicable.

The true remedy lies in inducing the critics and the public to accept and make allowance for the fact that the midnight column must often be provisional, perfunctory, inconclusive. Many slight productions, and even some more or less pretentious performances, can be analysed and disposed of in an hour as well as in a month; but others demand even from the readiest and rapidest critic a more attentive and leisurely study than the conditions of daily journalism permit. It has sometimes occurred to me that this difficulty might be got over if the critic were suffered to separate the two halves of his duty,—reporting, that is to say, and criticism properly so called. On the night of the production he might play the reporter, indicating the plot of a new play, describing the scenic and spectacular sensations of a melodrama or Shakespearean revival, stating how the piece and the performers were received by the public, and, in short, treating the production as an item of mere news. This done, he might leave his criticism proper to a weekly *feuilleton* written with all due deliberation, after a second visit (if necessary) to the theatre, which the readers of the paper would learn to look for on some stated day. The body of newspaper readers to whom the merits of a play or actor are matters of very considerable consequence is already large and is daily increasing. Out of consideration for them, as well as in justice to managers, authors, and actors, it might be well to make some attempt to soften the crudities of first-night criticism.

It is said that an age of great art is never an age of great criticism; but this could only hold good while the world was young. Once for all, society has become self-conscious, and henceforward the rule must be, the greater the art the greater the criticism. To mention great art and the modern English drama in one breath may seem a quaint and incongruous juxtaposition; yet we must have a certain amount of faith in the future of the stage, else why waste time in considering the conditions of theatrical criticism? The

drama is not dead but liveth, and contains the germs of better things. It lies with criticism to foster these germs, and, in the very effort, to develop its own better possibilities. When the drama takes its place once more among the highest forms in which English thought can utter itself, the criticism of a literary stage will itself become literature.

WILLIAM ARCHER.

ABOLITION OF PROPRIETARY MADHOUSES.

THE report of the last Select Committee on Lunacy Law, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed March 28, 1878, concludes with the expression of the opinion that 'such changes as the Committee have indicated would increase public confidence in a system which is not unnaturally, and perhaps not undesirably, regarded with a considerable amount of jealousy and distrust.'

None of such changes as the Committee indicated in their report have, however, been carried into effect, and the suspicion and distrust of the public in the lunacy laws have meanwhile continued to exist, and it may safely be asserted have continued to increase.

And this suspicion and distrust are not vague and general and applicable to all sorts and conditions of lunatics, but have regard almost entirely to those who are detained in those institutions which are technically called licensed houses, or in common parlance private lunatic asylums. The highest authority on the whole subject, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the venerable chairman of the Commissioners in Lunacy, fully and freely made known his opinions, the result of his vast experience, before the Select Committees of 1859 and 1877. Respecting lunacy legislation in general he said before these Committees—

A large proportion of the difficulties of legislation, and almost all the complications we have to contend with or to obviate, arise from the principle on which the licensed houses are formed (1859, Q. 494).

Half of the provisions of the Acts of Parliament are made to enable the Commissioners to fight against the selfishness of persons who open these asylums (Q. 504).

There is no doubt whatever that, if the public have any suspicion of ill-practice, it is in connection with the licensed houses?—Yes (1877, Q. 11612).

That this opinion is perfectly correct, is known to every one who mixes freely with all classes of men, for one by no chance ever hears the public institutions for the insane spoken of by members of the general public in terms of suspicion or dislike. It is the old madhouse, the modern private asylum or licensed house, in which it is known that helpless people are imprisoned for the profit of the private owner,

which alone excites suspicion and dislike. No doubt it is to some extent a traditional sentiment of antipathy handed down from times when facts were fully proved against these institutions which would now seem almost incredible—such facts, for instance, as came out in evidence, that at the private asylum called the White House in Bethnal Green, every Saturday night from 200 to 220 patients were chained down naked in loose straw in their cribs, and never visited again until Monday morning.

At that time, fifty-six years ago, the inmates of most asylums were treated with harshness and neglect, for county asylums did not exist as a field for experiment in the direction of humane innovation. But subsequently in these institutions and in the public hospitals for the insane great ameliorations of treatment were effected, the greatest of which was what is called the non-restraint system. I do not know that any important improvement in the treatment of the insane or any abolition of any old abuse has ever been initiated in a private asylum, although those changes from harshness and neglect to more humane and skilful methods, which have from time to time been first carried into effect in public institutions, have been, though oftentimes with great reluctance and delay, more or less adopted by the proprietors of private asylums. Certainly the revolting brutality and neglect of former times have, under the influence of a better example, ceased to be practised, although it must be also said that from time to time the survival of some of the old brutality is unexpectedly discovered. For instance, the Commissioners reported in 1883 that, in consequence of complaints, they discovered that it was a common practice of the attendants in the largest private asylum in England to twist the arms of violent patients and to give them blow for blow.

But the suspicion and distrust of private asylums is not now founded upon the belief that their inmates are treated with cruel violence. It may perhaps even be said that it is founded entirely upon the belief that persons are admitted into them who ought not to be admitted; that they are not treated with a view to promote their recovery; and that they are detained long after they ought to be set at liberty, or at least removed to places where they could enjoy greater freedom. But if these are facts, they cannot so easily be proved as overt acts of violence or of neglect, and the private asylums were included in the general whitewash of the last Select Committee, which declared with regard to the existing system of the lunacy law that, 'assuming the strongest cases against the present system were brought before them, allegations of *mala fides* or of serious abuses were not substantiated.'

Notwithstanding, however, the inclusion of private asylums in this general verdict, the Select Committee recommended that they should be superseded by the extension of the system of public

hospitals for the insane, 'the matter being left to the spontaneous action of the public.'

The Committee recommended to the House that legislative facilities should be afforded, by enlargement of the powers of magistrates or otherwise, in order to carry this reform into effect, and in the year following this report a Bill to amend the Laws relating to Lunatics was brought in by Mr. Dillwyn, Sir George Balfour, and the present Solicitor-General, with the purpose of providing these facilities, by enabling the justices of counties and boroughs to buy out the private asylums, and by providing superior accommodation for private patients sent to pauper asylums; the funds to be raised by mortgage of the rates. The objections against this Bill were that public funds ought not to be expended in purchasing the goodwill of institutions which usurp the rights of the public, and that it had already been proved by experience that asylums for the opulent classes did not work well in connection with asylums for the destitute classes. Since then no attempt has been made to effect a reform of the lunacy law, excepting that a short Bill was introduced by the Lord Chancellor in 1883, which became law; but this had reference solely to visitation of the Chancery lunatics and the readjustment of the duties of the registrar in lunacy.

When the freedom of the city of London was recently given to the great philanthropist Lord Shaftesbury, it was observable that the congratulatory orators abstained from reference to this largest and longest of his many labours. But if Lord Shaftesbury can be discussed without reference to lunacy, it is certain that lunacy law and its administration cannot be discussed without reference to Lord Shaftesbury; and his opinions respecting private lunatic asylums, founded upon great knowledge of his subject and of human nature, sane and insane, as they are to be found in the reports of the committee of 1859, and to a less extent that of 1877, afford the surest foundation for guidance for the formation of opinion which men not intimately cognisant of the subject from their own independent observation can hope to obtain.

In one of his answers before the Select Committee in 1859, after the Board of Commissioners had been at work for fourteen years, their illustrious chief summed up his opinions about private lunatic asylums in the following words:—

The next thing, I think, will be to go into the whole principles upon which the licensed asylums are founded.—It is the result of very long experience in these matters that a large proportion of the difficulties in legislation, and almost all the complications that we have to contend with or to obviate, arise from the principle on which these licensed houses are founded. The licensed houses are founded upon the principle of profit to the proprietor; and the consequence is that any speculator who undertakes them, having a view to profit, is always eager to obtain patients and unwilling to discharge them; and he has, moreover, the largest motive to stint them in every possible way during the time they are under his

care. The Committee will perfectly understand that where a proprietor is an unprincipled man, where he is determined to evade the conditions of the law, he will do everything he can to avoid whatever the Commissioners enjoin upon him. How very severe the temptation must be the Committee can perfectly understand; and to what an extent he may carry the bad management and government of his asylum, so that the patient will receive from it little or no real benefit; their object being to get as many patients as they can, and to keep them as long as they can, and stint them in medicines, clothing, food, and comfort. This, to a certain extent, must be the case even with the best-intentioned proprietors. (Q. 494.)

In many other paragraphs scattered through his lengthy evidence Lord Shaftesbury answered the question which was neatly put by Mr. Coningham in the following words: 'Do you not think that such a system is objectionable, that the medical men who attend on lunatic patients should be in reality the keepers of these boarding houses, from which they derive a profit by keeping them continually full?' Lord Shaftesbury, in reply, said that this question was the cardinal point on which everything turned, and that the system was not only objectionable but intolerable. In another place he says, 'I feel that the whole system of private asylums is utterly abominable and indefensible.' He says that, with some few exceptions, the proprietors of private asylums 'screw down their patients to the lowest possible point.' With regard to *detention* in private asylums, Lord Shaftesbury declared his belief, that although very few persons had been shut up without some cause or other, at least plausible, 'very many indeed have been detained beyond the time when they might have been set at liberty.' With regard to *diet*, he observed that even when the Commissioners had fixed the dietary it was impossible for them to know whether it would be observed, because it might interfere with the profit. Of *out-of-door employment* he said that it certainly did not exist in the greater proportion of the metropolitan private asylums, but that the patients were put for air and exercise in high-walled courtyards 'like so many beasts, and there the poor creatures go round and round.' Of the attendants upon these wretched patients he said they were not what they ought to be, and that 'the whole system, though better than it was, yet at its very best will be detestable.'

Before the Select Committee which sat in 1877 Lord Shaftesbury said that he had modified his opinions expressed in 1859, and the exact degree of this modification he stated in his answers to the questions 11054 *et seq.*:—

Perhaps your Lordship remembers the evidence you gave in 1859, in which you condemned the vicious principle of profit, as you called it, perhaps more strongly than anybody else?—Yes, I condemned it very strongly, and I condemn it nearly as strongly now; and therefore I want to put as great a limit upon it as I possibly can;

Your Lordship has modified your views upon this subject?—Yes, to this extent: the licensed houses are in a far better condition than they were in every

possible respect. I have said, and I wish to repeat, that if we were to relax our vigilance, the whole thing, in every form of establishment, would go back to its former level.

You still condemn the principle of it as strongly as ever?—Yes, as applicable to this particular form, this subject-matter of lunacy. I know that a great many persons will say that the principle of profit enters into a great number of pursuits and professions. No doubt it does; but there is something very peculiar in the condition of lunacy, something especially demanding more than ordinary care.

In point of fact your Lordship's opinion is that it greatly depends upon administrative action to correct or counteract the vicious principle which is ever trying to repeat itself?—I think it does, unless you can introduce such a system as to make the hospital system universal; then to some extent the principle of profit is eliminated, and I should be very glad to see it. And I only wish to retain a certain number of houses, which, as I said before, will be of the very highest order.

It will readily be admitted that this modification of opinion is not greater than might be expected by the influence of changed circumstances during eighteen years. My own opinions I feel to have been changing quite as much in the opposite direction; and I now have no doubt respecting the un wisdom of retaining any asylums even if they could be assured to be of the highest order, if they were founded upon a principle which deserved all that Lord Shaftesbury has truly said respecting the principle of the private asylum system. It is, however, absolutely impossible to foretell what kind of private asylums, much less what particular asylums, would survive the competition of an increased number of public hospitals for the insane. Instead of private asylums of the highest order surviving, it is more than possible that only private asylums of the lowest order would do so, seeing that competition would be more likely to extinguish institutions conducted on the same principles as their new rivals than those which were conducted on opposite principles. People who desired the best treatment, and the early release of their insane relatives, would send them to the public hospitals; while those who did not strongly entertain such feelings might send them, as they do now, to private asylums, where they would be treated and detained as they now are. If it is thought that particular asylums might be retained, which would be of the very highest order, the disappointment would be still more certain, for the true quality of these places depends almost entirely upon the character of the owner, and the ownership is continually changing. In their report of 1875 the Commissioners mention twelve changes of licensee in one year; and in determining these changes it must be remembered that considerations of property, and not considerations of fitness, are the prevailing—nay, the constant—influence. If the owner of one of these places retires, he sells it to the speculator who will give the most money for it. If he dies, it is found that he has bequeathed it to his sons or nephews, who may be in every respect poles asunder from himself; or to his widow, and the fate of the inmates may then

depend upon her choice of the marital successor. The coming owner of a private asylum would appear to be almost as uncertain as the future owner of a race-horse, and the condition of the property almost as precarious. From the nature of things it must be that the condition of these places depends infinitely more upon the character of the men to whom they are licensed than upon the vigilance of the visiting Commissioners, who are only six in number, and who, visiting in pairs, can only be counted practically as three. The Commissioners are greatly overworked; and if it were not so, periodical visitations cannot possibly have the enormous influence for good or evil which the constant presence of the owner and actual master must have. Even he does not know half so much as his attendants do, of what goes on under his roof; but he chooses these persons, upon whose conduct the safety and comfort of his patients ultimately depend, and impresses them more or less with his disposition and desires. No captain of a ship or commander of a regiment is half so autocratic as the ruler of a lunatic asylum, in which, there being no written or clearly understood law, and yet frequent infractions of peace and order, orders have to be given from hour to hour which have the force of law, and frequently the real though not the expressed effect of punishment. If a sane man commits an assault, or if he strips off his clothes in public, he is dealt with according to law; but if an insane man under confinement does the same, or any other mischievous act, the law for his treatment is the will of the person in whose charge and custody he is. It is a strange and anomalous, however necessary, state of things, which it is needful to take into consideration in order to form a full estimate of the influence which change of ownership has upon asylums. No doubt this consideration applies to all asylums, public and private; but in public asylums there is a continuity of methodical influence in the boards of visiting justices or of governors, some members of which often come in or go out of office, but which never change altogether. The duties of these boards moreover are much more judicial than executive, and do not bring the members of them into immediate relation with the disorderly and mischievous conduct of the patients. Moreover these boards select their executive officers for their fitness to discharge their duties, and not at all on account of property considerations. And the executive officers themselves are influenced by some of these considerations. Not only is it not their interest to detain patients, but it is not their interest to repress the disorders of patients except in behalf of the general peace and welfare of the establishment. In a public asylum a patient may destroy any amount of furniture, or smash any amount of windows or crockery, or even set fire to bedding or clothing, without much vexing the spirit of the superintendent; but it is not so in a private asylum, where, without any board of governors, the proprietor is a law unto himself. These considerations will make

plain the enormous weight of the personal element in the ownership and management of private asylums, and the impossibility of foretelling, under the frequent changes of ownership, what may be the future management. Lord Shaftesbury did not indicate the private asylums which he said he should like to retain, but he has elsewhere said so much about particular asylums that it is not presumptuous or difficult to guess some of them. One of them, I doubt not, was a small establishment of selected patients, owned and ruled by two maiden ladies, who permeated the place with their own spirit of order and kindness. Alas! they are both gone, and the asylum has been purchased by a doctor practising in the neighbourhood. There were two important private asylums in Sussex and Gloucestershire for the proprietors of which Lord Shaftesbury has expressed high esteem. Since he spoke they too have departed, and his Lordship has given obituary notices of them in his blue book of 1883. In the Commissioners' report for 1875, the last in which the condition of private asylums was reported in some detail, no less than twelve asylums are mentioned in which changes of licensee had been made during the year, and three others in which the license had been dropped, a proportion of nearly sixteen per cent. to all the private asylums in the country. Another weighty objection to the project of retaining some of the private asylums under the proposed new *régime* is that the continued existence of these places in competition with the new public asylums would greatly increase the difficulty of procuring funds for the establishment of the new institutions; but of this more anon.

Having now discussed the opinions of the great chief of the Lunacy Board on the subject in hand, it may be well to state briefly the opinions of some of that band of able men who have worked with him in past years as his colleagues, and to whom he has publicly given the meed of his thorough appreciation and approbation.

Mr. Gaskell and Mr. Campbell, when temporarily acting as Royal Commissioners in Scotland, said in their report—

Where economy on the one hand and profit on the other are in undisguised operation as the main motives of conduct, there can be no doubt that pauper lunatics in licensed houses are exposed to the danger of privation and neglect.

Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Lutwidge, acting as Royal Commissioners in Ireland, reported:—

It cannot but be observable, in a private asylum, how limitedly the patient's wants seem to be discerned when they are not absolute necessities, how little the agreeable is studied where it is not the essential, and how strong the tendency must be to restrain, since the opposite system, if carried out, will necessarily require an increased number of attendants, at increased cost, and therefore diminished profit to the proprietor. In fact, without seeking to reproach any, we fear it must be confessed by all, that where profit is the aim it will too generally be pursued to the prejudice of those from whom it is derived.

I do not find any published opinion emanating from John Forster, but Dr. Lockhart Robertson permits me to quote the opinion, thus expressed to him, of this vigorous and generous thinker: 'Is it not sad that the sorest and most dire misfortune of man—the loss of reason—should still be the subject of cupidity and sordid speculation?'

Here, then, are the opinions of six of the English Commissioners on Lunacy, including those of their great and venerable chief. I have not quoted the opinions of the lunacy authorities in Scotland, because they have been expressed in legislative and administrative action, with the result of abolishing all private asylums containing pauper inmates and of reducing private asylums for lunatics having property until four only remain, with a total of one hundred and forty-nine inmates, and are conducted to a great extent on the principle of voluntary residence. The question in Scotland, therefore, is no longer one of immediate importance.

The arguments which have been used in favour of the conservation of private asylums deserve to be fully and fairly weighed. The widest of these seems to be the use stated in the report of the Committee of 1877—that they supply a public need. But what kind of need do they supply? Is it a real and an honest one, and do they supply it in a manner which cannot be entirely altered in principle to the great advantage of the public? If the need is that of privacy, they certainly do not supply it, as Lord Shaftesbury pointed out in his evidence. Speaking of the substitution of public hospitals on the Scotch system, he says, 'I think we may fairly argue whether privacy is a thing that you ought to consider when you have to deal with the interests of wretched and unprotected lunatics. But I do not see there would be the slightest publicity greater than there is now.' Private asylums are as much subject to visitation, official and unofficial, as public hospitals for the insane, and patients confined in them are subject to this further source of publicity: that the proprietors can, and do, sometimes speak of their inmates, especially if these are persons known in the world, as an advertisement of their institutions.

The opposing designations of asylums as private, and of hospitals as public, are certainly not due to the privacy or publicity of their inmates. They can only properly connote the private as distinguished from the public interests upon which they are founded. Whatever the public may think, there can be no doubt of the fact that any person desiring to conceal an insane relative in an asylum would be as likely to succeed in a public hospital for the insane as in a private asylum. It is greatly to be doubted whether concealment of the insane patients is a proper object of legislative sanction; but it is certain, however, that this is not the public need which private asylums supply. The need of expending income has been suggested by the Lord Chancellor, who said, 'Those lunatics who had considerable property were entitled to have their comfort provided for as

far as possible. They must be put under the care of some persons, whether they kept licensed houses or not, to whom the expenditure must be entrusted.' But if this object can be better secured in institutions where profit is not an aim, or in private domestic houses, the argument fails. It is much to be desired that the visitors' scheme for hospitals for such Chancery lunatics, as they are called, as require asylum treatment may be carried into effect. This scheme, contained in a memorandum to the Lord Chancellor, drawn up and signed by his medical visitors, is to be found in the Appendix to the Select Committee Report of 1877, and its adoption would greatly reduce the need of new hospital accommodation for other classes of asylum patients. But it is not the public need, it is the private owner who is in need, and who, in the words of King Lear, slightly altered, may say—

Oh, reason not the need;

—But for true need

You heavens give me patients; patients I need!

To get and keep patients he must have a house, and in their last report the Commissioners inform us that the proprietors of three large private asylums in their district 'are engaged in searching for suitable premises to propose for license in lieu of these houses, the leases of which are about to expire. No suitable premises, however, have as yet been proposed to us.'

Another argument used in defence of private asylums, and of the common practice in them of detaining patients long after they ought to be discharged, is thus stated by one of their proprietors, Dr. William Wood, in his pamphlet on *Lunacy Law*. After stating his opinion that no serious wrong is inflicted upon an asylum patient who has not been improperly admitted if he be kept for some time after his apparent recovery, Dr. Wood proceeds—'Unworthy motives are not attributed to the surgeon who prolongs his attendance on a patient who has broken his leg, and who thinks it his duty to watch and guard against imprudence and premature use of the limb, though the bone has united. Why should not a physician in charge of an insane person, and why should not the friends of a patient, have the same measure of justice meted out to them as is without hesitation accorded to the surgeon?' (p. 57). Of course the most obvious reason is that any surgeon who did keep his patients in splints long after the bone had united, and continued to take his fees, would certainly not be thought in 'good form,' whatever the limb might be. But the not so obvious but more important objection to this argument is that a patient in an asylum is not merely under the professional charge of the proprietor, but is also in his custody, and cannot change it like the surgical patient. Moreover the ordinary fees of medical men are not profits. When not honoraria they are charges for work, and made upon and paid by

voluntary agents, whereas the profit of a private asylum proprietor is that portion of payment made without the will of the captive, which is in excess of the cost, and which is great in proportion to the diminution of the cost and the duration of the custody.

Notwithstanding 'the strong claim' which has been put forward by the above-mentioned author on behalf of asylum owners 'to the kindly fellowship and protection of the whole profession under the inconvenient and unfair aspersions which have been made upon their conduct,' there is no real similarity between proprietors of asylums and medical men discharging the ordinary duties of their liberal profession. A medical man discharging his professional duties only aboard ship is a professional brother, but I think it would be asking rather too much were he to put forward the strong claims of professional fellowship, if he had also assumed the responsibilities of the ownership and command of the vessel. The position of these asylum owners in relation to the profession is very anomalous. The College of Physicians, for instance, by its bye-laws and regulations, forbids trade to be practised by its Fellows, forbids the purchase and sale of practices, forbids partnerships and advertisements for patients, and any offending Fellow is liable to be brought before the Board of Censors and rebuked or otherwise punished. But all these things the College condones in its Fellows who are the proprietors of asylums, thereby marking its sense of a wide distinction between an ordinary member of the profession and one who is engaged in the business of keeping, not a boarding house, but a place of detention for his patients, allowing himself to be paid by profits on the charges for board and lodging and safe custody.

The above practices perhaps do not need to be professionally condemned or approved; they are only anomalous professionally as the whole thing is anomalous.

But other methods of doing business which have been established among the private owners of asylums could not possibly be sanctioned by any extent of professional latitudinarianism, although they may not have been either illegal or dishonest. The most important of these was the payment by the owners of asylums to persons who sent them patients. The payments were known by the term of 'percentages,' from the fact that the customary payment was twenty per cent. of the money annually received for the care and treatment of the patient so long as he remained in the asylum. This curious trade-custom was made public in 1858 at a trial which was brought for false imprisonment against the medical owner of an important private asylum in the metropolitan district. At this trial it was proved that a distinguished physician was in the receipt of eight hundred a year for percentages on the payments of patients whom he had recommended to the asylum. The physician did not know that he was doing wrong in receiving these percentages. It was the custom of the trade.

On the public discovery of the custom the Commissioners issued an order against it, and there have been no more public scandals about it. But any one who believes that the custom has been discontinued must be singularly confident as to the effect of an order from the Commissioners in Lunacy which is not supported by any statutory authority. And it is still no offence against the law to buy and sell lunatic patients, either in the gross after they have been collected into a private asylum, or in retail as they may be received individually.

Another custom of the trade which is not illegal is the making of emolument from the letting out of keepers, a practice which has been carried to a great extent in some of the metropolitan private asylums 'of the highest order.' Lord Shaftesbury referred to this practice in his evidence in 1859, and Dr. Alexander Sutherland admitted it. The custom is simply this: that medical men having insane patients under treatment in private practice, or unprofessional persons having insane relations at their own homes, apply to private owners of asylums to send them attendants for these patients, and these attendants receive their wages from the new employer. But out of these wages one half, being generally one guinea a week, is claimed by the private asylum owner and paid over to him. Sometimes in prolonged lunacies the payments may be smaller than this, but they are always considerable, and one of these keepers who was 'out on call' (that is the term) with a Chancery patient whom I visited, once gave me a written account of the payments he had made out of his wages to the medical owner who had sent him, and who had never seen the patient: it amounted to more than 300*l*. In another instance a gentleman had two of these private asylum attendants for several years with an insane relative, and when it was suggested to him that he had better have his own nurses, he replied, 'I job my horses from Mr. Rice, and if I choose to job my nurses from Dr. — I do not see the objection to it.' The Commissioners eventually interfered with this doctor, but not on the ground that the principle of the thing was objectionable. The doctor complains that the order of his superiors has mulcted him of a profit of a thousand a year, but the Commissioners are clearly right in keeping the system under some control. It has been carried on to such an extent that I have known asylums in which there would at one time be more attendants than patients, and at another not a sufficient staff to ensure the safety of the patients. Sometimes the keepers rebel and refuse to part with their hard earnings, and in that case the asylum doctors think themselves very badly used. I have seen a letter addressed by an asylum owner to a rebellious keeper under such circumstances, threatening him with the terrors of the law for breach of contract, but I do not know that the owner of an asylum has ever had the courage to bring such a case into court.

It would be absurd to make much of these matters, or of any other little matters of business in which the medical owners of asylums sometimes engage, such as the occasional demand of a month's notice or a month's payment on leaving an asylum, or little arrangements with regard to the supply of clothing, or carriages, or residence at the sea-side, which bring emoluments. I do not know that any of them are illegal or dishonest; but they are important as distinguishing the man in business from the man practising a liberal profession, and they are a fair answer to the false sentiment one meets with about the high professional character of these medical owners of asylums.

That the ownership of asylums is a business and not a professional occupation is conclusively proved by the fact that less than one-half of asylums in the metropolitan district and the provinces combined are licensed to medical men. There are altogether ninety-six private asylums in England and Wales, and of these forty-six are licensed to medical men alone, twenty-three are licensed to medical men in conjunction with women or with laymen, and twenty-seven are licensed to women alone or to laymen alone; of this last number eighteen are licensed to women alone. In the face of these figures and of the facts which precede them, it cannot be surprising to find that medical men who engage in duties and responsibilities in which they are so closely emulated by laymen and by women differ somewhat widely from the medical men who are solely engaged in professional pursuits.

The principle upon which these institutions are founded and worked—namely, the principle of making profit for private individuals by the detention or confinement of their helpless fellow creatures—has been gravely and publicly denounced by Lord Shaftesbury with each of the following epithets. He said before the Select Committee of 1859 that this principle was ‘abominable,’ ‘vicious,’ ‘objectionable,’ ‘intolerable,’ and ‘detestable’—a bouquet of epithets from which acrostically the significant word *avoid* can be constructed. The principle when barely and baldly stated seems incompatible with legislative sanction in these days, when almost every kind of private interest which in former times existed in competition or collision with public rights has been abolished. But it is astonishing how we can gulp down principles if the practice has the sanction of ancient custom. A few years ago our parents saw but little harm in slaveholding, though to us it seems monstrous; and there is small doubt that our children will wonder at some offences we still commit against the clearest light, including this grave offence of ownership asylums.

And if the tree be all that has been said of it, can it be expected that it should bear sweet and wholesome fruit? I have known private asylums from the time when a large proportion of their inmates were kept habitually in restraint boxes and strait-waistcoats

down to the present time, when, with the exception of the general and great abuse of improper detention, some of them may be said to be as well managed as can be expected under the circumstances of irresponsible control directed by self-interest. Lord Shaftesbury emphasises the improvement which has taken place, which he attributes to the vigilance of the Commissioners, a vigilance which if they relaxed ever so little would, he said, be followed by 'the whole thing speedily going back to its former level.' In his former evidence he said—

We direct certain things to be done in a house, and very often there is an appearance of their being done; but when we have turned our backs that principle which we have curbed with our presence recommences its active operations, and we cannot have any security whatever that justice will be done to the patients, because we cannot dog the thing day by day or hour by hour and know that every condition is fulfilled. (Q. 504.)

This view of the position, though less confident, seems more consistent with the circumstances than overweening trust in the vigilance of a small body of overworked officials, and quite justifies the Marquis of Salisbury's remark in the debate on the subject in May last that 'the older guardians of English liberty would have been startled had they been told that a man's liberty was entirely dependent upon the vigilance of a department.'

I am myself convinced that, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Commissioners, the great and crying abuse of private asylums—namely, the confinement and detention of patients who ought not to be detained—is not diminished or diminishing. Not only the self-interest, but the real feeling of the proprietors seems to uphold it. I have seen proprietors unaffectedly surprised when I have told them that certain patients ought to be discharged from confinement. I have seen a proprietor burst into tears when he has been told that he must lose a patient. In other instances every art of misrepresentation has been resorted to to persuade me that patients were unfit to enjoy greater liberty than the asylum precincts afforded, misrepresentations so plausible that I can well understand that the Commissioners might be deceived by them, as I know now that in some cases I have myself been deceived. My own experience convinces me that no amount of visitation and vigilance will ever eradicate this great and supreme abuse so long as patients are detained in confinement on the ground of insanity for the pecuniary advantage of those who confine them. Imprisonment, bringing pecuniary profit to the person who holds the keys, is inconsistent with modern notions of justice; and private asylums founded and conducted on this principle must be abolished. *Delenda est Carthago.*

If this be once thoroughly done, one may have something to say on behalf of two new classes of private asylums which might be constituted. One of these would be the voluntary asylum, in which patients who retain some considerable faculty of self-direction might

reside of their own free will under wise and kind supervision. Such true boarding-house asylums have been partially established already in Scotland, and are sure to be usefully developed in this country when the present system tumbles or is blown to pieces.[†] Another class of asylum for the future is a small institution for acute and urgent cases—a real hospital for insane patients—under the direction of physicians paid by fees, and not by profits, for emergency cases pending speedy recovery or transference to other care.

In dealing with the insane there are two objects, perhaps only two—to cure the curable, and to enable the incurable to enjoy life as much as their means and their faculties permit, having due regard to the safety of themselves and others. The present system seems to miss both of these objects.

I avoid the temptation to occupy space with any comments upon the minor abuses which may be found in private asylums—the rude servants to whose oppressive authority cultured and sensitive patients are subjected, and their occasional acts of violence; the coarse and ill-served fare; the loss of many simple and wholesome luxuries; the neglect of proper sick diet and medical treatment; the overcrowding and discomfort of small houses filled with many inmates. These details seem somewhat beside the object of this paper, which is to call attention to the great and capital abuse of improper imprisonment.

What is to be done? If the Commissioners in Lunacy were to order the discharge of all patients in private asylums who are quiet and harmless and ought not to be confined in any asylum, it is probable that the applications for licenses at the end of the year would be greatly diminished.

Some of the asylums would be at once emptied, for the Commissioners have actually granted licenses to certain asylum owners for the admission of harmless and quiet patients only, notwithstanding that it has over and over again been decided by the judges of the land that harmless and quiet persons, though of unsound mind, ought not to be shut up in asylums. Many other asylums would also have to be abandoned, for it must not be forgotten that the quiet and harmless captives are the greatest source of profit, the acute and dangerous cases being much more costly in every respect, and much more liable to the interruption of profit either by death or recovery. It is the quiet chronic case which gives no trouble and goes on from year to year and decade to decade, which pays so well that a score or so constitute a property worth purchasing and worth keeping, while private asylums for acute cases only, requiring active treatment, do not exist. But what is to be done with the lunatics who are not quiet and harmless, and who do require control, if proprietary asylums be closed either in this summary manner, which is not probable, or by legislative enactment, which ought to be not probable only, but certain? As the Lord Chancellor said in the May debate, ‘they must be put under the care of

some persons, whether they keep licensed houses or not.' But the persons of 'considerable property,' of whom this was said, may be kept at their own houses, or in private residences provided for them by the order of the Lord Chancellor himself, a system of treatment which has long been pursued with admirable results. Some of the most dangerous and intractable of lunatics I have known have been treated with the greatest success in domestic ways, entirely disconnected from asylums, under minute directions sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor and his colleagues under the seal manual. For the remainder there are, the proposed Lord Chancellor's asylums for those who are especially under his protection; and for those who are not, there is the long-desired extension of the system of public hospitals.

This last could be done without difficulty in several different ways, but on one condition only, and that is the total abandonment of Lord Shaftesbury's proposal to exempt from abolition certain private asylums, which would be of the highest order. I do not know which they would be; and if I did, I think I should differ in opinion, for some of the most showy asylums are the worst of the class in the downright *avoid* principle on which they are conducted. But supposing that they were the best, they would still be conducted on this bad principle, and they would be liable to change of ownership and management at any moment. But to exempt some private asylums from abolition would be to leave them in competition with the public hospitals, and to multiply indefinitely the difficulty of raising money for the establishment of these institutions. Mr. Dillwyn's Bill proposed to mortgage the county rates: first, for buying out the private asylums; and, secondly, for erecting public asylums for the wealthy classes. It appears to me that neither of these objects justifies the mortgage of the county rates. But let the private asylums be wholly abolished, as they ought to be, and there will be no difficulty in raising any amount of money which may be wanted for the establishment of public asylums for the paying classes. The paying classes are bound to raise money for any institutions which they may need, and they will do it whenever the need is felt. But as the public hospitals must not run any risk of becoming adventure asylums under a new form, the proper method, in my judgment, would be for the Legislature to authorise a Commission for the establishment and regulation of these institutions, and to borrow money in the open market on the security of the lands and buildings, which would include the profits; and if this were done, I have no doubt that all the needful funds could be easily borrowed either upon paying-off terms or at a moderate rate upon permanent debentures.

It is not easy to get at the numbers which would have to be provided for. The numbers in licensed houses generally on the 1st of January, 1884, were 3,391 of the private class, and 1,398 of the pauper class. There is no uncertainty respecting the pauper lunatics

now confined in private asylums, except as to the length of time during which the authorities may continue to permit the infraction of the existing law. The only question at issue, with regard to the new legislation, concerns only the 3,381 patients who, not being paupers, are now confined in the 96 proprietary asylums, of which 34 are in the metropolitan district, and are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy; and 61 are not in the metropolitan district, and are under the divided jurisdiction of the Commissioners and of the Justices of the Peace. From the above total a deduction of about 1,200 has to be made for idiot children in schools, soldiers, and Chancery patients in ownership asylums, leaving little more than 2,000 paying patients to be provided for even upon the assumption that none of them would be discharged to the care of their friends and relatives as improper persons to be incarcerated anywhere. This is a small matter to be allowed to block legislation in so important a subject as lunacy law. That it does block it must be accepted upon the evidence of the highest authority in lunacy law which I have so largely quoted. That it does block it must be accepted from the opinion of every thoughtful man one converses with, and upon the opinion of all the leading journals. The opinion is editorially expressed in a recent number of the *Lancet* thus:—

Private prisons, mis-called lunatic asylums, ought not to be allowed to exist. This is the one remedy for all the abuses of lunacy law and practice of which some justly and others unjustly complain. Only such a measure as would at once put an end to the private asylum system and existing method of certification would in my judgment be satisfactory to meet the ends of the case as it stands.

Meanwhile, in the words of Conolly, 'the public are dissatisfied and medical men are harassed and perplexed,' and, I may add, many of them are feeling keenly the disgrace of the association of their great and liberal profession with this bad trade. In May last the Lord Chancellor 'undertook, on the part of the Government, that in another session they would bring forward a Bill of which the object would be to consolidate the existing law with such improvements as had been recommended by the Committee of 1877, and others which might occur to them as advisable.'

The Committee of 1877 was rather remarkable, inasmuch as having been granted on the demand of a member of the House opposed to private asylums, it was dominated to a great extent, by members entertaining a very different opinion, and who knew more about the subject and were more interested in it. One most influential member of the Committee was actually the proprietor of the largest private asylum in the country. The Committee took no pains to ensure that 'the strongest cases against the present system should be brought before them,' although they drew their report on the assumption that the strongest cases had been brought before them, apparently under the strange belief that a recovered lunatic must necessarily be

possessed with the spirit of a martyr. It is not surprising under these circumstances that the recommendations of the Committee were feeble and temporising, and that the Committee only succeeded in shelving for a few years the question they were deputed to investigate. It is to be hoped that the Lord Chancellor will find a better foundation for his promised measure of reform than the recommendations of this Committee. Perhaps neither the Legislature nor the public were ripe at that time for the abolition of private asylums by the simple process of refusing all renewal of licenses; but it may safely be foretold, that if the promised Bill does not provide in some decided way for such abolition, it will either fail to become law, or as law it will fail to endure.

JOHN CHARLES BUCKNILL.

STATE AID TO EMIGRANTS.

A REPLY TO LORD BRABAZON.

To all who take an interest in the great problem of the right means for relieving the pressure caused by the rapid increase of the population of Great Britain, the opening of the pages of this Review and other leading periodicals to a discussion on all sides of the question cannot but be deemed of the utmost importance; indeed, to some of us outside the strife of political contests, whether Liberals or Conservatives, of far greater *present* necessity than some of the so-called 'burning questions' of the day.

This privilege has been granted to me on several occasions in connection with emigration, which, although one branch only of this pressing question, has claimed, and must for many reasons continue to claim, a prominent place in all discussions or practical efforts for diminishing the pressure. That this end is likely to be gained by fair trade, when we look at the present condition of the countries that indulge in protective duties, or that the difficulty can be met by Mr. Hyndman's 'something better than emigration,' we may well doubt. The former is far too shadowy and uncertain in its prospects, and the goal of the latter seems far too remote to be reached by the present, if even by succeeding generations. For however rapid may be the extension of so-called Democratic or Socialist views, one thing, I think, is absolutely proven by the experience of the United States—viz. that universal prosperity and equality are not to be gained by the application of laws *regulating* the distribution of wealth.

Without undervaluing all the other mighty influences, social or political, which are, or have been, in operation for the amelioration of the condition of the masses of the English people, I have a profound belief in the necessity and benefit of emigration alike to those who stay and those who go. Not indeed that I raise it on a pedestal to be worshipped, or regard it as the sole or even most potent agency for benefiting the unemployed thousands in England.

It was therefore with considerable interest that I noticed the article by Lord Brabazon in the November number of this Review entitled 'State-directed Emigration a Necessity,' and it is with no

small regret that after reading it I am compelled (1) to express dissent not merely from Lord Brabazon's scheme for State-aided English emigration, but also (2) to take exception to several of the statements contained in his severe strictures upon Irish State-aided emigration, a fuller acquaintance with which would, I feel assured, have led Lord Brabazon to a very different estimate of its value.

Leaving the consideration of the results of this Irish emigration to be dealt with subsequently, it seems right, on behalf of the common cause which we both desire to serve, to state why, after an experience gained during the past four years of emigration work, I cannot encourage Lord Brabazon's glowing hopes of the feasibility of relieving the pressure of our great cities by any large and sudden colonisation scheme. I say this with more than common reluctance, for I also have been enthusiastic about colonisation from Ireland, and if Lord Brabazon will do me the favour to turn to the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1881, he will there find a detailed plan for Irish colonisation somewhat on the lines of his own scheme. This plan I was reluctantly compelled to abandon, although it was designed for a purely agricultural population accustomed to land, and not for the dwellers in our cities.

Lord Brabazon's proposals, briefly stated, are as follows:—

1. Removal of the only hindrance to the more rapid colonisation of Greater Britain by placing the redundant population of London on farms of 160 acres in Canada or elsewhere.

2. The said population being without means, Government to advance the same, under proper guarantee to amount of one million—the sum estimated to remove 10,000 families (50,000 souls)—and that the sums so lent would *be repaid* by colonists in annual instalments, to be used again for a like object, and thus without recurring expense the nation to be permanently relieved.

3. That the Government in conjunction with colonial Governments shall draw up a scheme for carrying out the above objects.

I wish I could bring myself to believe with Lord Brabazon 'that the only hindrance to the more rapid colonisation of Greater Britain lay in the difficulty of traversing the intervening ocean,' and that by legislation or mere advance of money we could properly dispose of 'the redundant populations' of London and other large towns, and that Lord Brabazon's scheme was a really practicable one. Is it possible that 10,000 city families *wishing to emigrate* could be found who are really fitted to undertake an entirely new existence, to undergo the hardships of a colonist's life, and further whose moral condition is such that they would repay in annual instalments the money needed to be advanced in each case?

The experience gained by Bishop Ireland in Minnesota and Mr. John Sweetman in Iowa, in their very interesting colonisation experiments, has distinctly proved that small cultivators of land from

Ireland, without means of their own, placed upon 80 or 160 acre farms with the most liberal terms as to repayment—terms almost identical with those described by Lord Brabazon—are not at once fitted for the great change. Indeed, so largely have these experiments failed, that both gentlemen have been compelled after a large sacrifice of money entirely to alter their plans, and to accept as colonists those only who have some stake of their own to put into the land. For the inability to look forward, the promise of high wages for labour, with *present* payment and possession of cash, have led nearly all those without means to throw up their lands and leave the precious inheritance which a few years of toil would have given them free and unencumbered.

Lord Brabazon supports his argument for the success of his great scheme by the evidence supplied by the well-doing of the crofters sent out by Lady Gordon Cathcart from the North of Scotland. Even if the status and position of these emigrants were in any way similar to the 'redundant population' of the East of London, would it be quite safe to infer from it that *tens of thousands* of the families of the London poor could be equally successfully treated in a similar way? But the circumstances are evidently quite different, as will be more clearly seen from the following extracts from a statement recently furnished me by Lady Gordon Cathcart's agents as to the circumstances of the twelve families who left in 1883 and the forty-five in this year, together about 300 persons:—

'The head of each family is generally a small farmer or crofter with several cattle and sheep on his holding, which of course he disposes of when he emigrates, and has generally means sufficient to pay the passage out of himself and his family to Canada. . . . Some of our crofters had a balance of their own after paying their passages, besides a loan of 100*l.*, which gave them a better start. The crofters generally can read and write, and are a class above the common labourer.'

The crofters were in fact agriculturists, and acquainted with the use of the plough, the cropping of land, and charge of cattle; and most of them had some means of their own.

With the great care taken by Lady Gordon Cathcart, not only in the selection of families, but also in the selection of favourable sections of land in Canada, it would seem difficult to suppose the 'cannie Scot' should not succeed; and from all I have heard from those who have visited the districts and have seen the superior class of men thus selected and their intelligent appreciation of the advantages of their new position, I cannot doubt that they will succeed like their compatriots at Selkirk. To assist 10,000 of such families would be one thing, and could doubtless be accomplished with the minimum of failure; but it is instructive to note that *twelve families* only were sent during the first year as pioneers, and were even then followed by not more than *forty-five* families.

Nor does it appear that the case of the Paisley weavers—of whose success as colonists Lord Brabazon says the Marquis of Lorne spoke publicly—has any bearing upon the success of colonisation, though distinctly so as to that of emigration. Indeed, if it were wanting, their case furnishes very strong evidence in support of the view I advocate—namely, that unless in very special and selected cases, the placing of the emigrants where work is to be obtained is a wiser course than the attempt to settle them on farms. Having recently inquired into this case, I find from the Reports of the Government Immigration Agents in Canada for the year 1865, that the circumstances were shortly as follows:—

In the summer of 1864, 557 Paisley weavers were assisted to emigrate by various public and private societies from their native town. On arrival in Canada they were dispersed into four counties, and placed for the most part in old Scotch settlements where work—not settlement on 160-acre farms—was provided, many of them being employed in cotton and woollen mills. Thus the method of emigration adopted for these Paisley weavers, the success of which Lord Lorne has spoken of so favourably, was conducted on the lines of the Irish State-aided emigration which Lord Brabazon so severely censures.

The letters of the Rev. Harry Jones addressed to the *Guardian* in November last give most interesting, and in many ways encouraging evidence of the benefits resulting from East-end colonisation; but, amidst it all, I think it is impossible to avoid seeing the necessity of adopting the motto of ‘hasten slowly’ when the destinies of thousands of our fellow-creatures are at stake. Look how widely the emigrants are spread—a circuit of twenty-five miles is needed to pay visits to five families:—

The peasant (says the Rev. H. Jones) begins with a knowledge of his tool. The townsman has to lay down his and take up another. Some will have a hard pinch, but I think they will win.

The agricultural labourer, if intelligent, steady, and industrious, has considerable openings; but if he brings no capital, he must labour somewhere till he saves enough to get his quarter section. The mere townsman, used to a cookshop round every corner, is often sorely tried when put down alone on his grassy lot, which, as it has no visible boundaries, is seemingly the boundless prairie. Thus the change may be too much for him.

Moreover, he has been accustomed not only to a quick ‘return for his labour,’ but ‘he does not realise the slow repayment of nature.’ ‘The breaking of the prairie sod promises too distant a wage. . . . This accounts for the long faces which some pulled; . . . but they all spoke with hope, and not one wished to return,’ and he ‘was told by an expert that “they would all worry through.”’ These statements seem to me both encouraging and at the same time inciting to great caution.

The loss arising from failure to pay the annual instalments and the cost of collection would, I am persuaded, be enormous, for the

emigrants must be scattered over the vast area of the North-West Territory, the destinations depending upon the amount of labour offered to the girls and younger members of the family in each district, and, what is even of the greatest importance, where work could be obtained for the head of the family during the early days of settlement in the country. One of the chief causes which led to the non-acceptance of the scheme of the Canadian Government in 1880, quoted by Lord Brabazon, page 771, arose from the practical difficulty which at once became apparent as to the collection of the instalments due from the proposed Irish colonists. Had the Dominion Government been willing to assume the responsibility of annually collecting these loans to colonists, it is more than probable that the scheme would have had a trial. But as this was entirely declined by the Dominion Government, partly on the above ground, and even more strongly on account of the political difficulties which it was apprehended might arise from its being placed in the position of landlord, the English Government wisely declined to attempt that which the Canadian Government did not see their way to undertake. This objection is still felt by the Dominion Government to be an insuperable obstacle. I may perhaps be allowed to speak with some certainty on this question, as I was permitted to confer with Sir John Macdonald, Sir Alexander Galt, and other members of the Dominion Government at Ottawa in the autumn of 1880, and subsequently to discuss the subject with members of the Home Government on my return to England.

We now come to the last of Lord Brabazon's suggestions—viz. that the British Government shall, in conjunction with the Colonial authorities, draw up a well-considered scheme of emigration and colonisation.

The readers of Lord Brabazon's article will perhaps feel as much surprised as I have been to find, notwithstanding his severe and unhesitating condemnation of the Government in its one experiment of 'State-aided Emigration from Ireland,' that he proposes to apply to this same Government to 'draw up a well-considered scheme.' It is true it is to be in conjunction with the Colonial Governments, but equally so has been their former work.

It would, however, seem to me somewhat premature to apply to the British Government until some further experience has been gained as to the most effectual methods of dealing with the emigration of these town families. I do not wish to say one word in discouragement of State-aid to emigration, if it can be shown that such aid can on all grounds be properly given, but it is impossible not to perceive that the difficulties which surround State-aid to emigration in England are so great that thoughtful men may well hesitate before they apply to the Government for assistance in this direction. I say so the more freely as I have strongly urged that aid for emigration should be

given in Ireland. Let me, however, observe that in thus urging the Government to assist emigration from Ireland, I have always been most anxious that this aid should be confined to the 'congested districts,' or those so well known on the west coast of Ireland as the 'scheduled districts of 1880.' To these districts alone the Government aid was granted, districts steeped in poverty and devoid of any local wealth or ability to give pecuniary aid. There is absolutely no parallel between the poverty of the West of Ireland and that of the East of London. The whole economic condition is different. The poverty of the East End is in the very heart or in close proximity to the centre of the greatest wealth in the world, and forms a constituent part of the most luxurious capital in Europe. Then, again, it cannot be overlooked that a Government grant for emigration applicable for the relief of the 'redundant population' of London or other great cities would act as an increased stimulus to the already much dreaded influx from the country, by drawing thence those who wished to be assisted to emigrate and who could only obtain this boon by becoming inhabitants of the town. For I do not see that Lord Brabazon proposes that the country districts should be included in his scheme, and if not included is it probable that the nation at large would allow itself to be taxed in order to relieve the richest portions of the country?

But the gigantic question of assisting emigration from the whole of the United Kingdom is one which is beyond the scope of this article to discuss, and can only be touched on the outside. And even if it appeared that the time had come to apply to the Government for a grant for assisting emigration from the whole country, I am not quite satisfied that Government is the fittest body to draw up an emigration scheme, or to deal with all the details of the work, involving an amount of personal care and attention which can be more readily given by voluntary associations and private individuals. I would venture to suggest that it would be preferable in the present stage of the proceedings for the various associations, and others interested in emigration, whether in London or elsewhere, to meet together and carefully consider the question in all its bearings. The experience gained by the various agencies could thus be made use of and form a solid basis of action which would be invaluable when the time arrived for the joint associations to confer, as would be absolutely needful, with the colonial Governments upon some general plan of operation.

Upon some such carefully prepared scheme I would urge that the emigration associations—thus united into one body—whether engaged in colonisation or emigration, should agree to act for one or two years. For the purpose of obtaining the needful funds for carrying out the united work, let an appeal be made to the wealth of London or other towns for the ten, twenty, or fifty thousands which may be required.

Let the plan be tested for a time on a moderate scale; and then, after the necessary experience has been gained, might an appeal be made to Government for pecuniary aid for an enlarged emigration, should such a step seem justified.

The experience of the Committee of the 'Tuke Fund' in the work of Irish emigration seems to indicate that the formation of an influential and united organisation would induce the public to listen to the appeal for the funds required to carry out its objects. That Committee raised from a comparatively small number of contributors an amount which enabled it in the first year of its operations to clothe, equip, and forward to their destinations in the United States and Canada nearly 1,500 persons, and then, by bringing its experience and influence to bear upon the Government, obtained grants which, in addition to its own funds, enabled the Committee to send out during the two following years more than 1,000 families, or 8,000 persons.

Two practical points must ever be borne in mind in the consideration of any large scheme of emigration—1. That the demand for labour in the United States or the Colonies is not *uniform*. For example, at this moment, to send any considerable number of poor emigrants to the United States, where the depression of trade is felt with even greater intensity than in England, would be most unwise. And although Canada and the other colonies do not appear to be equally depressed, much care is needed on this head before sending out any large number of families.

2. It must be remembered that for Canada and the States, and presumably for the other colonies, the period during which emigrants should be sent is a limited one; and at the outside, as regards the American continent, extends over not more than eight to twelve weeks. Thus to despatch even 20,000 poor persons in one season with proper provision for their employment is a matter of extreme difficulty; how much greater then for 50,000!

We now come to Lord Brabazon's strictures upon the conduct of *Irish State-aided emigration*.

In his charges against the methods employed by the Government in their management of Irish emigration, he assumes that the Government has been guilty of the most culpable neglect. He says: 'The Government blundered egregiously.' 'They started on wrong lines.' 'The emigrants were simply pitchforked on to the shores of Canada and the United States.' The people so pitchforked were the 'refuse of the Irish population.' 'A more foolish proceeding it is difficult to imagine.' Again he speaks of it as 'the badly managed Irish experiment,' as having 'failed conspicuously,' and as a 'breakdown.' Lord Spencer is reported to have acted with 'frantic haste and excited endeavour.'

With regard to the last remark, I cannot refrain from saying

that to any one who has known the remarkable personal interest and care which Lord Spencer has invariably manifested during the progress of the emigration work, how all points were attentively considered by him amidst the intense pressure and extraordinary difficulties which have surrounded his office, it must seem remarkable that the charge of 'frantic haste and excited endeavour' should be levelled against his Excellency. To my own mind it appears both unjust and unjustifiable, and strangely inappropriate as applied to one who, like Lord Spencer, has preserved a judicial calmness and imperturbable patience in dealing with the vast variety of subjects which continually come before him. I am convinced that in after-days, when party strife and hatred have cooled or died out, it will be remembered as the high honour not of his family alone, but as reflecting a lustre upon the class of which Lord Spencer is so illustrious a member, that it was an English peer who, disregarding the temptations to a dignified ease and an honoured position in the Government at home, chose the post of danger and of duty in the Irish capital.

One-third of the whole number of 'State-aided' Irish emigrants were sent out through the agency of the 'Tuke Committee,' from whose funds the Government grants were supplemented. This being so, and the work carried out by them being evidently in Lord Brabazon's mind equally to be censured with that undertaken by the Government (evidenced by his use of Mr. Spence's letter to the Committee), it may be well that I should here briefly state what this organisation is, and how it came to be assisting the work of 'State-aided emigration' in Ireland during the past two or three years. The Committee was organised in 1882 for the purpose of endeavouring to relieve the distress existing in certain congested districts of Ireland by means of emigration of families, and consists of the following gentlemen:—

President—The Duke of Bedford, K.G.

The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P. (*Chairman*); Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P. (*Vice-Chairman*); Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.; Hon. Henry Cowper, M.P.; Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P.; H. S. Northcote, Esq., M.P.; Arthur Pease, Esq., M.P.; William Rathbone, Esq., M.P.; the Marquis of Tavistock, M.P.; James H. Tuke, Esq.

Treasurers—J. Gurney Barclay, Esq.; Arnold Morley, Esq., M.P.

Hon. Secretaries—Sydney C. Buxton, Esq., M.P., and Howard Hodgkin, Esq.

In the spring of 1882, the Committee sent to various destinations in Canada and the United States nearly 1,500 persons, about 260 families, not in any way assisted either by Government or Unions.

In 1883, when the Government, strongly urged thereto by the Committee, took up the emigration question, Lord Spencer requested the Committee to undertake the emigration from certain distressed districts in the counties of Mayo and Galway, which they consented to do, as well as to supplement the capitation grant made by the Government.

As therefore the work done by the 'Tuke Committee' during the

last two years of its operations (1883-4) was 'State-aided,' and, in Lord Brabazon's mind, part and parcel of that which he so unhesitatingly condemns, it is absolutely needful that I should as distinctly and clearly as possible answer the serious charges brought forward by him, so far as they relate to the work carried out by the 'Tuke Committee,' and give them an absolute denial. And although I have not the same personal acquaintance with that portion of the work which was done by the Government through the agency of the Local Government Board and the Poor Law Unions, the following observations will also apply to it to a considerable extent.

Lord Brabazon gives what he calls 'the causes of the *breakdown*,' thus:—

1. Sending out emigrants through the agency of the Poor Law unions.

2. Sending out paupers without reference to their character, or the means of subsistence on their arrival.

3. Acting without the thorough co-operation of the colonial authorities, and without submitting the emigrants before embarkation to the approval of an agent appointed by the colony to which they proposed to proceed.

4. Sending out colonists to take possession of virgin land without previously preparing the land for cultivation, or erecting dwellings, or providing implements and seed, or enabling colonists to maintain themselves until the first harvest.

1. *As to the Government using the agency of the Poor Law Unions.* That the employment of this agency has given rise to some difficulties in Ireland, as well as much misconception in Canada and the States, is no doubt true. But, in the almost entire absence of any other local body or material for committees in the West of Ireland, it is difficult to see how the Government could have carried on such a work, extending from Donegal to Kerry, without the assistance of the guardians. It should be clearly understood, however, that in employing the guardians for this object great pains were taken to prevent paupers or unsuitable families being sent out.

The strictest rules were laid down by Lord Spencer as to the class of emigrants to be selected, and no known paupers were allowed by the Government Commissioners. These Commissioners, originally three, but subsequently six in number, were appointed specially for the work. Their duty was to visit each union, to be present whenever the emigration applicants attended, and to inspect and inquire into the circumstances of each family. Exact regulations were also laid down with regard to the clothing, forwarding, landing money, and arrangements as to the destinations of the emigrants, none of whom were sent to the United States without satisfactory letters and applications from their friends, or to Canada or other colonies without the concurrence of the authorities.

That even with all this elaborate care some unsuitable persons should have been passed out of the 16,000 assisted by the Government agencies can hardly be a matter of surprise. Suffice it to say that out of the 16,000 persons so assisted a very limited number have returned; and even the '600 idle persons' (many of whom were not Government-assisted emigrants), whose condition led to Mr. Spence's letter, and caused so much annoyance in Toronto in the winter of 1883, have now, I am able to state on the highest authority, obtained work.

But the operations of the 'Tuke Committee' were carried out without any reference to the *local* Poor Law authorities other than the assistance freely given by various officers in a purely non-official capacity. The complaint, therefore, that all Irish State-aided emigrants were sent out by the agency of the Poor Law unions wholly fails in fact as regards about one-third of them. This method of independent working was adopted, after much deliberation, by the Committee, as they conceived it left them more at liberty to exercise an unfettered discretion in the selection of emigrants, as also in other arrangements for their welfare. But the labour involved was enormous, and necessitated the residence during the emigration season, in the districts under their charge, of one or more members of the Committee, aided by other gentlemen in London and Ireland.

Thus much for the first of the four causes of failure which has no foundation so far as the work of the 'Tuke Fund' is concerned.

2. *Sending out paupers without reference to character, &c.* The emigrants who were assisted by the Committee were undoubtedly poor, but out of the 9,500 so assisted there were not more than twenty persons, if indeed as many, who were either taken from the work-house or were receiving out-door relief and who were thus entitled to the name of 'paupers.'

It is important to bear this in mind, so much having been said on this point both on this and the other side of the Atlantic. The 'Tuke Committee' to all intents and purposes sent out no 'paupers,' and the proportion of those sent out by the Government has, I believe, been exceedingly small. It is also *far* from the fact that the emigrants were sent out without reference to character or physical capabilities, as Lord Brabazon states. The greatest care was taken by the Committee in the selection of the emigrant and his family. They were seen on at least three or more occasions by representatives of the Committee, and every possible information about them was obtained from the doctor, relieving officer, or other responsible persons best acquainted with each particular district. It may be that even thus out of the large numbers a few unfitted for emigration, morally or physically, have been sent. But at any rate every reasonable care was taken to avoid this. And this further may undoubtedly be said, that no poor emigrants have left their homes

in Ireland under happier auspices, with less risk of failure, or with better chances of success. Well clothed, and conveyed from their door to the port of embarkation, where they were met and had lodgings and food provided by the agents of the Government and the Committee until the ocean steamers were ready to convey them to their destinations; provided with free passages and railway tickets to any places in Canada or the United States which they selected and were approved by the Committee, and, on landing, met by agents appointed by the English or Canadian Governments, the emigrant felt that he was cared for, and that friendly hands had been stretched out to aid and succour him. Above all, among a people with whom the family tie is so paramount, the fact that the family was not divided, that husband and wife, and the long procession of older or younger 'Pats and Peters, Marys and Barbaras, with Festy and "the couple," were allowed to go together, gave to the 'free migration' (as it is called) a wholly different character.

It is also important to state that the emigrants selected have won from both friends and opponents in the United States a very favourable notice.

Bishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minnesota, to whom the Committee are under deep obligation for his friendly co-operation, writing to me in May 1884, says:—

The emigrants sent out by your Committee this spring are of a superior class, and must be looked upon as a benefit to the community among which they may cast their lot.

The following extracts from the Boston papers are also to the point:—

From the 'Boston Herald,' May 10, 1883.

To brand the assisted emigrants from Ireland as paupers is an outrage. No doubt they are very poor, but, so far from being paupers, it is a distinctive quality of these West-country peasants that they hold pauperism in utter abhorrence. As a class, they prefer the utmost extremity of destitution, and even the grave itself, to the contamination of the poor house. They are sturdy and willing workers, the women as well as the men, the young as soon as, and the old as long as, they have strength to labour. . . . To call the movement a deportation is a misnomer, for that word conveys the idea of enforced exile.

From the 'Boston Daily Advertiser,' Friday, May 11, 1883.

The much-expected 'emptying of the almshouses of Great Britain upon our shores' does not appear to have begun yet, and neither statute law nor diplomacy has been needed to be applied to assisted immigrants. The steamship 'Phoenician,' of the Allan line, reached its dock at this port yesterday, bringing 821 steerage passengers, of whom 415 had been 'assisted.' This assistance, as was explained in the *Advertiser* of April 24, is provided in Ireland, partly from a benevolent fund known as the 'Tuke Fund,' and partly from the treasury of the British Government. These passengers came principally from the West of Ireland, being taken on board at ports where the agents of this line of steamers have contracted to do so.

The customary strict inspection was made by the State superintendent of alien passengers or his deputy. None were found to be objectionable on the score of being likely to become subjects of public charity, and they appeared to be a physically sound and healthy lot of people, quite up to the average of immigrants coming hither without assistance.

So far as can be ascertained, no person of the five different arrivals of assisted passengers reaching this port since April 3 has become a 'burden to the State,' though all have paid the head-money of half a dollar.

From the 'Boston Globe,' April 9, 1884.

'A better looking lot of assisted emigrants I never saw,' said Mr. Colcord, of the Board of Emigration, as he stood on the deck of the Allan Line steamer 'Grecian' this morning and surveyed the motley groups of men, women, and children which lined the rails and looked out towards the shore. The expected arrivals in this country, which the agents of the Tuke Fund in Ireland had enabled to find their way across the ocean, came into the harbour this morning.

Of the 516 who came over, 336 were assisted by the Tuke Fund; in other words, having made application for a passage to this country, and represented that their financial condition would not permit them to take the voyage at their own expense, and having passed the inspection of the agents of the Fund, who were bound to ascertain that they were self-supporting and worthy before they recommended them for aid; . . . but the squalor, the misery, the wretchedness which too often have been noticeable were conspicuously absent from the passengers by the 'Grecian.' The Tuke agents had not only looked out well for their comfort and appearance, but the people were far more intelligent and able-bodied than is usual in such cases. Cars from the Fitchburg Depot were backed down to the wharf, and tickets having been obtained at the agent's office, the majority of the immigrants were steamed away immediately to their several destinations.

So much for the evidence on this head as to those sent to the United States. Not less to the point is that from Mr. Stafford, the able emigration agent for the Canadian Government at Quebec, who on the arrival of the fourth of our shipments, writes:—

The emigrants are remarkably well-behaved. You have made really good selections, and the health, appearance, and good conduct of the people were all that could be desired. Labour is in good demand, and I have no doubt all your people are at work.

Still continuing 'cause 2' of the reputed failure, I will take up the further statement of Lord Brabazon that the emigrants were sent out 'without finding them employment, or the means of subsistence on their arrival,' and the still stronger statement on p. 773, that the emigrants from Ireland 'were simply pitchforked on to the shores of Canada and the United States, and allowed to look after themselves as best they could.'

In not one solitary instance does such an assertion represent what occurred. No individual, still less no family, was assisted without being consigned to the care of some one. In the great majority of cases it was to their own friends in the United States that the emigrants were sent, and in selecting them it was made an absolute condition, whether by the Government or our Committee, that letters from their

friends should be produced by all who wished to go to the United States, the friends being generally an uncle or brother, or other near relative, whose assistance and readiness to help, and assurance that work was to be found, were evidenced by recent letters (the envelopes enclosing them being also produced). If all the circumstances of the case were found to be satisfactory, the emigrant was allowed to proceed, the fare being paid to the very town where the 'friends' were living. In a few instances, emigrants were sent direct to employers of labour, with whom the Committee had been in correspondence. A considerable number were sent to the care of priests, or private gentlemen, both in Canada and the States, who, having interested themselves in the work, had most generously promised to take charge of a few emigrant families on their arrival, and to find them work, &c.

Thus Bishop Ireland kindly undertook the placing of some thirty families this year; and, in the letter from which a quotation has already been made he says, 'The emigrants sent to different points in Minnesota have all arrived safely, and reports from our clergymen concerning their present condition are most favourable. All able to work have found employment, and are doing well!' (It should be remembered that all our emigrants were Roman Catholics.) Similar assistance was given elsewhere by laymen. In the season of 1883, 700 emigrants sent out by the Committee were placed in this way in Canada, besides a number sent to the States. Referring to this subject in his report dated November 1883, after visiting Canada and the States on behalf of the Committee, Mr. Hodgkin says:—

It would be difficult to speak too highly of the great kindness which has been shown in different parts of Canada by the various private individuals who received the emigrants sent out by the Committee. At Winnipeg a committee was formed by Archbishop Taché and others, who provided the emigrants with house accommodation. At Peterborough, Ontario, the Catholics put up a convenient house for the emigrants, and went security for them for stores and furniture. Similar assistance was given at several other places, and indeed so liberally that there was almost a danger in some places of the emigrants becoming too dependent on this kindness.

It is important to add that all the emigrants received some money as they left the ship or on landing, the amount of which was regulated by the number in family and the distance they had to travel, and were thus not 'without the means of subsistence on their arrival.'

In 1882 and 1883 Catholic priests sailed with large parties to the States for the purpose of caring for them on the journey.

At Boston, where the great majority of the emigrants landed, an agent was appointed by the Irish Government to look after all Government-assisted emigrants. At Chicago Mr. Tuke's Committee had a special agent of their own, while during the greater part of the season of 1884 they have had the valuable services of Mr. R. Miller Christy, who, going out with the largest number of emigrants, travelled

for three months over the continent, meeting other ships at the ports and visiting various places where, from the size of the emigrant parties or otherwise, his presence seemed most useful. In this work he travelled 24,000 miles.

This cannot be called 'pitchforking the emigrants on to the shores of America.'

3. *Acting without the thorough co-operation of the colonial authorities.* Throughout the whole period of the work, from its commencement in 1882 until this year, members of the Committee have been in constant communication with the Canadian Office in London. The High Commissioner has had notice of all emigrants that were sent to Canada; has passed them, has given assurance of sufficient demand for their labour in Canada; and in order that they might not arrive on the other side unexpectedly, their departure has from time to time been reported to Ottawa, and often by cable. We have, in fact, had the thorough and hearty co-operation of the High Commissioner and Mr. Colmer in London.

But that is not all. In the autumn of 1882, and again in 1883 and 1884, deputations on behalf of the Committee were sent to Canada and the United States with the double object of inquiring into the welfare of the emigrants sent out, and of making arrangements with the Canadian Government for the reception and settlement of those who were to follow. Major Gaskell was also sent out by the Irish Government for the express purpose of making similar arrangements.

The proposals of the Committee were laid by their representatives before the Dominion Government at Ottawa, and the matter was gone into fully with Mr. Pope, the Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Lowe, the Secretary of the department, and from them official assurances were received that there was sufficient demand for the labour of all the emigrants we proposed to send, and that the Government would, through their agents, or by the appointment of special agents if necessary, and in other ways, co-operate with the Committee and afford every assistance towards receiving and properly placing the emigrants they might send to Canada. And from the commencement of the work in 1882 the Committee have been in correspondence with Mr. Lowe, who has taken the liveliest interest in their proceedings, and been consulted on all the important steps that have been taken with regard to Canadian emigration. The agents of the Canadian Government (among whom I would specially mention Mr. Stafford, of Quebec) have co-operated with us in the most hearty manner. The Provincial Government of Ontario, acting through Mr. Spence, have also taken up the work of Irish emigration very thoroughly, and have used every endeavour to make it a success.

This does not look like acting 'without the co-operation of the colonial authorities.' Indeed without such co-operation the Committee's work in Canada would have been impossible on any large scale.

4. The fourth and last cause is shortly disposed of when I mention that no colonists were sent out to take possession of virgin land at all. The reasons for this have been already adverted to when commenting on colonisation *versus* emigration. It may be added that, owing to the very limited amount of the Government grant, had colonisation been attempted it would not have been possible to have assisted more than a quarter of the number who were actually sent. In short it was deemed by the Committee of the 'Tuke Fund,' and presumably by the Irish Government, that for the great majority of the assisted emigrants it was better that they should commence life in the New World as labourers rather than colonists, and thus at once earn daily wages, from which condition those of them who possessed the will and energy could in time rise as hundreds have previously done to the position of *settlers on land*.

No doubt the *ideal* of emigration is colonisation, and would be to place suitable emigrant families at once upon virgin land, and in that case the various arrangements specified by Lord Brabazon would probably be indispensable. At any rate, on the present occasion the attempt was not made either by the Irish Government or by the Committee. Thus cause 4 falls to the ground.

I most cordially agree with Lord Brabazon that if any large scheme of Government emigration should again be attempted from any part of the United Kingdom, the promoters of it will be able to profit by the experience of the last three years' work. But it is important to bear in mind that Lord Brabazon has wholly misconceived the lines upon which the work has been conducted. And as his so-called 'four causes of failure' have, as far as our Committee is concerned (I venture with all deference to assert), been shown never to have existed, it is not surprising that the work itself, instead of being 'the conspicuous failure' which he describes, is in the opinion of those best qualified to judge of it an undoubted success.

In evidence of this success, I may insert the following letter received from Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada:—

Office of the High Commissioner for Canada,
9 Victoria Chambers, London, S.W.: December 15, 1884.

My dear Mr. Tuke,—I have read with much interest Lord Brabazon's article on 'State-directed Emigration,' but think it due to you and those associated with you in the good work in which you were engaged, to record my dissent from the opinion expressed by his Lordship, that the efforts of the Government to carry out a system of State-aided emigration 'have been very far from successful.' Considering the very small sum per head contributed by the Government, and the very small percentage of cases in which any difficulty arose, I think Lord Brabazon might have found the strongest evidence in support of State-aided emigration from the admirable results that attended the philanthropic efforts of the gentlemen associated with yourself, and the limited assistance given by the Government to transfer thousands unable to obtain remunerative employment in Ireland to Canada, where

they are now living in comfort. His Lordship is mistaken in supposing that the 'emigrants from Ireland were simply pitchforked on to the shores of Canada, and allowed to look after themselves as best they could.' In the great majority of cases care was taken to send out suitable persons (i.e. those able and willing to work), and the agents of the Canadian Government, being duly notified, received them on their arrival, and provided them with employment, and you have the satisfaction of knowing that thousands who would, but for your efforts, now be pining with hunger, are comfortable. We are all agreed that the idle and dissolute must be a burden to the rest of the community wherever they are found, but the experience of the past warrants the belief that all who are able and willing to work will find in Canada a field for successful exertion, that will speedily render them a source of national wealth and a strength to the Empire to which they belong. With many thanks for all you have done in this important work, and congratulating you upon the marked success which has attended your efforts, I remain

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The following extract from a letter from Mr. Lowe, Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, dated March 1884, is also to the point:—

You may rely on the full co-operation of this department. We will do everything we can to assist you within our rules and regulations, giving you the most favourable facilities that are afforded for any emigrants.

I am perfectly satisfied that those emigrants which you sent out have become useful members of the community, and are in a position to do well for themselves, and to be an advantage to the country.

It is not possible within the limits of this article to give details of the success of the emigrants as reported by the various representatives of the Committee, who have, in each of the three years of our work, visited Canada and the States, but I think the evidence afforded by the emigrants themselves is so important a testimony in disproving the assertions of the non-success of the work of Irish State-aided emigration, that it cannot be dispensed with. This evidence is twofold: first, the letters of the emigrants who have left, and, second, the large amount of money sent home by many of them to their friends.

Out of several hundred of such letters which have been placed in the hands of the Committee it would certainly be within the mark to state that not five per cent. of the writers make any complaint or express dissatisfaction with their position. I do not think it possible to read these letters without emotion; the touches of family affection—showing itself not merely in the warmth of expression, but practically by the large amount of money sent and the apologies for the "dhry" letters—the earnest desire that friends and relations should leave the poverty by which they are surrounded and join their friends in their bettered condition, with the promise of a "good house" for parents or others, all tell the same story of the content and general well-doing of the writers. That out of nearly 10,000 persons who have been assisted by the Committee a few families should not have succeeded as well as others cannot be won-

dered at; what may well be matter for surprise is that so very few of these can be found. It is the strongest proof that can be given that the people are both able and willing to work when good wages are offered, and at the same time of the abundance of employment.

Very careful inquiries have led me to the conclusion that the amount remitted by our emigrants during 1882 and 1883 cannot be less than 4,000*l.*, and may be 5,000*l.* In one district alone it is estimated that not less than 2,500*l.* has been received during the two years. The amounts thus received vary from small sums under 5*l.* to 10*l.*, 15*l.*, 20*l.*, 30*l.*, and in one case of 40*l.* These facts are the more remarkable seeing that the bulk of our emigrants have taken their families with them and naturally require their earnings abroad.

In closing this paper I hope it may not be out of place if I quote the following sentences from my memorandum attached to the last Report of our Committee, in summing up the results of the *experience* gained in our work :—¹

‘Has this experience confirmed the conviction formed in 1881 and 1882 of the necessity as well as possibility of a carefully arranged plan of assisted family emigration, which should benefit alike the people assisted and the districts from which the emigrants were taken?’

‘To this my answer is, that whilst the experience thus gained has abundantly proved the imperative necessity for the most careful selection and minute attention to an infinite variety of details, both in Ireland and America, it has equally shown that, given these proper precautions, family emigration is both possible and beneficial alike to those who leave and those who remain.’²

J. H. TUKE.

Hitchin, Herts.

¹ See *Third Report of the Committee of ‘Mr. Tuke’s Fund.’*

² For full information as to the benefit conferred upon the districts by the consolidation of the holdings left by the emigrants see evidence of Mr. S. C. Buxton, M.P., and others in the *Reports of the Committee for 1883–4*, National Press Agency, 13 Whitefriars Street, E.C., July, 1884.

WILL RUSSIA CONQUER INDIA?

(CONCLUDED.)

IV.

I HAVE enumerated, if not all, yet the most momentous of those superior advantages possessed by Russia on the battle-field of future rivalry in Asia, and in doing so have adduced proofs of her capability in that direction. We will now look at the main obstacles which may obstruct her future plans against India, and inquire how far England, a rival no less powerful in the rule over the old mother continent, may be able or willing to defeat the Russian designs. It is needless to emphasise the fact that the British neither will, nor can they, too lightly surrender the wonderful structure of their power in India. There are no doubt many in modern English society, who in the hard daily struggles for subsistence are not apt to grow enthusiastic over the interests of an imperial policy, and are much more concerned about the fate of the workman, the merchant, and the tradesman in their island home than about that of barbarous or semi-barbarous Asiatics, Africans, &c. I have been the recipient of numerous letters from the camp of these people in which my efforts to increase English influence in Asia were treated as a superfluous work of love, and in which they demonstrated to me that the motto of 'Perish India' is not the exclusive property of fanatic partisans, but has spread amongst the people.

These views, however, are confined only to that fraction of the English people who are infected by socialistic tendencies, and are not countenanced by the preponderating aristocratic and conservative bulk of the thoughtful in the nation. Considerable enthusiasm is still prevailing among the latter for England's status as a great power, and these would be unwilling to see a break in the girdle of possessions with which Britain has encompassed the earth, or to allow that after all the sun should set in the empire of the Queen. The Indian Empire is decidedly the most precious gem in the English crown, and it may therefore be assumed as certain that the English will be ready to sacrifice life and treasure for the retention of this jewel, and that but few Englishmen will be

found who would contemplate with feelings of indifference the loss of India.

The existence of a disposition on the part of the English to maintain the possession of the vast empire and to defend it most strenuously against all external attacks cannot therefore be denied; and this is to be regretted all the more, as the relation between the wish and the ability does not prove as favourable in this case as in the case of Russia, and as England's future situation as a power in regard to her possessions in the Indian Empire presents itself as a problematic one.

If we now contrast the chances of Great Britain with those advantages of Russia I have spoken of before, we shall find, *in the first place*, that England cannot boast of the power of assimilation for which I have given credit to Russia, and which has benefited her so often. The Englishman mixes with foreign nations, but does not blend with them. The cold temperament which he brings with him from his damp and foggy insular home does not warm under the sunny and serene sky of Bengal. No wonder, therefore, if, after a reign of over one hundred years, the gulf between the rulers and the ruled continues nearly undiminished to this day. There where the extreme points of the two cultured worlds meet, it is impossible that this should be otherwise. India represents the prototype of the Asiatic cosmology with all its tremendous faults and shortcomings, whilst England, on the contrary, represents the embodiment of the modern view of the world, with its never-ceasing activity and its insatiable appetite for greatness, knowledge, and power. The representatives of the two cultures are opposed to each other not only in complexion, features, habits of life, customs and manners, but also in the slightest matters. The contrast begins at the cradle and ends at the grave, and theoretical views entertained concerning the community of the Aryan races will be of no effect whatever in smoothing over these distinctions. Those therefore who draw a most gloomy picture of the so-called social danger in India, who tell us that the Englishman looks down upon the native of India with contempt and disdain, that he will not travel with him in the same railway carriage and anxiously avoids every closer contact with him, undoubtedly administer to their countrymen a well-merited lesson from a utilitarian point of view; but they forget at the same time how hard it is to ask a Briton, reared in Western culture in an English school, to become socially intimate with a Moslem or a Vishnu worshipper brought up in the superstitions of bygone ages. Formerly, in the days of the Anglo-Indian Company, there may have been exceptions to this state of things, but it is difficult to imagine between Hindustanees and Englishmen close relations, such as may be observed to be existing between Russians and Tartars and other Asiatics, just as it is difficult to imagine them in the case of Dutchmen and Malays, or Frenchmen and Algerians. We are not going to inquire

at present whether these barriers will wear away in time ; suffice it to say that they exist, and that too to the no slight detriment of the British. One of their bad effects is the exceedingly small number of Englishmen permanently settled in India, compared with the number of Russians who have settled amongst the Tartars, Caucasians, Mongolians, &c. The Anglo-European element in India is chiefly confined to the civil and military authorities, missionaries, and merchants, who all of them after a certain number of years prefer going back to their native country, whilst the number of Russian colonists in Central Asia, voluntary or on compulsion, has risen since the conquest, within the last twenty years, to several thousands. The British have proved themselves to be excellent colonisers in America and Australia, but in Asia the Russians alone have proved themselves such, and the adroitly inserted wedge of Russo-ethnical elements must be ascribed to the power of expansion in which the English in India are wanting.

To the *second* advantage of Russia, viz. her autocratico-despotic form of government, must be opposed the strictly parliamentary and thoroughly liberal government of the British—a form of government which, particularly in questions of imperial policy, causes considerable delay and not seldom injury. We have seen, in but recent times, how for instance the Conservatives in pursuit of certain aims had sacrificed millions of pounds and thousands of lives, aims that were afterwards entirely repudiated by the opposing Liberal party. Similar things happen also in the internal administration of the colonies. The Conservatives wish to proceed carefully and slowly in the work of progress, whilst the Liberals, from falsely understood motives of humanity, give preference to the run or even to double-quick time, as we had occasion to see in the case of the Ilbert Bill, the Act relating to the native press, &c. As yet Conservatives and Liberals are of one mind as to maintaining possession of the great Indian colony, but the divergency of the incessant experiments cannot fail to produce a bad effect on the natives, who positively feel the unsteady pressure of the arm over them ; and such an uncertainty is certainly not calculated to strengthen and increase the fear and respect of the Asiatics, sentiments which are the first conditions for the prospering of the work of civilisation. We deem also the premature employment, as it often happens, of liberal measures to be of great injury to the internal administration of India ; for by the Asiatic, *pur sang*, this is interpreted as a sign of weakness. Liberal institutions are undoubtedly the ornaments of every administration, they are the noblest gifts of the rulers, but the ruled must be prepared for them in order to know how to value them, and this is not the case with the Hindustanees at the present day.

England, in the *third place*, has not at her disposal those means of defence which Russia, a military State *par excellence*, can command in

aid of her plans in Asia. The acknowledged superiority of the English navy would be of problematical value in case of an attempt against India, as we had abundantly⁶ occasion to see during the Crimean war. The repugnance of the English people to compulsory military service is certainly very laudable from the standpoint of humanity and the true interests of modern culture. The transformation of a country into barracks, and the pleasure which other European nations take in wearing uniform and arms, are things which for a long time yet will rouse the aversion of the British people, educated in the spirit of liberty ; but it is a painful and no less sad and incontrovertible fact that imperial power in Asia is, for some time yet to come, inseparable from the attributes belonging to the great States of the Middle Ages. Submission of vexed questions to arbitration may very well serve the purpose with states of equal culture and ethnic affinity like England and America, but as to England and Russia, especially in matters of rivalry in Asia, this method will for some time yet prove impracticable. A great imperial policy in the Orient requires a large army, and without it England will cut a most pitiful figure in her struggle with Russia.

In the fourth place, as to her means of communication, Great Britain is in an unfavourable position again when these are compared with the arteries of communication connecting the Russian mother country with its Asiatic possessions. Whilst Russia is able to advance from the centre of her empire and her military dépôts, moving through a continuous chain of Russian colonies as far as Herat, and to reach in six or eight days, as we have shown before, the remotest outpost in the East, India is separated from the English mother country by long sea-roads, and, in the most favourable case, three or four weeks would have to pass before military succour could be thrown into the menaced frontiers of her colonies. Even if India were to offer facilities for as reliable a military dépôt as that of the Caucasus, the transport of an army from the Indus and the Ganges to the north-east of Afghanistan would require more time than the sending of an army corps from Tiflis, Odessa, or the Lower Volga. Now it so happens that India—and upon this we will enlarge hereafter—is anything but a safe point of support for England in moments of danger ; and whilst the Russian outposts in their present position are but 144 miles distant from Herat, the English have to traverse a distance of 512 miles between the northernmost frontier of India and Herat. Not referring, therefore, now to the perfidiousness of the element by which England is keeping up her connection with India, we are constrained to advert to the no less treacherous character of the relations subsisting between her and the entirely or half subjugated populations of Hindustan—relations which augur no favourable auspices in times of need ; and, to whatever extent the superiority of the English soldier over the Russian must be admitted, the danger resulting from distance should not be lost sight of. We cannot help

placing but a doubtful value on the measures taken by Great Britain for the protection and increased speed of her communication. The positions at Aden, Malta, and Cyprus are certainly well selected for posts of protection, but do not serve the purpose of promoting speed during the long sea-voyages. The same thing may be said concerning Egypt, where England has been inaugurating a most fatal policy and conjured up endless complications without being able to advance thereby her object of gaining a nearer access to India; whereas Russia may succeed in doing so merely by the laying down of a few thousands of iron rails.

As to what might be opposed, *in the fifth place*, on the part of England to the powerful advantage of Russian prestige, this is, thanks to the great mistakes of English policy during the last decades, of so pitiable and insignificant a nature as not to deserve any mention. At the end of the last and the beginning of this century, when the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula were fairly stunned by the grand victories of the English, the appearance of a red-coat was sufficient to blanch the cheeks of thousands of natives. The bold structure of the British power in India had risen with almost the rapidity of lightning, and spread terror and awe into the remotest quarters; but these feelings lasted only as long as the work of conquest was kept up and the thunder of victorious battles was echoed by the offshoots of the Himalaya and Suleiman mountains. After the fall of the lion of the Punjab and the end of the Mahratta war, this authority began to decline. A conqueror in Asia must know no rest, for rest or stopping on the road of high conquests will certainly be interpreted as weakness and a mark of decay. To this was added the unhappy issue of two Afghan campaigns, during which England committed the unheard-of mistake of voluntarily surrendering advantages dearly bought, and thereby appearing in the eyes of the Central Asiatics as a State that was not able to obtain a firm foothold amongst the Afghans, and did not dare to remain in the midst of a people against whom they had often made war, but whom they had never been able to vanquish. The voluntary surrender of Kabul and Kandahar was looked upon in Persia, in the Kirghis steppe, and far in Eastern Turkestan as a flight on the part of the English, and great was the exultation of the true believers when they heard of this victory of the Afghan lion over the unbelieving masters of India. These various comments grow more unfavourable as they pass into the bazaars and the native press, which is exercising considerable influence, and I have met with more than one statement to the effect that the British lion has lost his mane, and has become a tame animal. In order to give the reader an idea of the way in which England is judged to-day by the western Mohammedan world, I will give, by way of illustration, an extract from an article which appeared in a Persian journal, *Akhtar* (9th annual series, page 105):—

During the last thirty years a great deal has been said and written by a large portion of the English press and the influential statesmen about the growing hostility between Great Britain and Russia. But as yet they have done nothing, and the Russians know very well that, apart from these threats, empty outcries, and unsuccessful protests, they have nothing to fear from the English. The Russians, therefore, have not heeded in the least this flood of empty words, and have proceeded undisturbed and unchecked in the carrying out of their plans. The English have everywhere and always pursued their own interests of state, and in our opinion the Russians are much more justified in the pursuit of similar objects if we consider their close proximity to the Mohammedan countries in question. Besides, Russia possesses greater power and authority than England; she has a better right to undertake conquests, because she shows a greater respect for the laws and rights of the natives than England, who, as we have seen, is meddling in the most shameless manner with the affairs of India, Aden, Cyprus, Afghanistan, Egypt, Zanzibar, and Beloojistan.

This antipathy of the Mohammedans against England, which has sprung up in our days, is no doubt well known to the statesmen on the Thames and the Hooghli; but they would err if they underrated it, for, admitting that the Asiatic is, above all, impressed with material power, it would be a grave mistake to underrate the influence of prestige on the mind, and not to perceive that Russia, under the ægis of this authority, has already achieved many victories over her rival, and will achieve many more in the future.

V.

Having in the preceding pages, as far as the limits of this essay would admit of, carefully weighed and examined the advantages and disadvantages under which the two contending States in Central Asia are respectively labouring, and demonstrated that the favourable relation between intention and power is, in the case of Russia, of considerable assistance in her plans against India, we will now take up the question as to the means required to enable England to repel and even to put a final end to the formidable attacks aimed at her vital interests of state by the northern rival. In considering this matter we must look solely to England's *present* situation in India, and, steadily keeping before our eyes the results of her policy so far, ask ourselves the pregnant question whether during her rule of nearly a century, attended by the never-ceasing work of civilisation, she has so far succeeded in securing the sympathies of the 250 millions of foreign subjects under her sway as to be justified in expecting that, at a critical moment, these subjects would not countenance a change of masters, and that they would look upon England's enemy as the enemy of India, and make common cause with her against any external attack.

The answer to this question is the pivot-point upon which the chances of the great rival contest between the two European

colossi in Asia are turning; for England, even under strategically most auspicious circumstances, would be hardly equal to the task of defending her gigantic empire against external attacks, if its inhabitants, averse to her sceptre, were to entertain at the same time, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, a secret longing for a new master. This question has been inquired into and discussed numberless times, in every imaginable aspect, within the last twenty years, nay, during the whole of this century; and if, in spite of the considerable literature which has sprung up in connection with it, I venture to say a word or two on the subject, I do so for the sole reason that, owing to the neutral stand-point I occupy, and my experience, both practical and theoretic, amongst Asiatics, extending over a score of years, I consider myself qualified to treat it with the fullest objectivity. I repeat with some emphasis 'amongst Asiatics,' for it is in India that we find the richest fountain of Asiatic views of life, and hence have emanated all those peculiarities, prejudices, and superstitions with which we constantly meet, in the shape of the most irreconcilable contrast with our own views of life, among the Turks, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, Afghans, &c., and which have occasioned us such great difficulties in our efforts to diffuse the light of modern culture in the East. In India, where these contrasts make themselves oftenest conspicuous, the work of transformation and modernisation has involved the greatest imaginable struggle; and we may thank the tenaciousness of, and the degree of high culture incident to, British civilisation alone, that any breaches have been effected in those ancient ramparts of Asiatic effete-ness, and where the extreme points of the two civilisations, so diametrically opposed to each other, have come in contact, that there, in some places, the ideas of the nineteenth century have already begun to force their way. Upon a closer examination of the gigantic work of the British civilisers we find that of the two chief elements in India, the Brahminic and the Moslem, the former offers less resistance and proves much more amenable to civilising influences than the Mohammedan. In spite of the merciless rigour of the system of castes and the ritualistic laws, according to which no Vishnu-worshipper is permitted to come in direct contact with a Christian, or even to allow the shadow of one to fall upon him, the number of Hindustanees of Brahminic faith educated in English schools and employed in the British service by far exceeds the number of Moslem Hindoos similarly educated and employed. It would be unjust to ascribe this ratio to the preponderating majority of the Brahminic population, for the same ratio is maintained in those districts even where the Vishnu-worshippers happen to be in a minority. The non-Mohammedan Hindoo represents, no doubt, the primeval type of the Asiatic cast of mind, but the oppression he has been subjected to for over a thousand years has rendered him more manageable and docile; he submits with better grace to the dictates of the foreign ruler

than his Mohammedan countryman; and if the latter has been lately complaining that he is excluded from his share in the State offices, and is less favoured by the English than his Hindoo neighbour, he may attribute the cause of this to himself. For it was his Moslem fanaticism, coupled with his recollections of the part he had once played as one of the ruling class, which has always impeded, and, to some extent, still renders impossible, the work of assimilation.

An attempt on the part of the English to cloak over or to ignore this marked sullenness exhibited by the Moslem element would be criminal, and would terribly revenge itself in time. Let us own it frankly, Islam has manifested this feature in its struggle with Occidental culture in three continents alike throughout the whole length and breadth of its extent. Material decline may have made it susceptible to temporary impressions, but these impressions very soon glide off its body. It is, and remains, the old and incorrigible representative of Asiatic fanaticism, which will enter into no compromises with the modern march of the world, and will rather hasten towards sure and irretrievable ruin than yield to those ideas which the world of the unbelieving, the enemies of the Prophet, are proclaiming and propagating. I am by no means exaggerating if I assert that in the coalition of his fanatic brethren in faith the Mohammedan of India stands foremost, and that the most stubborn opposition to the teachings of our civilisation will come from him. In doing so I am not guided quite by the views contained in a work of Mr. W. W. Hunter's, entitled *Our Indian Mussulmans*, and published many years ago, nor do I aim at that hotbed of Vahabism in Patna, or the zealotism of the Indian Mulvis, but I am speaking from my own personal experience, recalling my intimate intercourse with Indian Mohammedans of rank and position in many lands of the Islam world, and especially calling to my mind the troops of half-naked savage-looking and raving dervishes, all of them Indians by birth, who are wildly rushing through the countries of Islam, and appear to their fellow-believers of a foreign tongue like some dread beings engendered by intense religious mania. I have observed the same feature in princes and ex-princes, dressed after the European fashion and speaking English fluently, who are living on the rich fee obtained for their crowns in pomp and high state on the Thames, and are overwhelmed with marks of distinction by the Queen and the aristocracy of the land, and who, although they make at times concessions to European usages, are nevertheless inspired by the wildest and most intense hatred of everything that is Christian.

If, with a mind free from bias, we search for the causes of this bitter hostility, we are unable to discover anything else but that animosity which always exists between the ruled and the foreign rulers of a country, particularly if they happen to be separated by the wide gulf of differences in religion, fundamental differences

in morals, manners, and views of life, and more especially if Mohammedans and Christians are the opposing parties. It would be hardly possible to find any other important cause to account for this unreasoning enmity—certainly not in the circumstances of the Rajahs of to-day, when compared with the situation of their predecessors under their own native princes, and which not to perceive would be like simulating blindness.

Law, order, and perfect security have taken the place of Asiatic absolutism and tyranny and insecurity of life and property which formerly prevailed. Revolting and inhuman superstitions are done away with, a gigantic railway net is spanning the whole land; where formerly elemental casualties and distressing famine used to decimate the inhabitants, the Government now extends the ready hand of speedy and energetic relief. Charitable institutions and the increase of schools combine to help and enlighten the masses, and Moslem scholarship even is more encouraged and assisted by Christian gentlemen now than it was formerly by Mohammedan princes standing in the odour of sanctity. As the best illustration of the last statement it may be mentioned that when Renan attacked the exaggerated views which prevailed in erudite European circles on ancient Moslem scholarship, this attack was resented by no Moslem from the politically independent regions of Islam, but a Mollah from the Punjab who took it as an insult to the honour of his nation and religion gallantly came to the rescue, and ventilated his indignation in a sharp rejoinder sent to the French scholar on the Seine. This is the result of English schooling, English liberalism of thought, and the English institution of the press; for whilst in Turkey, Arabia, &c. there are altogether at the most from twenty to thirty newspapers, and about one in ten thousand Moslems is a newspaper reader, the number of newspapers circulating among the Mohammedans of India amounts to several hundred.

Only he who has been watching for years the laborious birth of European culture and European enlightenment on the Bosphorus and at the foot of the Demavend, and has experienced how exceedingly small the number of Effendis and Mirzas is who can give any account of our literatures and sciences, can thoroughly appreciate the cheering fact of the large number of Babus, sons of Rajahs, Mulvis, &c. existing in India, who, educated in the colleges of the land, have gathered rich information in our literatures, both ancient and modern, and in the various branches of our modern knowledge, and who, indeed, but for their complexions and dress, might be easily taken for Europeans.

And all this in vain and to no purpose. The cornucopia of rich cultural blessings scattered by the foreign ruler over the primitive Asiatic land remains unheeded, and is even made light of. You hear everywhere the disadvantages of the English *régime*, and the un-

blushing cupidity of English officials and merchants spoken of; and strange enough, in this chorus of abuses and sneers directed against the English administration, Englishmen themselves are foremost and loudest. It is a curious characteristic of the sons of Albion that in their fondness for fighting and quarrelling they show a decided preference for tearing each other to pieces; and the worst feature in this unnatural and irrational proceeding will ever be, that by their cruel and unfounded criticisms they inflict incalculable harm upon India, which is already sufficiently undermined by internal machinations.

It is out of place here, nor do we feel equal to the task of controverting the long list of those charges or noticing these Jeremiads, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to only a few, and, in this connection, first of all ask the question whether the so-called evil of taxation, making the annual tax amount, in some parts of the country, to about five shillings *per capita*, is really imposing such an exorbitant burden, when we consider the enormous outlay required by the costs of administration, communication, and the creation of modern institutions, and when we see that in the vassal state of Bhopal the annual tax *per capita* amounts to eight shillings. Was the system of pillage to which the former Rajahs resorted less of a burden than the taxation of to-day, or were its methods gentler, and was there less of pauperism then than there is now? We readily admit that native industry has been crippled by the importation of European articles, and that, owing to the necessity of raising means corresponding with the changed modes of life, the balance in the account of the State household has been disturbed, showing a change for the worse; but are not other societies undergoing the process of transformation, in Asia as well as Europe, weighed down by quite as heavy, if not heavier burdens, and are not expenditures of this kind justified at a period of transition from an old and effete culture to a newer and better one?

It has never entered our mind to range ourselves among the unqualified panegyrists of the English administration in general, but with regard to India we decidedly make an exception, and fully share the favourable views published by non-English travellers in India as to the situation of the natives there—travellers who all of them are full of praise and enthusiasm on this subject.

But why should we try to adduce further proof in confirmation of this sad state of things? The improved situation in India, the blessings of modern culture, the reassertion of human rights will meet with appreciation and thanks, here and there, among the lowest classes of the people; but unfortunately in Asia, even more than in Europe, the great masses are following their chosen leaders, either religious or social, and as it is to these leaders that England has done most harm, they will not be conciliated by concessions of any kind. It will take a long time before people in Asia will be convinced of

the errors of the old order of things, and made to recognise the inhumanity and unnaturalness of the oligarchy; and as England has borne down most severely on this very oligarchy in the Moslem portion of India, and indeed given it the death-blow, one need not wonder if in certain circles, at this early day already, the advantage of Russian supremacy is being talked about. Whenever I have pressed these prominent and cultivated Hindustanees, who were longing for a change from English to Russian rule, for the motives of their northern sympathies, I invariably got the same answer: 'The Russians are more pliant, they are less stiff in their intercourse, their character, their system of government, and their ideas in general are more Asiatic than those of the English; they are much nearer to us, and if fate has decreed a foreign rule over us we are likely to make better arrangements with them than with the English.' We meet at times with similar voices in the native press, especially the Moslem; and although I am not disposed to immediately accept these utterances as the universal expression of public opinion, yet I deem the very existence of such arguments to be of a critical nature, and am therefore far from sharing the confidence prevailing in certain circles of English politicians as regards the feelings of gratitude entertained by these adopted Asiatic children who have been reared with so much trouble and pains and at such an expense.

Leaving out of view the danger last adverted to, there have been complaints latterly in the English press about the excessive military power of the so-called vassal states. These complaints are tolerably well founded, for the 49,050,000 Mohammedans and Hindoos living under the sway of native princes who have an army of 349,835 •men and 4,237 cannon at their disposal will not be likely to be more subservient to English interests, in moments of danger, than the remaining 200,000,000 Asiatics who are the absolute subjects of the English Crown. In this connection the twenty-two Mohammedan vassal states must be especially considered, and among them Hyderabad, Bhopal, and Bhawalpur more particularly, owing to the not inconsiderable political importance they can boast of. The first-named State, with a population of 11,000,000, has 8,000 cavalry, 36,000 infantry, and 725 cannon; the second, with a population of not quite a million, has 2,200 foot-soldiers, 700 cavalry, and 60 cannon; whilst the third, although possessing a population of but half a million, owing to its position as a border state is maintaining even a much larger force. It is true that the soldiers of these Mohammedan vassal states are far behind the English in military training, but such a lack might easily find a compensation in religious fanaticism. A summons from one of those princes to the entire Moslem world in India might be fraught with the utmost danger to England, even without any instigation from abroad, and I am, therefore, altogether at a loss to discover those elements of security which would make the approach of the

northern rival to the Indian frontier a matter of indifference to England; still less do I understand the ostentatious calmness paraded by certain political circles in England with regard to the possibility of such an event. Indeed, parading is the proper word to be used here, for even the greatest optimist and Russophil will admit to himself the appropriateness, in this case, of the comparison, so frequently used, of the dynamite factory and the evil-minded neighbour, and concede the inevitable necessity of establishing a neutral zone between the two rival Powers; and that this is the real feeling in the matter is evident from the various measures initiated by those English politicians themselves who are trusting *à tout prix* to Russian friendship.

VI.

We have already discussed in an exhaustive manner the advantages and disadvantages of the two rival Powers, and pointed out the immediate danger threatening England through the approach of Russia to the Indian frontiers, and in consequence there might be some who, especially considering the favourable position of Russia, would be inclined to indulge in the belief that the last-named Power will really conquer India and give the death-blow to the political greatness of Great Britain. Such a belief is beginning to gradually gain ground, more particularly in circles hostile to England.

Such an inference, however, would be fundamentally false; for, giving due weight to the facts, this conclusion only can be arrived at, that the Russians, notwithstanding their hostile intentions and power and the superior means at their disposal, could as yet only *invade India and organise a military raid into it, but that they are far from being able to effect any permanent conquests there.*

It is with these two possibilities that Great Britain stands face to face to-day. A military inroad of the character of the campaign planned in 1878 could indeed be more easily carried into execution to-day, owing to the Russian position near Herat; it might cause serious embarrassments to the British, and do them incalculable injury, but it could never shake or demolish the structure of English power in India. The triumph of the enemies of Great Britain is premature; Russia's menaces in this respect are a hollow illusion, for neither all the disadvantages of the English situation, nor all the omissions of the English statesmen and all the hostile feelings of the Indian subjects, taken together, can have the power of counteracting the effects of a higher culture, nearly a century old, or destroying the scattered seeds of European civilisation. Russia is, besides, a thorough stranger yet in the south of Asia; it would be difficult for her institutions and culture to take root on the Indus and Ganges, and her appearance there could only be attended by far-reaching and effectual results if

the regions lying between the Volga and Indus were sufficiently russianised and the long chain of contiguous possessions sufficiently prepared for Russian conquests.

This possibility, however, is quite a remote one. Russia was enabled to advance from the middle Volga to Astrakhan, and hence to the Caucasus, only after having gradually and slowly levelled the ground before her, that is, after having spread the net of Russian culture and Russian modes of thinking; the conquest of the Khanates had not become ripe until after a preparation on the Kirghiz steppe extending over more than a hundred years; and in the same way a march from the Yaxartes and the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea across Central Asia, the Turkoman desert, and Afghanistan to India, will require many many decades of careful and indefatigable preparation and of intense transformations in the social and political relations of the inhabitants of the intervening countries. Sudden leaps are unknown to nature, nor can they be found in the progress of culture or in world-wide conquests. The times for building up fabrics of power like those of a Djenghiz, a Timur, and a Nadir are past—fabrics which, by the way, never boasted of great solidity. The part of a great disturber of the world will never be played again, and Indian conquest by Russia can be imagined only then and in this wise, that, preceding it, Russia shall have given the same form, at least, to the Khanates of Bokhara, Khokand, and Khiva, which the old Khanates of Kasan, Astrakhan, and Baktche-Serai are now exhibiting; shall have russianised and absorbed the Kirghiz, Sarts, Tadjiks, and Uzbeks to the same extent as the Bashkirs, Kasans, Tartars, Nogais, and other Ugrian populations are at this day; and finally shall have given the same stability to the northern border of Iran, with its wild romantic inhabitants, which it enjoyed in the times of the Samanides and Ghaznevides.

Now this is by no means the work of a lustrum; it cannot be conjured up as it were by a *deus ex machina*; and seeing that the English have time and leisure enough left to consolidate their power in India during the intervening period and to prepare effectual ~~defence~~ against the designs of their rival, we are constrained to admit that, as yet, the plan of a Russian conquest of India belongs to the land of Utopia, and to add that in this sense we agree with Professor Seeley in his saying that 'the end of our Indian Empire is perhaps almost as much beyond calculation as the beginning of it.'

In doing so I do not mean to say, however, that the English optimists are right, or to approve of their blissful confidence. The present danger of a surprise, of a Timur expedition *à la Skobeleff*, is sufficiently threatening to fully engage the attention of English statesmen. It is of the first importance, above all, to retard any revolutionary movements in order that the work of civilisation inaugurated by

England may go on undisturbed. Whether the nations of India will, in time, grow ripe for self-government through this civilising work, I will not now investigate; but England is certainly bound, from the standpoint of consistency and humanity, to indefatigably persevere in this work, and, regardless of party politics, to make every effort to keep off the disturber of peace from the north-western frontier of her Indian Empire. Too much stress cannot be laid, at this point, on the *periculum in mora*, and it is, as a matter of course, high time that all the experiments that have been made during half a century and more in attempting to discover the right kind of defensive should be dropped, and that that policy which corresponds with the actual state of things should be pursued, a policy the appropriateness of which is now established beyond all doubt.

All parties conceding that the close vicinity of Russia to India is both unadvisable and dangerous, and the system of mountain ranges in the north and north-west being looked upon as the final boundary and rampart, all endeavours should be directed to supplying *this rampart with appropriate outworks*, and to providing the object of defence with the necessary outposts. The extent of the outworks must correspond with the dimensions and extent of the fortification itself, and therefore no reasoning can avail against the fact that Afghanistan, especially the western and northern portion of that country, is the fittest ground where these outworks can be most easily and effectively established. The regulation of the boundary-line between Russia and Afghanistan which is now being carried out is but an illusory enterprise, and will, at best, furnish the former Power with means for secret preparations. In order to insure full success in this direction, there is nothing left for England but to take the advice given by General Sir E. Hamley in his discourse on 'Russia's Approaches to India' delivered by him last May, and erect a fortified triangle, at the same time abandoning all schemes for gaining Afghan sympathies. Dreamers, and such politicians only as do not know the character of the Asiatics, may persuade themselves that rude and fanatic Moslems and Afghans will, forgetful of their former hostility and bloodthirstiness for revenge, enter into an alliance with unbelievers whom they hate from the bottom of their hearts, and co-operate with them for the promotion of a common object.

That is sheer nonsense! The Afghans will never anticipate the future in their politics, and if ever the choice of a foreign ruler is left to them we are taught by the present—and I have directed attention to this before—that they will be sure to give preference to a Russian ruler.

It is possible, but not very probable, that Abdurrahman Khan will prove an exception and pursue a sounder policy; but Afghan princes are not by any means the Afghan people, and threefold or

even fivefold subsidies will not suffice to insure respect to the supreme will of the Sirdars and Khans in this anarchical country, and in the midst of a society founded on robbery and pillage. It would take but one single move across the Oxus on the part of Russia, but one step near the present Afghan governor, to bring about an open rebellion against the ruler at Kabul. In order to avoid the expensive annexation of the whole of Afghanistan, England might leave her present *protégé* in the absolute possession of a suitable territory in the north and west; but the districts bordering on the Oxus and the Russian territory would have to be transformed into vassal states to be used for the purpose of establishing the triangle of fortifications I have previously mentioned.

The triangle would have to be located in Belkh, Herat, and Kandahar: Belkh, which had been throughout all antiquity a considerable fort, and had always proved a protecting wall against Kabul and India; Herat, known since ages as the Gate of India; and, finally, Kandahar, lying on the main road to the south, which has always served as a starting-point for former invasions. We are well aware of the difficulties involved in the maintaining of the communication between these outposts and the Indian Empire for some time to come. The sacrifices exacted by this measure are by no means inconsiderable, but their extent is justified by the imminent danger of a close approach by Russia; and in the same way as the British succeeded, in a comparatively short time, in getting a firm foothold in Quettah, they will also succeed in accomplishing the same thing in Kandahar, and afterwards, as experience has shown, in Herat and Belkh too. Where the question of the consolidation of the Indian possessions and the position of England as a great power in the world is involved, there certainly the sons of Albion neither will nor can be lacking in the necessary energy and in readiness to make sacrifices. Not until England shall have secured her frontiers in this way, will she be able to continue undisturbed the civilising work carried on by her so zealously in the interior of India; and the scattered seeds of a better culture having once taken root, the ideas of Western civilisation having once spread, and the peoples of India having once become thoroughly convinced of the superiority of free England over despotic Russia, the designs of Muscovite cupidity will come to naught of themselves, and India will be secured to England for a long long time.

A. VAMBÉRY.

*PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION:
OBJECTIONS AND ANSWERS.*

THIS article is designed to exhibit, in a summary manner, the principal objections which have been made to Proportional Representation, and especially to the form of it known as the single transferable vote, with the answers to them. Many of the arguments in favour of the system will appear incidentally, but others, which have been often urged, and with which our readers are probably familiar, will find no place here, our scope on the present occasion being strictly defensive. We think ourselves entitled, after all that has been lately written and said on the subject, to assume that the machinery of quotas and transfers needs no fresh explanation.

Objection. 'The principle of parliamentary representation is that we should recognise each constituency as being itself an integer, . . . because the community is in the spirit and sense of the constitution recognised as being in itself an integral quantity.'—*Mr. Gladstone*, on Mr. Hardcastle's Bill of 1870 for repealing the minority clause of 1867.

Answer. What we recognise is generally outside ourselves, and it might be supposed from Mr. Gladstone's language that constituencies came by nature; but now that it is proposed to cut up one community into 3, 4 . . . 9 constituencies, is it the whole or the part that we must recognise as the integer of nature? Whichever we take, if two such contain 6,000 electors each, and in one 4,000 electors are Liberals and 2,000 Conservatives, while in the other 2,900 are Liberals and 3,100 Conservatives, is it constitutional principle which obliges us to put an equal value on their corporate opinions, or only convenience, and a mistaken convenience? The only corporate opinion of which proportional representationists recognise the claim in principle is that of the nation.

Objection. What is wanted in the House of Commons is to have the sense of the majority.

Answer. Precisely, if you mean the majority of the nation; but proportional representation is the only system which comes near being a security for obtaining this. In 1862 the State of Ohio comprised 19 districts of fairly equal population, each returning one member to

the Lower House of Congress, and 225,000 Democratic votes carried 14 of those districts, while nearly 250,000 Republican votes carried only 5. In Switzerland, last October, 170,000 electors gave their party a very strong majority in the National Council, although the opposition, which is in a minority, had 174,000 votes. (*Journal de Genève*, December 12, 1884.) A similar result is very likely to happen in England, where Liberal majorities are more concentrated in particular parts of the country, and in particular parts of the large cities, than Conservative ones. The concentrated majorities will be out-voted on the single-member plan, and you will not get the sense of the majority of the nation.

Objection. But the majorities which have a wider geographical range ought to have a larger proportional representation than the concentrated ones.

Answer. This has been said, but we are not aware that a reason has been given for it. For ourselves, we cannot compare the proper voting weight of Manchester and a deer forest otherwise than by comparing the populations of the two.

Objection. The majority of the nation ought to be represented beyond its numerical proportion, in order to give a sufficient impetus to the legislative machine.

Answer. First, no system based on local majorities secures that the majority of the nation shall be represented beyond its numerical proportion. On the contrary, it would frequently happen that the minority of voters would actually secure a majority of representatives, as in the cases of Ohio and Switzerland, cited above.

Secondly, there will be less fluctuation under a system of proportional representation, because the people who fluctuate will affect only their own quotas, instead of affecting the representation of those also who are staunch, by turning the majorities in a large number of districts. Now a steady pressure is not less potent for progressive legislation, and is more likely to be wisely applied, than an occasional rush. The majorities obtained by large turnovers are in truth too insecure in themselves to afford steady support to a Minister.

Objection. The majority of the nation ought to be represented beyond its numerical proportion, in order to make the executive government strong. For instance, Mr. Bright has said that the United States could not have been carried successfully through the war of secession, if proportional representation had been in force there.

Answer. The two answers to the last objection may be repeated here, *mutatis mutandis* in the second one. And a committee of the United States Senate has asserted that with proportional representation there would have been no secession. 'The leaders of the revolt with much difficulty carried their States with them,' and only succeeded because 'the union men, dispersed, unorganised, unrepresented, without due voice and power, could interpose no effectual resistance to

secession and to civil war.' The violent physic was made necessary by the irrational habits of political life previously maintained.

Objection. The majority of the nation ought to be represented beyond its numerical proportion, in order to avoid the balance of power in the house being held by a third party, with which in that case both the great parties would be tempted to intrigue.

Answer. The first answer to the last objection but one again applies. No system based on local majorities does secure the end desired. Further, the intrigue which is deprecated in the house is almost forced, out of the house, on the managers of elections, by the necessity of obtaining the local majority. Was Parliament never known to ratify promises that were only made in order to catch votes? When this happens, the intrigue, though not less real, may be less apparent, because, in order to catch the votes, it was necessary to simulate the corresponding opinions. If each of two great parties returned its members on its own unsophisticated principles, any subsequent intrigue with a third party would have to be carried on in the face of day, and it may therefore be hoped that it would seldom be carried on at all. Its place might be taken, as too often it now is not, by a union of those parties in opposition to what they both disapproved. When members obtain their seats by coquetting with a third party, the mischief, if not consummated at the general election, is easily carried further in Parliament. When members are elected independently of such manœuvres they will be found disinclined to support them and even resisting them, although promoted by their own party managers, in the House of Commons.

Objection. Under each of the last three objections there often lurks the idea that Parliament ought to be so constituted as to give a big majority, no matter whether on the side of the majority of the nation or not.

Answer. There are no means of so constituting Parliament as to secure that result, even were it desirable. Local majorities operate by mere chance, and that chance may be in favour of the equality of the representation of parties, as easily as in favour of its inequality.

Objection. Political feeling would be deadened for want of local contests.

Answer. What is the present state of feeling in a constituency where one party possesses an undisputed majority? The answer may be found in many county divisions and in some big towns. In such constituencies under proportional representation, the minority will at least be kept alive by the representation they would probably get, and they would without risk try for another quota if they thought they had the chance. In other constituencies, where the balance of parties is doubtful, there would be the same stimulus urging each to strive for the predominance of seats as there is now for striving after the majority. The late Mr. Henley objected to proportional

representation because it would excite feelings and multiply contests.

Objection. Weak and colourless candidates would be returned.

Answer. This has been said, but we are not aware that it has been explained why it should be so. When a local majority must be obtained, it is often necessary to eschew candidates of strong opinions or character, lest they should offend sections without whose support the majority will be missed. But under proportional representation the friends of the strong man, if they are numerous enough to return him, need consult only their own opinions; and if they are not numerous enough so to return him, they cannot be numerous enough to constitute the local majority.

Objection. Mr. Walter, speaking on Mr. Hardcastle's Bill in 1870, said that 'the difference the minority clause made to the third member was that it deprived him of the votes of the more moderate electors of the opposite party, and at the same time placed him more absolutely in the hands of those he more especially represented.' Similarly Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1884, said that 'the minority, secure of one seat, will in the long run insist upon their member being a reliable party man of strong views.'

Answer. This objection may pair off with the preceding one. If, however, the facts are on the side of the present objection, we are unable to see why the electors of strong views should not have their representative of strong views. At any rate, if they get him under the proportional system, he will be their representative, while under the system of local majorities the member of strong views is sometimes the representative only of a small section, the support of which was necessary in order to obtain the majority.

Objection. There would not be the close tie between the electors and their member which results from their having fought side by side with him for the local majority.

Answer. But there would be the closer tie between them which would result from the member being the free choice of those who returned him, and not forced on some of them by the necessity of conciliating others of them.

Objection. The member would be less independent.

Answer. This objection, which is not very consistent with the one preceding it, and might be absolutely paired off with the one that is to follow, falls in with the remark of Mr. Walter's about the minority member's being absolutely in the hands of those whom he especially represents, incidentally quoted just above. The truth is that the member who is the choice of a quota likeminded with himself will walk with the free gait of a man who knows that he has a host at his back, while he is not the less taking his own line. The man who is sent up by a local majority may sometimes have that not

very desirable independence which consists in the power of changing his opinions without losing his seat, but only on condition of looking carefully round, to see that he conciliates as many as he alienates.

Objection. 'In more than one case the minority member has ceased to be in harmony with his party, but practically it is most difficult for a minority to rid itself of its so-called representative.'—Mr. Lefevre, in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1884.

Answer. Mr. Lefevre and Mr. Walter are here hopelessly at variance, and Mr. Lefevre is at variance with himself in his objection already quoted. With deference to the former, though there is often a delicacy about getting rid of any member, we are unable to see why it should be more difficult for a minority or for a quota to do so than for a local majority.

Objection. It is well to require a local majority, because men of local influence make the best members.

Answer. But surely men of local influence will most easily make up their quotas.

Objection. Crotcheteers will be returned, and the representatives of opinions not yet ripe for Parliament even though they may not deserve to be called crotchets.

Answer. This might be so if the whole kingdom were formed into one constituency, but it is proposed to have constituencies returning not more than from three to nine members, with a separate application of the Hare system to each constituency. The opinion which can obtain a member in such a constituency cannot be unripe for Parliament; and, if a crotchet, it will not be best met by affecting to ignore it. Do those who press this objection think that Free Trade is a doctrine not entitled to be represented in the Congress of the United States?

Objection. But the logical development of your principle requires its application to the whole kingdom as one constituency.

Answer. There may be principles leading to that conclusion, but they are not ours. 'What your adversary does not say, but what you try to make him say in order to answer him more easily,' is one of the well-understood meanings of the word 'logic' in controversy.

Objection. 'As religious differences are among the principal motives of combination, it is probable, nay, almost certain, that all the religious sects would specially endeavour to return as many members as possible. . . . Many special industries, sections, or interests would do the same. It is difficult to see where there could be found those who would combine only for national interests. . . . The House of Commons would become a collection of men representing cliques and petty interests, and without any common views as to the general policy of the country.'—Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in the *Contemporary Review*.

Answer. So, then, national politics do not really exist, and the semblance of them which we have is the creation of our electoral system, which, by that confession, is acknowledged to be an artificial one. Would it be so very novel, remembering the Corn Law question as one among many examples, that 'special industries, sections, or interests should endeavour to return as many members as possible?' Or does it follow that people are 'without any common views as to the general policy of the country,' because with such views they combine sectional ones on particular issues? Only mixed views can be represented, because there are only mixed views; and the system of local majorities is as powerless as any other to elicit the non-existent.

Objection. Elections would be more expensive than under the single-member system, because the constituencies would be larger, and large constituencies require long purses. One effect of this would be that it would be more difficult to return working men.

Answer. It costs very little to keep the regular adherents of a party together, and get at them as occasion requires. The great expense of elections lies in the efforts made to get at and influence the uncertain votes which must be secured in order to obtain a majority. It is not only corruption but also the chief part of the legitimate expense of publicity and agitation that is directed to this end. Therefore those candidates who are sure of their quotas might be elected at less cost under proportional representation than under the single-member system. And this would be the case with workingmen candidates, wherever they would have much chance under any system. If, for instance, their friends are strong enough in the east of London to win the victory in a few single-member districts, they could carry their proportion of such candidates at an almost nominal cost in the great constituencies which would be formed in that part under proportional representation, by simply limiting their expenditure to that which might be necessary for combining among themselves.

Objection. With the single transferable vote many electors would give only their first votes for political reasons, and would mark names in the second and lower orders of preference for personal reasons. The single-member system would compel the elector to vote from political preference only.¹

¹ This is an objection on which the *Spectator* relies, and in support of it they said, 'We remember a case in which a Conservative butcher, who had promised a vote to his own party, expressed his sincere regret to the Liberal candidate that he could not give him his vote, for he said seriously, "I have often and often bought your bullocks, and they certainly did cut up beautiful."' Now, the *Spectator* said, that man under the proposed scheme would have been quite sure to promise the Liberal candidate the second place on his list, and by so doing might have helped to return a Liberal when his own political creed was Conservative. It is rather a curious thing that it so happened that those were my bullocks, and I was that Liberal candidate. I was then standing for my county, and that very respectable butcher had two votes; but I am sorry to say I didn't get his second vote.—*Note by Sir John Lubbock.*

Answer. The voting which there would be for personal reasons, in the second and lower orders of preference, may fairly be measured by the similar voting which there now is for second candidates where two members are to be returned. There is not enough of it to amount to a serious evil, even were all voting for personal reasons bad, which is by no means the case. But the objection implies a very low estimate of the power of party drill, and it may therefore be set off against the objection which we shall next consider.

Objection. The single transferable vote could not be worked without inordinate wire-pulling, and this would arise and would operate to such an extent as to destroy the independence of the elector.

Answer. On the contrary, the system proposed would tend greatly to free the elector from the trammels of wire-pullers. No electoral system has been invented which will save a party from the necessity of arranging beforehand what candidate or candidates it will run. Of all possible systems, that which allows the least freedom to the elector is the single-member one, without a second ballot in case an absolute majority is not obtained at the first ballot; for then the elector can vote for only one candidate, though he may have been chosen to conciliate others at his expense, and though he may believe the calculation on which the choice was made to be numerically incorrect.

In the election of from three to nine members by the single transferable vote, each elector will have great influence on the question whether a representative of his particular section shall be placed on the party list, and will have the greater chance of getting him placed on it in proportion as the list will be longer. At the poll, each elector can give his vote in what order of preference among the candidates of his party he pleases, without damaging the party prospects. Therefore the system gives the greatest possible scope to the independence of the elector. It would indeed be strange if inordinate wire-pulling, which experience proves to be the necessary concomitant of single-member seats, should result also under a system which sets the elector free to choose, instead of requiring him to vote for a candidate chosen for him.

Objection. The result of an election by the single transferable vote is greatly a matter of chance, depending on which of the first votes given to a candidate are used for his quota. The second votes on the papers so used, and those on the papers transferred, may be quite different.

Answer. The second votes will in general be given to candidates of the same party with those named first on the same papers. Therefore the chance will not operate as between party and party, but, which is much less important, as between different candidates of the same party.

Moreover, the chance will operate within very narrow limits on

such large numbers as will have to be dealt with. Suppose that A has 10,000 first votes, of which 6,000 are used for his quota. Suppose also that 6,000 of the 10,000 papers have B marked second, and 4,000 C. Then the just rule would be that the quota papers should be taken proportionally, 3,600 A, B, and 2,400 A, C, so as to leave 2,400 with B second and 1,600 with C second. But suppose that the quota papers are taken at random. Then Mr. Parker Smith has shown that it is just even betting that neither B nor C could gain or lose more than 11 votes: more than 3 to 1, that neither B nor C would gain or lose more than 20 votes, and about 2,000 to 1 that neither would gain or lose more than 60 votes.

Objection. Suppose there are no surplus votes to distribute, and one candidate is marked 2 on all the papers of his party. He may be the most popular candidate of his party, and yet will not be elected.

Answer. He may be the most popular candidate of his party, but evidently he is not one whose return his admirers have thought themselves bound to be at any pains to secure. One can only conceive such a case to happen by supposing that, in some constituencies where Mr. Gladstone was not practically a candidate, all the Liberals marked him 2 *honoris causa*, while dividing their first votes accurately among the candidates whom they really desired to return. Then his non-election would exactly meet the intention.

Objection. The quota system unduly favours cliques. Example:—

Liberal votes	.	.	.	.	32,999
Conservative votes	.	.	.	.	26,000
Independent (A) votes	.	.	.	.	5,600
Independent (B) votes	.	.	.	.	5,400
Total	.	.	.	.	69,999

Members to be elected 9; quota 7,000.

The Liberals use 28,000 votes in electing four members, the Conservatives 21,000 in electing three; and there remain: Independent (A) 5,600, Independent (B) 5,400, fourth Conservative 5,000, fifth Liberal 4,999. The two Independents are elected, which is unjust, because, if the two great parties had been allowed to spread their votes equally over their respective candidates, five Liberals and four Conservatives could have been elected with more than 6,000 votes each, which is more than either of the Independents received.

Answer. The example, which was framed by a very able opponent, supposes that both the Independents are utterly outside both the great parties, which could hardly happen. In practice, besides the 5,600 and 5,400 first votes given them respectively, they would be sure to receive many Liberal and Conservative votes in more or less subordinate orders of preference, and would come in with much larger

numbers on the ultimate count than the example attributes to them, perhaps even as undeniable members of the great parties, though irregular ones. But even if the numbers be taken as they are put, we dispute the alleged injustice. Each set of Independents must either get one member or none, and the number of each is much nearer to a ninth part of all the voters than to zero. Why should the Liberals and Conservatives be allowed to spread their votes equally over their respective candidates, thereby leaving 11,000 voters unrepresented, while the quota system leaves only 9,999 unrepresented, and that, too, in a very modified sense? If the true principle is that each vote should have as nearly as practicable an effect equal to that of every other vote, the quota system carries out that principle better than the suggested spreading.

Objection. After all, bye-elections must be decided by simple majority.

Answer. In that respect the proportional system could at least be no worse than the system of local majorities, while being better in other respects. When it is proposed greatly to improve the representation of the people at the commencement of every Parliament, it is no answer to say that the full standard of improvement would not be maintained throughout the duration of the Parliament. But Mr. Parker Smith has pointed out that the great communities might still be divided into districts equal in number to their members, who, after each general election at which they had been returned for the whole community on the proportional system, should choose, in order of seniority, the districts for which in case of vacancies they should be deemed to have sat. Then, each member choosing that district remaining open to him in which his friends were strongest, and the bye-elections taking place in the respective districts by simple majority, a good deal of the improvement would be preserved throughout the duration of the Parliament.

To conclude; the system proposed in the Government Bill will necessitate continual rearrangements of boundaries, will greatly increase the difficulties of the Irish problem, and will fail to secure the main object of representation, namely, that a majority of the electors should secure a majority of representatives in the House of Commons.

JOHN LUBBOCK.
LEONARD COURTNEY.
ALBERT GREY.
J. WESTLAKE.

*LIGHT FROM THE EAST ON THE
COLOUR QUESTION.*

THE study of evolution has conferred a new significance on the question, which had been raised at least as far back as the days of Anaxagoras, whether the colour sense among men has undergone a sensible degree of development in historic times.

Teaching us, as it does, that the heterogeneity of structure on which the discrete transmission of different colours by the retina and its associated nerves to the brain depends is the result of progressive differentiation, and not of sudden endowment, it follows from that study that the colour sense in man must have reached its present state gradually. But the study of evolution does more than this. It shows us that differentiation of function is a more or less continuous process of adaptation to circumstances, to which, however it may from time to time pause or be retarded, no definitive limits can be assigned. It thus creates an *à priori* probability in favour of the conclusion that there is no period in the history of the human race during which the development of the colour sense has been absolutely stationary.

While, however, it justifies these general conclusions, it supplies us with no means of determining the stage at which the colour sense had arrived in any particular period. Not merely what amount of development it has undergone during historic times, but what advance it has made in human times, if that expression is susceptible of any definite meaning, and what during the time of any of our long series of progenitors in the line of descent from a primitive form of life, are questions on which it can throw, at the best, but a dim and uncertain light.

Nor is direct physiological evidence on these questions attainable. For while, on the one hand, the study of histology is of moderate date, on the other hand the retina of the past is a subject regarding which the geological record gives, and can be expected to give, no sign.

Reasonings from analogy, based on a comparison of the state of the colour sense among civilised and uncivilised, educated and uneducated, men at the present day, or among men and the lower animals, and written testimony, for the most part indirect, as to its

state among men in past times, are the only sources from which we can hope to obtain any light on the subject.

With rare exceptions, such written testimony as is of sufficient antiquity to be of any value in the inquiry is incidental in its character; and not only is its interpretation beset by formidable obstacles, but the conclusion to be based on it is unavoidably ambiguous.

A noteworthy contribution to the literature of the question, and one which gave rise at the time to considerable discussion, appeared in an early number of this Review,¹ in the shape of an article on the colour sense from the pen of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

The main object of the writer of that article was to show, from a comparative examination of the light and colour epithets employed by Homer in his poems, that the poet's system of colour, or rather, to quote Mr. Gladstone, his 'system in lieu of colour,' was based, in the main, upon light and its negative, darkness, rather than on colour proper, and that his organ of colour and, by inference, that of the Greeks of his day, was but partially developed, as compared with our own, having, in fact, got no further than the stage at which red and yellow, and possibly deep purple, are definitely distinguished, but not green or blue.

This conclusion Mr. Gladstone based partly on the defectiveness of Homer's colour vocabulary, which, according to his view, includes no epithet for either green or blue, and partly on the vague, and not unfrequently contradictory, manner in which a large number of its terms are employed.

In stating his view, Mr. Gladstone did not go beyond a strong expression of opinion. The whole tone of the article, however, seems to indicate that he felt himself to be rather understating than overstating the force of the evidence brought forward by him.

I remarked just now on the formidable character of the obstacles which stand in the way of a perfectly satisfactory interpretation of evidence such as that furnished by the Homeric poems in a matter of this kind, and of the ambiguity of the conclusions to which the data lead.

Colour being entirely a matter of subjective impression, our only means of ascertaining the precise value of colour epithets, as used by others, is by reference to a common objective standard. In the case of contemporary language, a well-understood convention enables us to determine the meaning of such epithets within narrow, though not always exact, limits. In the case of an ancient language, however, not only is there no such convention, but the appeal to a common objective standard, which can alone supply its place, is impossible. We have to accept, in its stead, a presumably similar standard. Before we can know precisely what it was that a par-

¹ *The Nineteenth Century*, October 1877.

ticular colour epithet, as used, for instance, by Homer, indicated, we must compare together the objects to which he applied that epithet, in the aspects with regard to which he applied it. This we obviously cannot do. We can make the nearest approach to the process in the case of natural objects which still exist, or of natural phenomena which still occur; but in the vast majority of such cases we cannot be absolutely sure that they have undergone no change, and even where there is a strong probability that they have undergone no change, we cannot be certain that our appeal is to the same aspects of those objects as his was.

In the case of artificial objects the difficulty is still greater, for here we are dependent entirely on collateral evidence, often very imperfect, for any knowledge of what their appearance was.

Supposing, however, that, in spite of these difficulties, we have succeeded in arriving at a more or less probable presumption as to what was indicated by each of Homer's colour epithets, it does not necessarily follow that we have made much progress towards a comparison of his colour sense with our own. We have, indeed, obtained valuable information regarding the extent of his colour vocabulary and his classification of colours, but not necessarily anything more.

If, for instance, we have found that he classed together under one name colours which we distinguish by separate names, it does not necessarily follow that the defect of language was due to a corresponding defect of perception. Whatever doubt there may be about the gradual development of the colour sense in man as he advances from rudeness to civilisation, there is none whatever about the gradual development of language under the same circumstances. The application by man of special names to different objects is determined not so much by his power of perceiving the differences between them, as by the necessity he experiences of distinguishing between them in his communications with his fellow-men. It thus comes to pass that language lags far behind perception in discriminating capacity; and it is further certain that the language of poetry in this respect lags behind that of ordinary prose, as the language of ordinary prose does behind technical language.

If, then, on comparing the colour vocabulary of Homer with our own, we find that it is more meagre, and that each of the epithets comprised in it covers a wider range of colour, how are we to make sure that the defect is not one of language rather than of perception?

My purpose in the following pages is to examine the bearing of Indian usage on the question raised; and I think the result will be to show that, so far from the interpretation placed by Mr. Gladstone on the peculiarities of the Homeric colour vocabulary being a necessary one, deficiencies and apparent incongruities of nomenclature either analogous to, or actually identical with, those noticed by him

are quite consistent with the possession of a highly developed sense of colour.

The first group of Homeric colour epithets discussed by Mr. Gladstone is that which comprises *phoinix* and its derivatives, *phoinēis*, *phoinos*, *phoinios*, *phoinikoeis*, *daphoinos*; and he is led by what appear to him inconsistencies in the application of these terms to conclude that they could not have meant red, but vaguely and confusedly some idea of colour based on red, purple, or brown, 'verging into black.' The incongruities consist in the application of one or other of these words alike to blood, the coat of a horse, the back of a serpent, the fur of the jackal, the skin of the lion, cloaks or mantles, and the prows of ships. The same epithet, he remarks, 'sits very ill upon blood and the bay colour of a horse;' and the matter would not be mended 'if we were to render the word chestnut.' Referring to the application of the word *daphoinos* to the back of a serpent, he says, 'Thus we are thrown back at once from the colour red, the near neighbour of light, and from blood associated with it, upon blackness or darkness at the other end of the scale;' and, again, with reference to its use to describe the colour of a lion's skin, he observes that this 'could hardly be either black or red, except upon a signpost.'

To the untravelled Englishman, notwithstanding a similar eccentricity in his own use of the word red to describe the colour of cattle which are no more truly red than the horse mentioned in *Il.* xxiii. 454, this criticism may not improbably seem to suggest the conclusion founded on it by Mr. Gladstone. Persons familiar with Indian usage will, however, attach a different significance to the evidence. Wherever the Hindustāni language is spoken, not only is the common word for red—*lāl*—applied to quite as wide a range of colours as that covered by the Homeric examples cited above, but current usage furnishes precise parallels for the most striking of these examples.

The brown horse, of any shade from bay to chestnut, is for the native of India a red horse. Dogs, cats, and cattle in which brown is the predominant colour, he calls habitually red dogs, red cats, and red cattle; and he applies the same epithet to the fox and the jackal, the tiger and the lion, the goat and the monkey; in short, wherever in animal nature any shade of reddish brown prevails.

One might be disposed, at first, to see in this usage an implicit assumption that these colours are the form taken by redness in mammalia; but such a theory becomes untenable when it is found that the usage obtains equally in respect of inanimate objects. The colour assumed by well-baked pastry, for instance, by roasted coffee, by toasted bread, the native of India calls red, and he has no other term for it; while he describes the change of colour as reddening, not, as we call it, browning. He calls mahogany a red wood, and a

book with a chocolate-coloured binding a red book. It is this same word red, be it remembered, that he employs to describe the colour of arterial blood, of vermillion, of claret. Yet he possesses undoubtedly quite as nice a sense of the differences between these colours as an average Englishman.

The fact is that, although for one or two special kinds of brown he has specific names, such as *badāmī*, almond-coloured, for a light yellowish, and *sandalī*, of the colour of sandal wood, for a light pinkish brown, he has no general word for brown in common use; and, in the absence of any such general word, or of any appropriate special word, the tendency is to describe compound colours by the names of the prismatic colours of whose qualities they most largely partake.

With reference to Homer's application of the word *phoinikoparēos* to the bows of a ship (*Od.* xi. 123, xxiii. 272) Mr. Gladstone says:— 'It is commonly supposed that this means red, and agrees with the word *mittoparēos* (*Il.* ii. 637), which is rendered vermillion. Now whatever this word meant, it seems to have been descriptive not only of the twelve ships of Odusseus, as in this place, but of ships in general; for in *Od.* ix. 125 we are told that *nees mittoparēoi* are not found among the Kuklopes. But, proceeding a step further, we find not only that the favourite phrase of Homer for ships is 'black ships,' but that he has another epithet for the prows much more distinctive than the two compound words already quoted—namely *kuanoprōros*, with bronzed or dark prows, which he uses no less than thirteen times, against twice for each of the other two. Consequently the strongest presumption arises that *phoinikoparēos* and *mittoparēos* mean for him the same thing as *kuanoprōros*. And to set the matter at rest we find that, while all the twelve ships of Odusseus are called *mittoparēoi* in *Il.* ii., we have *kuanoprōros* applied to his ship in *Od.* ix. 432, 539, x. 127, and elsewhere.'

Under ordinary circumstances I should hesitate to set myself against Mr. Gladstone on a question of mere translation of a Homeric epithet. It seems to me, however, that there is an evident oversight here. Had Homer described the twelve ships of Odusseus in one place as *mittoparēoi*, or *phoinikoparēoi*, and, in another place, one of them as *kuanoparēos*, the circumstance would, no doubt, have afforded some ground for the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Gladstone, that the *mitto-* or the *phoiniko-* of the first two compound expressions and the *kuano-* of the last meant for him the same thing. But there can be little doubt that the words *mittoparēos* and *kuanoprōros* apply to different parts of the ship, the former to the sides of the bows, and the latter to the actual prow, or projecting beak. The same ship might very well, in fact, be at one and the same time both *mittoparēos* and *kuanoprōros*, i.e. it might have vermillion cheeks and a bronzed prow. The probability that this is the true solution of the apparent contradiction is, again, supported by Indian practice.

While it is a very usual thing for the large boats plying on Indian rivers to have their bows painted with vermillion, the extremity of the prow is not unfrequently sheathed with copper for the sake of strength. Boats, in short, which are at once *mittoparēoi* and *kuano-prōroi* may be, any day, seen on the Ganges. At the same time, supposing only the bows to have been painted red, as is the case in India, there would be no inconsistency in Homer speaking of the same ships as 'black.'

The next case to which I propose to apply the light of Indian usage is one of even greater importance. This is the case of the adjective *chlōros*. It is of greater importance than the last, because, while the banishment of *phoinix* and its derivatives from the category of true colour epithets would still leave us with one adjective, *eruthros*, to show that Homer possessed a distinct sense of redness, the exclusion of *chlōros* from the list would leave us entirely without evidence that he had a clear idea of greenness.

In the absence of any testimony regarding the application of this word *chlōros*, its derivation from *chlōē*, herbage, would furnish a strong presumption in favour of attaching to it the sense of green. Mr. Gladstone, however, concludes from the applications of *chlōros* and its derivatives in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that it was used by Homer as an epithet of light, rather than of colour, and conveyed the idea of paleness only.

Including its derivatives, *Chlōris*, a name borne by the wife of Neleus, and the adjective *chlōrēs*, applied to the nightingale, the word, he tells us, is used nineteen times in Homer. In ten of the remaining instances it is used metaphorically as an epithet of fear; in two as descriptive of the paleness caused by fear; in two to describe the colour of honey; twice of the olive-wood club of Polyphemus, and once of the fresh twigs used by Eumaios to make a litter for Ulysses.

In the last five cases, Mr. Gladstone argues, 'freshness, and not colour, seems to be the idea;' and the only reason he gives for this conclusion is that, while yellow would suit in some of the cases, and green in others, neither of these colours would suit in all.

As regards *chlōrēs*, while admitting that the balance of argument is in favour of regarding it as applying to the colour of the nightingale, rather than to its habit of loving the green woods, he contends that, thus applied, it conveys no definite idea of colour; and he goes on to quote a description of the colour of the nightingale which tends to show that no single epithet would fairly describe the hue of the entire bird, which is parti-coloured, though it speaks of the head and back as being 'of a plain tawny, dashed with olive,' and 'the throat, breast, and upper part of the belly' as 'of a light, glossy ash colour.'

To take the five instances first disposed of by Mr. Gladstone, though it is quite true that neither green nor yellow will suit them

all, either pale green or pale yellow will. Now, if these two colours belonged to different and remote parts of the solar spectrum, the fact of the word *chlōros* being applied indiscriminately to both of them would afford conclusive evidence that it conveyed no definite idea of colour to the person who so used it. But they are, in fact, adjacent colours in the spectrum and pass into one another by insensible gradations. Under these circumstances surely it is a less violent conclusion to accept the word as applying to that region of the spectrum which extends from the middle of the green to the middle of the yellow than to deny it the sense of colour altogether? Not only is such an interpretation perfectly consistent with the derivation of the word, as giving the varying colours of herbage, from green, under the influence of light and ample moisture, to yellow in the absence of light or moisture; of the young and fresh grass of spring and early summer, and of the old and fading grass of late summer and early autumn; but there is an antecedent probability that the Greeks, in their classification of colours, would be guided more by association with natural objects than by scientific considerations, if indeed scientific considerations are opposed to such a division of the spectrum as here indicated, which is doubtful. It is quite open to question whether our own division of the region of the spectrum concerned is not arbitrary, and it is certain that it would be impossible to draw the line precisely between the yellow and the green.

Mr. Gladstone's argument, in fact, assumes that there is a hard and fast line between green and yellow, and that there is a contradiction between the two ideas, which is far from being absolutely the case even with us, and may very well not have been the case at all with the ancient Greeks.

His view of the case might, at first sight, appear to derive some support from the frequent use of the word *chlōros* as an epithet of fear and as descriptive of the paleness caused by fear, and it seems not improbable that the point of view from which he has regarded the instances just dealt with has been largely affected by the bias of this association.

Now the value of this association as an argument for refusing to the word *chlōros* the sense of colour depends upon the improbability of the Greeks regarding the paleness caused by fear as green or yellow. Have we any right to assume the existence of such an improbability? In spite of the circumstance that our own word green is not uncommonly used in the same connection, an Englishman conversant only with Western modes of thought might unhesitatingly answer the question in the affirmative. The validity of such an assumption is, however, destroyed by the fact that the inhabitants of India, of whatever race, generally describe the paleness caused by fear or illness by the word *zard*, which means, unmistakably, yellow, or by some equivalent word. Indeed they often go still further and

describe the face pale with fear as assuming the colour of turmeric, *haldī*.

Nor is this application* of the word *zard* merely fanciful with them. For that withdrawal of the blood from the surface of the skin which causes paleness in a fair face, produces in the darker complexions of the East a distinctly yellow tinge. The conclusion suggested to me, indeed, by Homer's use of the word *chlōros* to describe the paleness of fear is, not that the word conveyed to his mind no definite idea of colour, but that the Greeks were a darker race in his time than they are now, and that the paleness of fear presented to them much the same aspect as it still presents to the natives of Hindustan.

As tending to corroborate the idea that the Greeks of Homer's time classed together the upper yellow and the lower green of the spectrum under one common name, it may be noted that the word *haldī*—Sansk. *haridra*—turmeric—just referred to is derived from *harit*, the adjective commonly used in Sanskrit to describe the colour of fresh herbage—a fact which shows that the early Aryan settlers in India adopted a similar classification.

There remains the case of the derivative *chlōreïs*, applied by Homer to the nightingale. Mr. Gladstone would probably admit that some doubt still attaches to the question whether this epithet refers to the appearance or to the habits of the bird, and that, such being the case, the evidence furnished by it is necessarily weak. Taking it, however, as referring to the appearance of the nightingale, I think there are still strong grounds for regarding it as an epithet of colour and not merely of light.

No one, it is true, would be likely to describe the colour of the entire bird by the word *chlōros*; but the back and head are dashed with olive, and it would be only in accordance with poetic usage to put the part for the whole. Against this it may, perhaps, be urged that it is the breast rather than the head and back that is the most conspicuous part of the bird, and the breast is of a 'light, glossy ash colour.' Here, again, however, a reference to Eastern usage tells against Mr. Gladstone's theory. For, extraordinary as it may seem, the natives of India very commonly speak of ash colour, when it occurs in the animal kingdom, as green. Thus an iron-grey horse is invariably called by the Hindi- or Urdu-speaking natives of Upper India a *sabz ghora*, or green horse. There is no sort of doubt that the general sense of this word *sabz* is green, while it is equally certain that the natives of India do not actually confound the colour of an iron-grey horse with that of grass. Had Homer applied the word *chlōros* to a horse, the fact would, *primâ facie*, have furnished a much stronger argument against ascribing to it the sense of green than any of those adduced by Mr. Gladstone. Yet the curious circumstance I have just referred to shows that it

would have been absolutely worthless for the purpose. I may add that the word *sabz*, in this case, is used in a literal and not a metaphorical sense. What is the origin of the seeming anomaly, and whether it is susceptible of any physiological explanation, I am unable to say.

Another point in which Indian may be compared with Homeric usage in the matter of colour-nomenclature is the employment of the Hindustāni word *kālā*, black, in the same way as the Greek *melas*, to denote not merely black, but the darker shades of brown and blue.

The use of the word as an epithet of the sea, which the natives of India call *kālā pānī* (black water), is, perhaps, not entirely conclusive, since it is doubtful whether in this case it is not employed metaphorically rather than literally. No such doubt, however, arises when, as is commonly the case, the word is used to denote the colour of dark-blue cloth. Yet it is absolutely certain that those who so use it are none the less capable of discriminating dark-blue from black. So far, then, as Mr. Gladstone's opinion that Homer failed to distinguish blue is based on this use of the word *melas*, it would appear to rest on insufficient evidence.

The fact, insisted on by him, that Homer never speaks of either sea or sky as blue, would, if established, be an important piece of evidence, so far as merely negative testimony in such a matter can be important. But is it so certain, as he thinks, that the epithet *ioeidēs*, applied by the poet three times to the sea, meant the 'brown or dark-green sea, not the blue'? The only reason given for this opinion is that the dark sea, not the bright, is referred to. But surely, admitting this to be the case, the fact tells the other way? Most persons who have seen much of the deep sea will, I think, agree with me that it is in the blue, and not in the green, sea that the darkest colour is to be found.

Is it so certain, again, that the epithet *sidēreos*, which Homer applies to the sky in *Od.* xv. 328, means grey, and not a shade of blue?

By that epithet, no doubt, the poet meant to compare the colour of the sky with that of iron. But is this conclusive against its being intended to convey the sense of blue?

The fact that, in one of its forms, iron assumes a distinctly blue tint is sufficiently familiar, and finds recognition among ourselves in the epithet steel-blue. Does not the circumstance, referred to by Mr. Gladstone, of Homer speaking of iron elsewhere as *ioeis*, violet-coloured, taken in connection with his use of the same epithet for the sea, favour the view that, in applying the term *sidēreos* to the sky, he intended to refer to its blueness?

In connection with this question, it is not without significance that the natives of India, while they have a keen sense of the different shades and varieties of what we call blue, regard the colour

of the sky as something quite distinct from all the rest, and, though they apply the epithet *āsmāni*, sky-coloured, not sky-blue, to what we call sky-blue, they would unhesitatingly deny that the sky was blue in the sense in which indigo is blue. They have, in fact, no generic term corresponding to the English blue, the word *nīl*, which is the most general of all the terms applied by them to colours of the blue class, covering a comparatively very limited area. Thus, while they speak specifically of *nīl*, indigo blue, *ferozī*, turquoise-coloured, *āsmānī*, sky-coloured, *Gangā-latī*, Ganges-water coloured, a very light, greyish-blue, and so on, they have no generic term that includes the whole of these—a condition of things which, though it may indicate defective linguistic development, co-exists with a highly-developed colour sense.

It can hardly be necessary to adduce detailed proofs of the existence of this highly-developed colour sense among the natives of India. Indian coloured textile fabrics and works of art are now so common among us and furnish such conclusive testimony on this head that to him who doubts I need only say '*Circumspice*.'

JAMES W. FURRELL.

DEMOCRACY AND ENGLAND.

SOME recent writers of the highest intelligence, both English and French, have seemed to derive much satisfaction from the enunciation, as of a great truth, that Democracy is a form of government. As such they bring it to the test of its fulfilment of the duties of government, and fix upon it the responsibilities of government for the peace, good order, and protection of society.

But whatever satisfaction there may be in an imaginary summons on democracy to account for its use, and the advantage to be derived from its governmental properties, there is this drawback to the satisfaction, that there is no defendant to appear to the summons, as the world has never seen a purely democratic government.

There is no form of government into which democracy enters not at all, nor any of which it is the sole and entire principle. The most autocratic monarchy needs a council of advice more or less under popular influences; and the most popular commonwealth must have a head, and a capable central executive.

The most absolute despotisms of the East cannot escape some sort of subjection to their subjects. Even the Chinese Emperor is controlled in the exercise of sovereign power by established maxims and a public censorship which set limits to the prerogative. The chief Lama of Thibet is elected by the priests, whose strength in government is the religion of the people. The Sultan is but the nominal representative of a numerous ministry, to whom the enervating habits of despotism have resigned the real sovereignty; and the mufti's privileges depend practically on the limit of popular endurance.

On the other hand, the most republican government in the West has its President, from whose personal ambition the great founders of the United States feared most for the constitution, and anticipated a possible monopoly of the control of public affairs. Fresh in their memory was the personal influence of George the Third, and they imagined in the President a four years' king.

In fact, there may be monarchy without tyranny, and there may be democracy without popular freedom.

In ancient Rome, during the period of monarchy, the government was more really in the hands of the whole free native people, with an elected chief, than it was during the subsequent commonwealth.

Grecian democracy, emerging from monarchy, never became popular to any greater extent than as an aristocracy of privileged citizens, the bulk of the people being slaves.

The mediæval republics of Italy had no more in common with democracy than the Doge of Venice with the American President. Swiss democracies are mixed aristocracies.

The successive experiments in republican forms of government in France have been as central in administration of the country as the preceding monarchy, and central administration is the negation of democracy.

There has, then, been something of democracy in every form of government, and no democracy has realised purely popular power. The wider, indeed, a democracy becomes, the more inevitable the necessity of a concentration of power for all practical purposes in the hands of a few, if, indeed, it falls not under the direction of one master mind. The nearest approach to the democratic idea has been realised in the United States, and there universal suffrage has been reduced to the minutest, and most intricate, organisation.

Aristotle's theory has proved true in history, that the best forms of government are based on mixed principles, no one element of society being preponderant, and the claims of freedom, wealth, and eminence being all represented. The three distinct principles of government—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy—are all coincident in their common object—that of national action and order; and the historical variations of forms have been produced by differences of character in peoples, and of circumstances of countries.

No one of the three principles is ever singly embodied, nor can any one of them be abstractedly considered, in worth, above the others.

It was by the expansive influence of the circumstances of its origin that the American Constitution took so democratic a departure from the aristocratic forms it inherited.

The world's history has continuously exhibited a progressive development in the forms of government as population has advanced in number, power, and extension from its original habitation. Three great areas of the world's habitable surface seem to have been assigned, and suitably circumstanced, for the successive establishment of each of the three main distinctions of government.

The patriarchal form naturally adjusted itself to the wants of the first families resident in Asia. Widening societies bred in Europe the wider government of aristocracy. A multitude of nations invading from the East assumed a distinct and uniform type of government

indigenous to Europe, to which only ancestral traces of oriental institutions kept some relationship. Chieftains grouped their followers into nationalities, and themselves composed the national councils. In England, the constitutional monarch attempting absolute power precipitated further the tendency to widen development of government, and the people assumed the sovereignty of themselves, and carried to the capacious field of America a democratic offshoot from European aristocracy. Each successive form of government remains typical of its own area of origin, and promises to remain there, never to be obliterated, however mixed with other forms. Nor has the course of typical succession ever reverted.

There are, however, two nations which seem, as it were, links between the successive stages:—Russian government bears jointly the characters of Asia and of Europe, and England combines the qualities of European and American freedom. They may each derive a permanent vigour from imbibing life from double sources, and inspiring a perennial present with the spirit of the past and future.

The Scandinavian foundation of Russia was as feudal as despotic, and the nobles still mitigate the absolutism of her government.

‘What,’ said Guizot, ‘has made the fame and fortune of the English Constitution? It is that royalty and aristocracy were originally strong, and that the Commons have acquired from them, and in connection with them, the rights that they now possess.’

The historical sketch just given of the progress of government in democratic expansion would well bear elaboration, but it by no means involves de Tocqueville’s fatalistic theory that to attempt to check the progress described would be to resist the will of God, nor does it adopt his warning that we should not obstinately fix our eyes on ruins we have left, whilst the current sweeps us backward to a gulf of doom. We have already said that democracy seems by no means destined to universal conquest, but that typical forms of government in each of the world’s areas seem to be ineradicable, and each area is only the scene of a wider expansion.

The English in India do not, and cannot, with all their vigorous self-assertion, europeanise Asiatic forms, and it is thought that the more the House of Commons attempts to intrude English principles into the government of India, the more fear there is of our losing that empire. Fortunately, the postponement of the Indian budget to the fag-end of every session, and the scarce attendance at its discussion, promise a wholesome non-interference on the part of the House of Commons. We are not likely to commit the folly of attempting to acclimatise English government in Asia.

So, also, democracy, as it flourishes in American atmosphere, would burst the old forms of Europe. Its gradual admission into the English Constitution has been a process of reform, not of revolution. Our aristocratic tradition checks its influx, or absorbs it,

yielding to it, when requisite, in time. It is a process of assimilation, and not of neutralisation.

In this country of late, successive Reform Acts have largely transferred political power from the aristocracy to the middle class; and the last Act, in theory at least, sends it further down, to the lower classes. Yet Mr. Bright has still to deplore our want of resemblance to our New-World offspring. We have not got American democracy transferred into the old home. How far growing democracy will affect our old institutions is a very useful study, if only to check empirical meddling, or alarmist theories, about a natural course of things.

The first study is democracy itself. M. Scherer's pamphlet, which is so ably discussed in the last *Quarterly*, describes it as the government of a country by those who live by daily labour, such being necessarily the mass of the people. It is in this view the reign of manual workmen, exclusively even of those whose work is mental. But he immediately allows that such national sovereignty must fall under the control of the higher intelligences of the nation. It may be that the lead will sometimes be assumed by mere demagogue orators and journalists, who will pander to popular fancies. At all events it is impossible that a nation should habitually follow the will of the greatest number, for such an aggregate will could never be ascertainable.

A whole people or its majority, or any number of sufficient force, may precipitate national action under a gust of passion, or maddened by distress; but for normal national conduct both at home, and in relation with foreigners, some sustained and coherent policy is a *sine quâ non*. But the mass of any people cannot form a united judgment upon political questions in detail, or even a united volition, and practical legislation requires some judgment as well as volition. The democracy of America is necessarily qualified by the requirements of national action, and in such combined conduct capacity, superior intelligence, qualities for command, and strength of will must take their part. The very roughest politics require some study, leisure, and thought, and none of these are much within the command of the mass of any people, most of whom have their time and powers almost wholly occupied with the mere routine, and the necessities, of daily life. It is the folly of *soi-disant* educators of the people nowadays to suppose science to be the business of all, and that its acquaintance can be got within the intervals of early and continuous labour. M. Scherer truly says, 'Cet enseignement intégral qu'on inscrit dans les programmes radicaux n'est qu'un appât à l'amour-propre populaire.'

To a certain extent, and in a certain sense, there is truth in John Stuart Mill's saying, that the free exercise of the suffrage may itself be an education of the people. But our boasting enfranchisers do not really mean to give their extension of the suffrage in free exercise to the people. They know it could not be independently exercised by

such large numbers, and they only say, 'Trust in the people,' meaning to put the enfranchised people in trust, and under an organised control.

If any people could really act nationally on their collective will, no balloon could be less under direction. The doctrines of the multitude, such as they are, are simple and abstract. Democracy sees nothing in the way of any of its impulses. Its problems are all *in vacuo*, without anticipation or tolerance of any resistance to its will.

The people may, however, make intelligent choice of political leaders, or accept representatives to legislate for them. But even that exercise of judgment is usually made by the mass of people on grounds extraneous to the political object; such as personal attachment, or prospect of self-interest, sometimes for reasons the most *bizarres*. I recollect an elector giving his vote to a candidate of the opposite party because his father was the best rabbit-shot in the country. M. Ferry lately said in the French Chamber, 'La grande masse qui travaille ne fait de politique qu'aux jours d'élection.' The accident of the day's fancy is the key to the illiterate voter's political action.

If then democracy means the power of the people's leaders, we must study what that lead is likely to be.

If it be that of men of good social position, of high intelligence and principle, and of cultivated minds, it will be beneficent, and contribute to good government—the more fully in the name of the people the better, awakening their interest and inviting their criticism about their chosen leader's work. If, on the contrary, popular election hands over the people's government in their name to an agency of unprincipled chicanery and self-interested intrigue, the result must be popular corruption and governmental meanness. The people will be only debased by the flattery of solicitation, and national interests will be sacrificed to individual or party jobs.

It may be the standard of political leadership is not required to be so eminent now as in days of less general intelligence, and measures are certainly more often carried by the people themselves. It is astonishing what competent leaders the American Civil War drew out for the conduct of great affairs from among men of inferior education, and no less astonishing how some of them, having acquired glory, contentedly retired into private life again when their distinguished service was over. This is very creditable to the influence and characteristics of pure democracy in practical conduct. But American writers lament over the general low level of their leading statesmen, and express fears that the level is lowering still further. M. Scherer likewise laments over the same tendency to mediocrity in their leaders accompanying the inroad of democracy on monarchical old France. 'Les affaires du pays sont conduites aujourd'hui par des hommes moindres.' The better sort shrink from the roughness of the work, and

leave public affairs to inferior men. One cannot read Mr. Blaine's late publication, *Thirty Years of Congress*, without remarking how often political principles are there stated, without any expression of shame or surprise, to be changed by leaders to suit any accidental election-ticket. The present contest between Mr. Blaine and the President-elect has been avowedly fought on no question of public policy, but simply as a duel of personal disparagement. The tendency of democracy cannot be thought likely to raise the standard of popular leadership. It may invigorate but not elevate the conduct of public affairs. The popular appreciation itself is lowered by it, and statesmanship is no longer the high profession which former times gave scope for and demanded.

The average intelligence being higher resents dictation from any quarter higher still, the people fancying themselves able to manage unaided their own affairs; and the men of higher intelligence equally resent the assumption of affairs out of their more skilful hands. The democratic spirit sets up its doctrine of equality, which, though the manifold inequalities of men, and their evidently intended destiny of mutual service, flatly contradict it, is so consonant with universal self-love that it defies the plainest contradiction.

The democratic doctrine is, in its essence, an unconscious expression of envy of anything superior to self, and a vague aspiration for a state of society in which there should be no contrasts between one man's lot and another's—though the crier for fraternity generally wants the elder brother's place. As men come more widely into contact with one another, this *amour-propre*, an instinct no doubt given for self-preservation, becomes more abused for self-assertion. The conventional distinctions which the aristocratic system adopts for the order of society are resented, though chiefly by those most eager for a share in them.

This spirit has been evinced most vigorously by our democrat politicians of late in denunciations of the House of Lords, offering a distinct challenge to one of our oldest institutions, which it may be instructive to study. An hereditary House of Legislature must, of course, seem to democracy its natural enemy. Its growth with our history, incorporation with our national constitution, adaptation to all changes of times, even its ever-freshening popular infusion, cannot redeem it from democratic condemnation for its claim to recognition by ancient prescription. The attacks made upon it have positively lost point by the blindness of their fury, which gives us warning to prepare for passion rather than reason in the controversy. These onslaughts are indefinite, whether they are directed to abolition or to some novel substitution. Mr. Bright indeed lately admitted that he had wavered between the two ideas. He had once been ready to trust the liberties of the nation to a single House of Legislature, but, perhaps, having since seen the elaborate condemnation of such a con-

stitution by the founders of the American Republic, and by eminent writers of all countries (specially in the interests of popular freedom), he now advocates only a reform, allowing the House of Lords a limited power of suspending immature measures, such as he had just condemned in its late action.

There are some who would substitute for the House of Lords a second elected Chamber, who might likewise improve their views by studying the same authorities as to the immense advantage derived from a different constitution of the Second House, for the main object of mutual correction is imperfectly effected between two Houses only differently elected, as the colonial attempts to imitate the home constitution have disastrously illustrated. It is a priceless possession, this differently constituted Second House of Legislature; and if the advantage be ever thrown away, it is obviously incapable of renewal.

It was reserved for Mr. Labouchere to propose a preposterous *tertium quid* between abolition and substitution—namely, such alteration in the relation of the two Houses, that the one should ‘neither alter, nor defeat, nor even delay what had been approved by the other.’ Truly this was described as too senseless a proposition to be properly submitted to a practical assembly. For fear it should ever again be proposed, it may be worth while for a moment to consider the arguments used in its support.

The first argument was that the hereditary principle does not secure superior wisdom, such as an Upper House of Legislature should contain. Mr. Bright similarly sneered at the Lords as neither taller nor stronger than other men. Neither the suggested test of stature, nor the sample of superior elected wisdom, can encourage an abandonment of the hereditary principle.

Another argument against the House of Lords was the narrowness of a territorial aristocracy; but this description of it only recalls its antiquity, and reminds us how it has so embraced new kinds of wealth, besides all other kinds of eminence, that the description is no longer apt.

Lord Rosebery expresses, in a circular just issued, a vague desire to reform the House of Lords; but he describes his notion, like his scheme of imperial federation, as an abstract principle without any particular method or views.

The House of Lords is allowed to have large power and influence in the country, but it is argued that this sort of influence could only work well while the government of the country was aristocratic. The government becoming more democratic, and by every election vesting more and more power in those who represent the people, the House of Lords is described as an unsuitable anachronism.

It is remarkable that in all such arguments the terms ‘elective’ and ‘representative’ are used as synonymous. The simple democratic theory supposes no kind, or means, of popular representation in

national government but by election. If election were the result of the independent individual judgment of those who make the choice, it might be the best realisation of popular representation; but when votes are given, as, for example, a French plebiscite, in bulk to order, with a sham of opposition to complete the deceit; or at the bidding of a Birmingham caucus to voters to 'vote as they're told,' there are other means of popular representation more real and more true. In M. Scherer's words, '*Le suffrage universel n'est pas nécessairement républicain, pas plus qu'il n'est libéral et constitutionnel, et rien n'empêche qu'il ne juge une Dictature plus propre à servir ses intérêts qu'une assemblée représentative.*' The Swiss 'referendum' is a popular appeal from their elected Legislature, and generally goes against it.

Indeed, if every mode of representation but by election were excluded, all the interests of the nation could not have a voice in the Legislature—Parliament could not be a mirror of the nation. 'Purely democratic election,' said John Stuart Mill, 'would produce the government of a class, and that the lowest class; and it is the fact in this country that much of national representation resides only in the House of Lords,' and has no other place in the Legislature. As in America the Senate represents the people as organised in States, while the House of Representatives are returned on the basis of population; similarly, but not exactly so, the House of Lords represents in distinct, and therefore needful, co-operation with the House of Commons permanent national interests and social features which democracy might absorb but cannot obliterate. Not only has the House of Lords a special function of popular representation, but it may, and does sometimes, rescue the people from a Ministerial majority against public opinion.

How far, then, is the advancing democratic principle likely to overrun our aristocratic constitution; or what may its mingling influence be expected to result in? Shall we retain men of high-breeding, refined and cultivated minds, elevated associations, and socially independent station in the public service and in government councils; or will the confessed American 'low level' come to characterise our national statesmanship also, while the true nobility which exists in every country '*ex hac turbâ et colluvione discedet*'? To the thorough democrat the coarser spirits seem for practical purposes the best. The very phrase 'high-bred' is meaningless or ridiculous to his mind. He cannot conceive of a distinguished ancestry having any elevating influence, or animating its descendants to labour in disinterested services. He is blind to any traces of high-breeding in the physique of a man, or in the expression of genuine heartiness with all around which characterises our gentry, and makes them centres of neighbouring sympathies in contrast with the isolated selfishness of individual equality. But I think there is enough of this high-mindedness in the

nation to prevent the democratic spirit from predominating in England. Even in revolution our real *noblesse* would never emigrate, nor can I believe that the habitual self-government of this nation will ever fall from its natural and traditional leaders; but, on the contrary, I believe that the nation will ever be contributing to recruit their ranks. The calls of Government are increasing, and higher statesmen are continually needed, and the same class of men, in a country of such freely distributed administration as England, will keep their place as leaders in political as in social life.

There was some evidence in favour of this view when the Duke of Argyll, the other day, declared in the House of Lords that he felt it a deprivation to be disqualified by his peerage for the more active political sphere of the House of Commons. While the House of Lords contains men of the highest rank and intelligence, envious of the harder work in the House of Commons, even in its present deteriorated state, it will not fall by the attacks of men envious of becoming lords themselves. While we find such men as Peel, Palmerston, and Gladstone remaining to old age in the Lower House, we may be sure that the aristocratic spirit of this country is not a preference of easy dignity to the lead in public service.

As to the people liking a lower class to represent them, I recollect Mr. Gladstone arguing that the lowest constituency ever possible in this country would not return to Parliament men who could not hold their own there. It is, in fact, the desire for conspicuous representation in that assembly that makes the insatiable demand for loquacity, and the first condition for a candidate is that he should not be a dummy.

Instruction may be gained from the reflections of our colonists on the action of democracy in its own especial sphere. England gives new colonies the best of all constitutions, and gets something in return in the way of hints from their experiments upon it in a free and open field. Hear the reflections of a New Englander, Mr. Russell Lowell, the excellent Ambassador from the United States. He lately made a speech, as humorous as philosophical, at the Midland Institute of Birmingham, full of wise reflections on the effects of the purest democracy on English foundation in America. 'We are accused, said he, of infecting the Old World with what seems to be thought the new disease of democracy. He thought it no disease. He had watched its advance in America from old French Arcadian times, and had been ear-witness to the forebodings of wise, good, but timid men, and he had lived to see them belied by the event. The doing away with property qualification for the suffrage in Massachusetts in 1820 was predicted to prove the ruin of the State, and to put public credit and private property at the mercy of demagogues. He had since seen Massachusetts paying interest on her bonds in gold, though it sometimes cost her nearly three for one to keep her faith.

It is only when the reasonable is denied that men persist in demanding the unreasonable. Trades-unions were now debating instead of conspiring. Democracy was certainly more likely to succeed in a new soil, but likely to be tried in all soils, in each by its own merits. This generation had seen democracy with an imperial figure-head, and no body-politic had ever embraced the whole people in the direction of affairs. The framers of the American Constitution were very far from intending a democracy in the strict sense of the word. They knew better than to commit the folly of breaking with the past, or to think, like the French, that a new government could be ordered like a new suit of clothes. They recognised fully the value of tradition and habit, and they had that distaste for innovation which belonged to the English race. Their problem was to adapt English precedents to new conditions. They put as many obstacles as they could contrive, not in the way of the people's will, but of their whims. When Jefferson asked Washington why he consented to a second Chamber of Legislature, he answered, "To cool the first." He saw, as clearly as any man, the value of hereditary wealth as a security of refinement, the feeder of those arts that ennoble and beautify life. The ancestral halls of England had been nurseries of that culture which has been of example and benefit to all.

When such are the sentiments of an enlightened and experienced American versed and distinguished in the literature and public service of the purest democracy the world has seen, emanating from ourselves, what inference may they not justly encourage us to make as to the strength of our institutions in combination with democracy? Shall we Englishmen suppose that the rising democratic spirit in this old country can do more than expand its constitution, when the aristocratic spirit of the old country has so indelibly kept its traces in a democracy gone out from it?

I hear men say—and have not good men spoken similarly at all former stages of the process?—'All ancient landmarks will disappear under the invading tide. The Church, the Lords, the Throne, will fall before the sovereignty of the people.' But when the immediate interests of self or party are eliminated from the calculation, and the future prospects of the country alone considered, then the foundations appear strong against the tide.

At all events, changes in England are always very gradual, and by mutual compromise between still subsisting interests, not by subversive revolutions, of which we have had but one, and that brought about by a king. Government by free discussion is specially an English art, and its production is adaptation in the place of change. A great deal of the discussion perpetually going on is outside the walls of the Legislature. The whole nation is in constant parliament, and the free vent given to public opinion has a mellowing influence on the final legislation.

Mr. Morley lately wound up a wild tirade against the House of

Lords to this effect: 'But it must not be degraded; it is one of the old institutions of the country, which we can't afford to damage on the chance of getting something better to take its place.'

The upshot seems to be that the language of demagogues is not in accordance with the real thoughts and feelings of the country, however it may tickle their fancy. John Bull delights in good abuse of what he is, and of what he loves; but

Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

That is to say, if in admitting the growth of democratic strength and spirit into our constitution, each interest is maintained in representation, and the constituencies of the legislature are not only quotients from equal division of the mass.

NORTON.

IRRIGATION IN EGYPT.

DONE nothing in Egypt? Who says the English have done nothing there? It may form a good party cry for a Member of Parliament on his vacation stump; and it is not less true than many other party cries. But it is not true all the same. Is it nothing that for the last two years Egypt has witnessed a class of officials who scorn delights and lead laborious days, who toil as though it were for their own land, above all who speak the truth and cannot be bought? Is it nothing that the Egyptian has learned to understand that there are other Christians in the world besides lying Greek usurers, Syrian sneaks, and quarrelsome Maltese—above all, besides the pack of vampires that formed the fitting Court of the late Viceroy. English soldiers have for more than two years wandered through the bazaars of Cairo. If the English are so very unpopular there, how is it that there has never been one serious quarrel between them and the people? They gallop about the streets on donkeys. They go in and out of the shops. They make their small purchases and pay their way like the honest lads they are, and they may fearlessly boast that neither man nor woman is the worse of their presence. Would it have been the same, do you think, had the army of occupation been French or Italian?

The conscription remains, and the fellah is still dragged from his village to serve in the army. But it is no longer a hated slavery to him. Under Sir Evelyn Wood and his splendid staff of English officers he is regularly paid and well fed. The *kourbash* has ceased. In health the Egyptian soldier is kindly and justly treated. In sickness, those who passed through the cholera hospitals of 1883 will not soon forget how they were nursed and tended by their kindly English officers.

Egyptian hospitals and prisons are still not what they might be, and with an empty treasury they never can be; but ask any one who knows anything about it whether Sandwith, and Milton, and Hooker have not done noble work in the sanitary department—whether Crookshanks has not made the prisons almost too comfortable.

Be sure that the learning and patient labour of Professor Sheldon Amos on the bench at Cairo is not thrown away.

Be sure that Vincent and Fitzgerald are not labouring in vain in that most disheartening field of Egyptian administration, the Finance Department.

I will leave it to others to describe in detail what all these reforms have been, and will say a few words about the reform of one department of which I have had some opportunities of learning.

In Lord Dufferin's celebrated despatch on Egypt, he pointed out that no subject was of more vital importance to the country than the improvement of its irrigation system. 'The Egyptian question is a question of irrigation,' remarked Nubar Pasha long ago. But the reader may perhaps say surely that subject at least is one that the Egyptian understands. How otherwise could it be that from the earliest times this marvellous land on which rain so seldom falls has been the granary of nations? Why should England begin teaching Egypt irrigation? This requires explanation.

The ancient wealth of Egypt has ever been its crop of corn. As surely as the seasons come round, so surely has the Nile risen, year by year. From the earliest time the valley of the Nile has been divided by earthen embankments into a succession of great flats, measuring occasionally as much as 100,000 acres. The rising flood is diverted by a series of short canals into these flats, where the water stands two or three feet deep until it has soaked the soil, and deposited its rich alluvial mud. By this time the Nile has subsided. The drying mud is rudely ploughed and sown, and four or five months after the crop is reaped. No rain has fallen on it, but the soil has been sufficiently saturated to require no further watering. A rich crop is produced, but by this system only one crop in the year, and during the summer months, when from its latitude and temperature one might expect Egypt to be yielding subtropical fruits, the empty fields lie baked and parched.

Muhammed Ali Pasha, whose genius and energy created modern Egypt, soon recognised that more might be obtained out of the soil than this one crop of wheat or beans. He set to work, therefore, in Lower Egypt to deepen the canals, so that they should flow in low as well as high Nile. His people were not long in discovering the benefits this conferred on them. Pumps and water-wheels soon lined the banks of the canals. Egypt became known as a cotton-producing country, and during the American civil war, twenty years ago, wealth poured into it. But this new system was a vastly more complicated one than that which it superseded. To suit the convenience of wealthy men, numerous canals were cut without system or arrangement. Complaints soon began that the crops were deteriorating: that the soil was being exhausted, no longer replenished by lying two months a year under muddy water.

In many places a salt efflorescence appeared on the surface fatal to vegetation.

In high Nile there was abundance of water for all, but in low Nile, just when the cotton crop wanted it most, there was least to be had, and then the peasant's poor little patch had every chance of being withered, while the pasha's broad acres were flourishing. Worst of all, this great network of canals was yearly filled with Nile deposit which had yearly to be removed, and an unpaid army of 60,000 peasants was employed for about half of every year effecting the necessary clearances.

In the long narrow valley of Upper Egypt, except in one portion, the old Pharaonic system of irrigation still prevails, and here the Egyptian has little to learn. In the Delta the new cultivation with perennial irrigation is practised, and in this, the richest part of the country, Lord Dufferin soon saw the gravest reasons for anxiety. A system had been created which the people did not understand. Ignorance of the most ordinary rules of engineering, indolence, and corruption were fast destroying the country.

Irrigation is an art which there is no occasion to practise in England. But there are few forms of agriculture which are not practised in one or another of Her Majesty's many possessions, and so it happened that from Northern India Lord Dufferin was able to obtain officers possessing the experience required in Egypt. In Northern India a system of canals exists far greater than in Egypt, and here too irrigation is practised when the heat is greatest and the canals at their lowest. The result has been the bestowal of earnest thought on the most economic distribution of water, and the canals and their adjuncts have been constructed with the greatest skill. It was to India, then, that Lord Dufferin looked for engineers to improve the irrigation of Egypt. First one officer was appointed to assume general charge, and in course of time he was joined by four assistants or inspectors, all trained in a good school, accustomed to hard work and to fearless exposure in a climate much fiercer than that of the Nile valley. From the first they have all received friendly support from His Highness the Khedive and from his Ministers, especially from their distinguished President, Nubar Pasha. In many respects their work has been very similar to that which they have left in India, and so they have been able to do it with a certainty and precision which have proved of great value. But they have had their own difficulties to encounter. Nothing could be worse than the alignment of many of the canals. The engineer is perpetually hampered by vested rights, vested abuses. A new language—Arabic—has had to be learned. Above all, they have been hindered by the absence of trustworthy native engineers. Muhammed Ali said he had been able to reform all classes of his people except two, the boatmen and the engineers. The Mohammedan has not yet learned to look on engineering as a learned profession worthy of a gentleman. The result is that, with a few exceptions, the Govern-

ment engineers are very ignorant and lazy and not very honest, while their inferior social position makes them too timid to hold their own against unscrupulous pashas and mudirs. The five English engineers have been obliged, however, to accept of them such as they are, and more than one has responded loyally to the new calls made on his brains and energies.

It was a new thing to the Egyptians to have European officers living in the provinces among them, not only giving orders, but personally seeing that they were carried out. There had been for years some French engineers attached to the Ministry of Public Works, but they were either employed exclusively in Cairo and Alexandria, or, if sent into the provinces, it was only to report on a work and return to head-quarters. There was at first, then, some reluctance shown to allowing the four new inspectors of irrigation to live entirely away from Cairo, and to exercise executive authority of their own, without referring every little question to the Public Works Ministry. But this difficulty was got over, and with the best results. Each inspector has had a certain tract assigned to him. They have traversed these tracts again and again, often on foot, living a rough life in native villages on the fowls, pigeons, eggs, and good fruit which are nearly always procurable.

It would be absurd to say that they have put down all corruption—far from it. But the people have got used to their presence, and have learned that their petitions will be listened to and their wrongs redressed. The poor have told with delight how this last year they have had abundant water for their crops without having to bribe any one. The rich, whom the inspectors have not been mindful of pleasing, have nevertheless found that, by a judicious disposal of the water, they have been better off than formerly. More than one rascally engineer has been brought to account and punished, and the effect has been good on the others.

When Muhammed Ali commenced his perennial canals in the Delta, he saw of what value it would be to have a weir across the river at the apex, above which the water might be held up to a uniform depth at all seasons, and diverted into main canals watering the country to the east and west, as well as the triangular portion contained between the two main branches of the river. Weirs of this description, or *anicuts*, as they are sometimes locally termed, have been built again and again across Indian rivers, and under circumstances more difficult than prevail on the Nile. But the work seemed gigantic enough. Probably no engineer in Egypt had ever heard of what had been done in India. Nothing like it had been done in Europe, and, even if it had, to the ordinary Egyptian mind the Nile is a river standing quite by itself, and which it would be insulting to suppose could be treated by the hydraulic laws applied to other rivers.

A French engineer, M. Mongel, was found, however, bold enough to undertake the work. It was begun in 1847, and in 1862 the 'Barrage of the Nile,' as it is termed by the European, the 'Bridge of Blessings,' as it is termed by the Egyptian, was completed in all its stately proportions, crossing the river about twelve miles below Cairo, and an object of interest to the foreign tourist ever since. Sad to say, for more than twenty years it was little more than an object of interest and a useful bridge across the river.

Under what circumstances the Nile Barrage was put to the test I have not exactly found out; but it is certain that when the gates were closed to hold up the water, a portion of the work gave way; the gates were quickly reopened, and a verdict of unsoundness was pronounced on the whole work.

M. Mongel was out of the way, and another clever Frenchman, M. Linant, ruled at the Public Works Ministry. Mongel and Linant had always been opposed to each other. Each had his own design for the Nile weir, and Mongel's had been preferred. Linant has left sufficiently on record his jealousy of his rival, and seems to have come easily to the conclusion that his rival's Barrage was a costly failure, of no more use than those useless old Pyramids a few miles off.

It was the foundations that were pronounced unsound. Stories were currently told how men had dived under them as under an arch, and come out none the worse. One engineer after another sent in proposals for re-making the whole work; but the Egyptian Government were afraid of the cost, and distrusted the results. When, then, Lord Dufferin arrived in Egypt he found it placed on record by the Public Works Ministry that it would be a waste of money to spend it on the Barrage, and that, to meet the complaints of want of water which were daily becoming louder in Lower Egypt, there was nothing for it but to erect huge pumping stations, to be worked at an annual cost of 250,000*l*. This was the first proposal laid before the irrigation officers from India.

To spend such a sum every year in the great valleys of the Ganges or of the Punjab rivers would have been startling enough. But to spend it on this little Delta of Egypt! Could such a thing be seriously contemplated, and that at a time when the country was nearly bankrupt? Before they could give their approval it behoved them at least to make very sure that the Barrage was a hopeless failure. Granted that the work was unsound, has not many an unsound horse done a good day's work? Did they not remember how a committee of engineers had pronounced Cautley's great Ganges Canal unsound, and how they would have spent fabulous sums on it, had not Brownlow's common sense and attention to details shown that the work was all right, as it has triumphantly proved to be?

It was agreed that, even if the Barrage did fail, the country

would not be much the worse, since no use was made of it. It might then as well be tried. On the other hand, a good many critical eyes were watching these Englishmen from India. It was feared there might be a good many enemies to blaspheme, if, in spite of warnings, they persisted in going on and bringing the work to total ruin. Anyhow they would try. In January of last year one of their number made his residence at the Barrage, and he had the good fortune to secure another young English engineer to help him in dealing with the work.

Carefully they went over it, examined each of the hundred and thirty-six arches of which it is composed, and each of the four locks. Where they saw a crack, they placed a patch of Portland cement across it, and numbered each patch. While the cement remained uncracked, there could be no further disturbance going on in the work. If a new crack appeared in the cement, it would show that settlement was still going on.

The Nile was falling day by day. It was resolved that as it fell the Barrage should be closed, so as to keep up a uniform water surface above it. Inch by inch the river fell at Assouan, and inch by inch the gates were closed, and the water surface remained constant above the Barrage. From the 6th of March to the 26th of May the fall at Assouan had been fifty-seven inches. During these months the water surface fell only ten inches at the Barrage, and the canals remained full, and the cultivators were astonished. Altogether the water was held up 7 feet 3 inches, and then the engineers thought they had done as much as was prudent for the first year. 'Depuis que l'Egypte existe,' wrote the *Phare d'Alexandrie*, a decidedly hostile but honest critic of English rule in Egypt, 'on n'avait jamais constaté à cette époque de l'année à la veille du mois de juin une telle abondance de l'eau : on se croirait en présence de la crue du Nil, tandis que nous sommes au plus bas de l'étiage.'

Walking one of these summer days among the quays of Alexandria I noticed an unusual quantity of coal stacked. I asked the reason, and was told it was the fault of the English engineers, who had kept the canals so full of water that it flowed over the fields naturally instead of being raised by steam-pumps. It was hard on the coal merchant, and hard on the Greek or Syrian who had spent money on a big pump, and doled out the precious fluid to his poor neighbours for about a pound an acre watered; but good for the fellah who watered his acre without paying his pound, and good for his poor brother who could never afford to pay such a price, but trusted to his water-wheel, the cattle for working which he had lost by *rinderpest*.

It was not good for the railway returns. In seven months there

was a falling off exceeding 12,000 tons of coal carried to six stations, all due to the steam-pumps standing idle. It was surely good for Egypt, and her Government gave very ready credit to their English engineers.

It happened to one of these engineers to be discussing with a French gentleman in Cairo the merits of the Barrage, and he told him how he wished old Mongel Bey were alive, that he might tell him what a really splendid work he considered it to be. 'Alive!' said his friend, 'the old man is living only a few streets off.' Thereupon it was arranged that they should visit him, and a very interesting visit it was. They found a gentleman of nearly eighty, with the courtly manners of the old school, full of intelligence and interest in what was going on around him, but in painfully reduced circumstances. It was more than twenty years since he had visited the Barrage. They had told him it was a failure, this the work of his life. Now in his old age he had heard another story, that some Englishmen had proved it no failure, and perhaps even yet with his own eyes he might see the success of his work.

Mongel Bey had been paid a certain sum in lieu of a pension by the Egyptian Government. He had lost it, and was too proud to ask their assistance again. But there was nothing to prevent his being provided with a dahabieh, and towed by a steam launch down to the Barrage 'en mission,' and staying there a few weeks, pointing out how he had carried out the work; treated by all with the respect due to his age and abilities.

The relations between England and France have been somewhat strained this last year in Egypt. Unkind things have been said by each of the others in the papers. But in the Public Works Office the English and French engineers have been very good friends, and the courtesy which the former have been able to show to good old Mongel Bey has not been unappreciated.

The Barrage has stood one year's test better than the engineers dared to hope, but they are not on that account blind to its defects, or unmindful of the widespread ruin which would be occasioned were it suddenly to fail in the middle of next year's cotton crop, when the agriculturists will have placed trust in it and sown their fields in that trust. It is proposed, therefore, to spend as much as 200,000*l.*, whenever that sum can be procured, on placing it beyond all risk, and till then they will only use it with the greatest caution.

I have mentioned the unpaid army of 60,000 labourers who are employed half of the year in keeping the canals of the Delta in working order. This *corvée* is one of the greatest abuses in Egypt, and the English engineers will never rest content until it is abolished. In theory it is all well enough. It is said the maintenance of these canals is of vital necessity to the country. The peasant cannot give

money to keep them clear. Let him give them what he can—his own personal labour. But in practice what happens is this. The lands of a village are rated to furnish a certain gang, about eight men per 100 acres. The sheikh, or head man of the village, is requested to find these labourers. He goes to old Ahmed, bowed double with rheumatism, and warns him he must turn out for the *corvée*. ‘You know I cannot work,’ says Ahmed, ‘and that my only son was killed in that last Soudan campaign.’ ‘Yes,’ says the sheikh, ‘I know all that, but I know also you got a very good price for that pair of bullocks you sold last month,’ and Ahmed knows perfectly well what this allusion means; and what is the good of being a sheikh if you cannot get a share in the price received for a pair of bullocks sold in the village? And so Ahmed gets off, and perhaps two more of the eight men, and the sheikh is the richer man, and the five other poor fellows who have no money to bribe with will have to work all the longer for the three that have escaped. And not only have the poor to do the share of common labour which the rich of the village shirk. The next village belongs to a rich pasha. He, like others, is asked to send his share of labourers to the *corvée*. But not for a moment does he dream of doing so. His labourers will not be the gainers. Only they will have to till his fields and weed his cotton, instead of going to work on the canals. They will get no pay, and the pasha’s cotton crop will be a fine one, while that of his poor neighbour, who is away doing *corvée* labour for two, is choked with weeds. You ask, ‘What is the *mudir* about? Why is the pasha allowed to get off the burden borne by the poor?’ Why, because this is the way they do things in Egypt, and wherever the crescent flag waves. But these things shall not continue if the English engineers are to go on working. The pasha is already finding that Western skill and science are not coming to help him to maintain his unholy rule of the country. And already the engineers see their way to getting rid of the *corvée*, or to substituting for it a system by which the burden may be laid on all equally, and all may be allowed to redeem themselves for a certain sum, which will form a fund large enough to do the work necessary with properly paid labour.

Egyptian finance has been discussed and argued about till every statesman must have become sick of the subject. Whatever is the final settlement, it is to be hoped that the provision of a million sterling for the improvement of irrigation works will not be omitted. It is not a large sum truly, considering the interests at stake. The country might well invest twice or thrice the amount and be the gainer. But this million is awaited with joy by the irrigation officers. It will enable them to complete the Barrage which I have written of, and to build a second weir across the Damietta branch of the river. With these

two works complete, the Delta will be ensured against all risk of disaster from a too low Nile.

This million will open up a whole series of navigation canals with locks complete to take the produce of the field to the market. It will increase the sugar-cane cultivation of Gizeh. It will rescue and improve the neglected Fayoum. It will complete the Ibrahimieh Canal of Upper Egypt, and render that work a blessing to the country which was designed solely for the advantage of the late Khedive. Lastly, it will enable drainage to be taken up along with irrigation works—a most necessary thing in Egypt.

It will take some years to carry out this programme. Surely ere then the wise men of Europe will have determined what is to be done with Egypt? Surely ere then the unfortunate Alexandrians will have had their long-promised indemnities paid? Surely ere then there will be a strong Government established, bringing with it public security and confidence? And the coffers of Europe will again be emptied out on the land, and will be employed in developing its marvellous resources, as a few years ago they were wasted in carrying out the caprices of a tyrant.

The burden of Egypt! It seems to rest on many English hearts and heads as of old on the Hebrew prophet. To many it seems to be little better than the scroll written within and without with lamentation and mourning and woe. But the small company of English officials who are trying to serve their country at Cairo have no such dark misgivings, and those among them who, like the irrigation inspectors, have come from India, marvel that England should stand paralysed in action before this little land after all that she has done from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The smallest province of India requires as much ruling as this Nile valley.

I say with pride that we have done some good work these last two years in Egypt, but it must be remembered that we have done evil too. But for England Alexandria would never have been burned, and many an honest fellah whose bones are beneath the sands of Tel-el-Kebir would have been tilling his acres to-day. But for England's garrison in Egypt Hicks' force would never have been sent to perish miserably in far Kordofan.

And can it be that England, which never refuses to listen to a tale of distress from Bulgaria to Patagonia; England, which is now cheerfully spending millions to relieve her hero at Khartoum—can it be that she refuses, not her money, but only her credit, to relieve these poor Egyptians of a cruel debt, for which they are no more responsible than are the peasants of England? Ah, the burden of Egypt falls heavily on us Englishmen in Cairo, who can only hang our heads and listen in shame as the foreigners around us laugh at a Cabinet without a policy, which wastes precious months over a Con-

ference, more precious months over the visit of a high functionary like Lord Northbrook, and throws over the one as it throws over the other, enamoured of its own clever device of eating its pudding and yet keeping its pudding, exercising a paramount influence in Egypt and yet not even pledging its word that Egypt shall fulfil her engagements.

But I am wandering far from my humble theme, which is irrigation.

Mr. Dicey can discourse of politics far better than I can, and what England should do in Egypt he has told the readers of this Review in pretty plain language before now.

C. C. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

Cairo, December 27th, 1884.

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PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.

PRIVATE Bill legislation is a subject which affects, and very closely affects, the comfort and the wellbeing of the great mass of people in these islands. When it is considered that no railway can be constructed or extended, that no tramway can be laid, that no community can be supplied with drinking water or with gas, that no shipping town can be furnished with harbour or dock accommodation, that no canals can be cut, and no system of sewerage can be carried out—not to particularise a multitude of other methods of a similar character—without the intervention of Parliament through the machinery of Private Bill Legislation—when these facts are considered I think I may be acquitted of exaggerating the importance of the subject if I say that it ought to be, if it is not, a matter of universal interest.

I do not intend to enter into the technicalities of the question in this paper. These may be relegated to the Law Journal or the Treatise on Parliamentary Practice. My endeavour rather is to enlist the attention of my readers in the general nature of this important subject, and to convince them, if I can, of the necessity for some reform in the present system. I propose also to explain the provisions of a Bill dealing with the matter which is now before Parliament, and which I hope may supply at least the basis of any reform which may ultimately be carried out.

A Private Bill has been defined to be a Bill for the particular interest or benefit of any person or persons, and the distinction between a Public and a Private Bill is, that whereas the former deals with matters of public policy in which the whole community is interested, the latter deals with matters of private interest only, whether that be the interest of an individual, or a public company or corporation, or of a parish, city, county, or other locality. This distinction in its broad lines is clear enough, though at times difficulties may arise in determining to which class particular Bills properly belong. Into these difficulties it is unnecessary to enter here. The main distinction that Public Bills deal with matters of public policy, and Private Bills with matters of individual interest, is enough for my present purpose. Neither is it necessary to dwell upon the distinction which exists as to the preliminary formalities through which a Private Bill has to pass before it comes into one or

other of the Houses of Parliament. These formalities belong to the region of technicalities, and, as there is no intention in the Bill which is before Parliament to interfere with them to any great extent, it is unnecessary to burden these pages by referring to them. It is to the treatment of the two classes of Bills after the preliminaries are completed, and when they have respectively been introduced into Parliament, that I wish to direct attention.

In passing Public Bills, Parliament acts strictly in its legislative capacity. In passing Private Bills, Parliament acts in its legislative capacity, but its action in this capacity is for the most part formal. The real and effective proceedings in the handling of Private Bills by Parliament partake more of the judicial than of the legislative character.

Parliament, or rather the Select Committees to which Parliament delegates its functions, in passing a Private Bill acts as a Court of Justice, and as such it inquires into and adjudicates upon the interests of private parties. The promoters and opponents of a Bill act as plaintiff and defendant in a Court of Justice. They are represented by counsel and agents, and the case for the promoters and opponents respectively is stated, and evidence is brought to establish or refute it before the Select Committee who sit as judges and adjudicate upon the question submitted to them. The proceedings connected with the conduct of a Public Bill are not of a judicial character. In passing a Public Bill through its various stages the Legislature acts, as it ought to act, in a legislative capacity alone. In passing a Private Bill through its various stages the legislative acts are, for the most part, mere formalities. At times, no doubt, Parliament asserts its authority in these legislative acts. Now and again, when public feeling or party passion is aroused, Parliament rises in its might and throws out a Private Bill on the second reading, or occasionally on the third reading. But such an exercise of legislative authority is exceptional. As a general rule the legislative stages are formal. The real work is done by the Select Committee acting the part of judges.

In the following pages it is important to bear well in mind the distinction between these two functions of Parliament. This distinction is the hinge of the question, and without having it clearly before the mind it will be difficult to follow the proposals of reform which are to be submitted. In order to accentuate this distinction let us follow the course of a Private Bill through its stages after it has been presented to Parliament.

The ordinary public are aware that certain apparently routine business is transacted each day in the House of Commons immediately after the Speaker has taken the chair. There is an empty House, because the majority of members find the gossip of the Lobby or the excitement of the ballot for places in the Ladies' Gallery more attractive than the details of Bills affecting individuals or localities in which

neither they nor their constituencies have any interest. There is a mumbling conversation at the table between the Speaker, the senior clerk, and a nervous member or two rising from a wilderness of vacant benches. The newspaper reporters pay no attention to the proceedings; they have no interest for their readers. The public in the galleries are bewildered or indifferent, and for the most part impatient for the real work of the evening to commence. They do not comprehend what is going on, but they are given to understand that they are looking at the High Court of Parliament transacting the business of Private Bill legislation. Every Private Bill has technically to pass through precisely the same legislative stages as a Public Bill. It must be presented and pass its first reading; it must be read a second time, committed, reported, read a third time, and passed. And the unexciting proceedings which the bewildered stranger gazes down upon during 'private business' are the different legislative stages through which the Bill has to pass. The real business connected with these Bills is, as has been said, the judicial business, and that business is transacted, not in the House of Commons, nor in the House of Lords, but upstairs in the committee-rooms of the two Houses.

If any one will follow a Private Bill from its forlorn and inglorious birth and childhood in a listless or empty House of Commons to its manhood and maturity in the bustling and heated atmosphere of the committee-room, he will be amazed to know that the Bill which he saw mumbled through its second reading in the most important of its legislative stages can be the cause of all the energy and excitement which are so lavishly expended on it when it reaches the judicial stage in the committee-room. The lobbies are crowded with eager, anxious men; the committee-room is filled with groups of interested and excited individuals, parties to the cause and their friends.

The Committee (I take a House of Commons case), consisting of a chairman and three members, are punctual in their places on the stroke of twelve. The chairman is generally, though not always, a man of experience in the House and on committees, and the burden of the work and of the responsibility falls upon him. His three colleagues are generally new to their duties, and unfamiliar with the forms and practice of the committee-room. To some members the work is congenial and acceptable. These are the select few who, if they are fortunate enough to retain their seats in a second or third Parliament, grow up into the chairmen of future committees in future Parliaments. But I think I may say, without fear of contradiction, that for one man who finds the work congenial and agreeable, nineteen find it irksome and wearisome beyond belief. Just at first there may be a certain intellectual interest in hearing an intricate case cleverly presented by able counsel, and in exercising, however imperfectly, the functions of a judge. But three or four days continuously listening to the dry array of

dull facts brought out from interested witnesses at inordinate length, damps the ardour of even the most conscientious and industrious.

Ordinary commonplace men who discharge efficiently and usefully their duties as members of the Imperial Parliament, whether they sit in the Upper or Lower House, are not fitted by natural capacity or by education, or by training, to perform the delicate and difficult duties of judges or even of arbiters. Their minds are not accustomed to follow a closely reasoned argument bristling with technical details and overloaded with facts. They become weary after a time, and find relief in the pleasanter and more congenial exercise of composing answers to the illimitable body of correspondence with which even the most commonplace member of Parliament is invariably provided.

But to return to the committee-room. In front of the committee of four are the counsel—six, seven, eight, or ten of them sometimes—jostling each other for places at the crowded bar, and jostling each other in argument, now pleasantly and amusingly, and again with acrimony and with real or well-simulated ill-temper. They are always eager to do their best for their clients, and they are generally willing to treat the committee courteously, and with the good-natured air of those who from an eminence of superior experience have to instruct the ignorant. Beside them or behind them are the Parliamentary agents, an honourable and valuable set of public servants whose difficult and highly technical duties have ever been performed to the satisfaction of all whose lot it is to come into business relations with them, and who by their hard work and unfailing courtesy have done much to lessen the friction which is inevitable in cases where matters of private rights and private property are sometimes roughly handled. In addition to these there are the local agents, the witnesses skilled and unskilled, and lastly the public, or as many of them as can get into the crowded room. All these people are more or less in a state of excitement during the long and interrupted sittings during which an important Bill is passing the committee stage.

When the evidence is completed and counsel heard, the room is cleared for the deliberations of the committee, for these deliberations are always conducted with closed doors. When the public are admitted the chairman pronounces judgment. If the preamble is found proved, the Bill is then considered clause by clause. There is an unseemly and unsatisfactory scramble through the clauses and the amendments thereto, and then the committee are relieved from their uncongenial labours, and, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, the judicial stage is passed. The Bill is reported to the House, and is mumbled through its remaining stage in the same monotonous loneliness in which it passed the preliminary stages. It goes on to the House of Lords, and passes through similar experiences in that assembly. It is read formally a first and second time, it goes

through another judicial stage of wild excitement in the Select Committee, and, if it passes that ordeal safely, it returns to receive the final touches, including the royal assent. But if, on the other hand, it should miscarry, the committee find that 'it is inexpedient to proceed with the Bill,' and, without reason assigned, it is thrown out, and must await another session, when the identical operations are repeated, perhaps with this variation, that, as in the case of the Manchester Ship Canal, the Bill may be passed through the judicial stage in the subsequent session by the House of Lords, and be rejected in the judicial stage by the House of Commons.

Such is the normal course of procedure by which Private Bills, dealing with millions of money every year, are passed into Acts of Parliament. I have described it with elementary minuteness, partly because, though it is familiar enough to professional men, it is not familiar to the general public, and partly because it is of importance that the distinction between the part played by the two Houses in their legislative and in their judicial capacities should be recognised.

There are some who think that this is a satisfactory method of getting through important work. There are others who believe that the system could be improved.

The objections to the system are notorious. They have been urged in a multitude of Select Committees of both Houses by important and experienced witnesses, and the reports of these committees cumber the shelves of political libraries. They have been urged at meetings of influential societies, associations, and municipal corporations in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland. They have been discussed in legal circles, and exposed in the leading organs of public opinion. And, finally, they have been brought before Parliament on several occasions in recent years and fully debated there. Summarised, these objections are threefold:—

(1.) The cost of the Parliamentary proceedings is enormous, and out of all proportion to the value of the judicial decisions given by the Select Committees.

(2.) These decisions are capricious, uncertain, and often contradictory; and, considering the constitution of the tribunal, it could hardly be otherwise. The men selected to adjudicate are not qualified to act the part of judges. Their judgments are founded on no principles; they are bound by no rules of practice; they are given almost at haphazard.

(3.) The lengthy speeches and discussions between counsel; the protracted evidence often inordinately long drawn out; the interruptions caused by Divisions; in the House of Commons the broken hours owing to Parliamentary business; and, above all, the double inquiry before the two Houses, constitute an undue consumption of public time, and a squandering of public energy which might be more profit-

ably employed on duties which are congenial to the taste and training of members of Parliament, and for the performance of which they were sent by their constituents to Parliament.

I cannot occupy space by illustrating these three evils at any length. If anyone is curious upon this point, he will find copious instances in confirmation of these charges against the present system cited in the debate upon the subject last March, and, even with more minuteness, in the debate of March 1883. But, with regard to the first charge—the lavish expenditure of money on the Private Bill Committees—I may direct attention to a series of important Parliamentary returns bearing on this subject which were issued last year and were commented upon at some length in the debate. These returns range from the year 1872 to the year 1882, and they show that during these eleven years the average annual expenditure on the promotion of, and opposition to, Private Bills in Parliament amounts to no less a sum than three-quarters of a million sterling per annum (750,000*l.* a year), and that during the last fifty years (and during the whole of the period there has been loudly-expressed dissatisfaction with the system) from 35,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.* have been squandered in the Committees of the House of Commons and House of Lords in litigation. And this money has all been paid to procure Parliamentary sanction for useful industrial enterprises, without which they could not have been carried out. Every day we have grievous complaints against the heavy rates and extravagant tariffs charged by the leading railway companies. But can we wonder that managers of commercial undertakings, which have been mulcted to the tune of some thirty or forty millions by a baneful system before they have been launched, should endeavour to recoup themselves for this heavy taxation by imposing exorbitant charges upon the public? We may depend upon it that the first step towards the reduction of freights and rates must be taken by lowering the expenses incurred in these initial Parliamentary proceedings. So much for the first evil connected with the present system.

As a single illustration of the second evil, namely, the haphazard character of the decisions, I would mention the fate of the Manchester Ship Canal. That costly and hitherto unfortunate undertaking was in the year 1883 passed by the Select Committee of the House of Commons and rejected by the Select Committee of the House of Lords. It was thirty-nine days before the first committee, which passed it, and ten days before the second committee, which rejected it. Last year its fate was even more tragic. It was passed by the Select Committee of the House in which it suffered shipwreck the previous year, and it was rejected by the Select Committee of the House in which it had been victorious. It was forty-one days before the first committee, which passed it, and twenty days before the committee which rejected it.

Thus this unfortunate scheme has occupied the time and attention of a Select Committee of the House of Lords for fifty-one days, and the time and attention of a Select Committee of the House of Commons for fifty-nine days; and with what results? 'An experience of 110 days before Parliamentary Committees cannot be bought for nothing. The promoters acknowledge an expenditure of over 100,000*l.* on these preliminary proceedings; and as some of the wealthiest railway companies in the kingdom, and one at least of the wealthiest corporations, were among the opponents, it is morally certain that their conjoint expenditure was certainly not lower than that of the promoters. If we put the total outlay at a quarter of a million we shall not be above the mark. And for all this expenditure of public time and money there is nothing to show, except another and a conspicuous illustration of the uncertainty and caprice of the decisions of the tribunals appointed to adjudicate upon great schemes of private enterprise. I am far from asserting that the contradictory decisions were wrong in any of the four cases. According to the custom and traditions of Select Committees no reasons were assigned, and therefore no one can judge of the soundness of the judgment. In 1883 the House of Commons found the preamble proved, and the House of Lords found that it was not expedient to proceed with the Bill. In 1884 the House of Lords found the preamble proved, and the House of Commons found it was not proved; and that is all the authentic information which the public has upon the matter. In all four cases the Houses were acting in their judicial capacity; and each House came, in 1884, to a conclusion diametrically opposed to that to which it came in 1883. All we see is the nett result of these costly and lengthy proceedings: and that is the curious one that a Bill, which has been approved by both Houses at one period or another in its eccentric career, has ended in being rejected, and is to all intents and purposes dead. The promoters, with unabated courage, are going to 'make their game,' as they say at the *rouge-et-noir* tables, a third time. They are probably right to try their luck again. We can only say, as we would to any courageous plunger at the tables, that we hope that the right cards may turn up this time in the committee-rooms.

I think I need not dwell at greater length on this branch of the question. If anyone wishes for further illustrations, he will find them in the debates already mentioned. On the third evil I shall have more to say presently. It is enough at this point to mention the fact, that each session the time of from 120 to 140 members of the House of Commons, and of a considerable number of members of the House of Lords, is occupied by these Select Committees, and it is not easy to imagine a more unsatisfactory or unprofitable way of spending time. The work is uncongenial, and the workers are by education and training unfitted to do the work efficiently.

A movement has been on foot for nearly half a century to change, or at least to modify, this system. But up till now no definite step of a practical kind has been taken to bring the dissatisfaction which undoubtedly exists, and is ~~a~~widespread throughout the country, to a head, nor to reduce the various projects of reform to a definite issue. This session, however, a Bill dealing with the subject has been introduced into the House of Commons, and it stands for second reading as the first order on the first Private Member's day after the reassembling of Parliament, viz. on Wednesday, the 25th of February, when it will be debated and considered by Parliament.

The time, it may be argued, is not appropriate either for the discussion of this matter in the pages of a Review, or for the consideration of it by Parliament. Men's minds are occupied with definite questions of foreign policy which are vital to the empire; with large and difficult problems affecting our colonial interests, on which the future of these dependencies may hinge; with the condition of Ireland, and the necessity of re-enacting or continuing the Crimes Act; and, lastly, with Parliamentary reform and the contingencies which will arise out of a General Election on an extended franchise. With all these big and absorbing questions before the public, why thrust forward a little one, which interests only a limited number of people? The question, I admit, is not without its relevancy, but the answer is not far to seek.

In the first place, there is only one public measure of any importance, namely, the Seats Bill, before Parliament. No other Bill was mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, and the inference is that the large schemes of domestic reform, which have generally been foreshadowed in the Queen's Speech of late years, are relegated to future Parliaments elected under the new suffrage. We have had it on official authority that the Seats Bill and the continuation of the Crimes Act are to be the leading Government measures of the session. If this be so, there may be some chance for the unambitious efforts of a private member. Consequently the time may not be inappropriate for the introduction and consideration of this measure in the ensuing session, and Parliament may not be unwilling, in default of Government business, to address itself to a reform in its Private Bill procedure, with a view of setting its house in order for the new tenant which is to occupy it after the next election.

And there is another answer to the question of appropriateness of the time. We are about to have a new House of Commons, elected on something very like manhood suffrage. The chances are—nay, the certainty is—that it will be a vigorous House of Commons, set upon work, determined, it may be, to carry out projects of reform of almost a startling character. It will be a new broom, and it will act according to the proverbial character of that useful implement. The new electorate will be more exacting than the old electorate. It will

insist that its will shall be carried out. But how can any projects of reform, either startling or commonplace, be carried out under the rules of procedure which now exist in the House of Commons? These rules were made for and by a very different assembly, and they have been handed down through Parliamentary generations with very little change. Many of the rules are practically obsolete, and not a few are but little calculated to meet the conditions even of the present House of Commons. They would, it is to be feared, be useless to meet the conditions of a new House of Commons.

It is obvious, therefore, that one of the first duties which the new assembly will have to discharge will be to reform, and very extensively reform, the rules of its own procedure. This is not the occasion to discuss the lines on which the reform will move, or even to speculate upon them. But there is one line of reform which must be followed if any efficiency is to be produced, and that line does especially affect the subject of this paper. It is evident to any one who has given his attention to the question of Parliamentary procedure, that in the institution of Grand Committees there is more hope of useful reform than in any other of the thousand and one projects we hear discussed. It is right to strengthen the Speaker's hands, and to give him greater latitude than he has at present in enforcing the discipline of debate. But no discipline which he can use can stem the torrent of public speech; and great and impetuous as that torrent is at present, the chances are that it will show no signs of abatement in the House of Commons in the future.

If this be so, it will be impossible to do real work in the House of Commons. The real work must be done in the Grand Committees. We have already two committees, one for Law and one for Trade. We have been promised another on Finance, and it is morally certain that we shall have additional committees on other subjects, and these committees will do the work which the House of Commons is unable to perform. As at present constituted, each of the Grand Committees consists of sixty or sixty-five ordinary members, and some fifteen or twenty are added as specialists for each Bill which is submitted to the committees. The two committees on Law and Trade, therefore, absorb between them about a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty of the leading and more ambitious members of the House. The number may be too large, and the work might be done as well by forty-five or fifty members to each committee as by seventy-five or eighty. But a margin must be left for absentees, and if the work is to be important it would be hardly prudent to reduce the number to any great extent.

If then, as I expect, additional Grand Committees will be formed and will become part of the regular machinery of Parliament, two hundred or two hundred and fifty of the most useful members of the House will be drafted into them, and will be employed during the

greater part of each session upon useful and important legislative work.

How, in that case, is the judicial work to be performed? From what sources are the Select Committees on Private Bills to be drawn? Members of the present and leading members of the past Administrations seldom serve on Private Bill Committees. Professional men in large practice, and honourable members who have important business to conduct, are, as a rule, exempt from serving on these committees. Those also must be excluded who are connected with property through which the railway lines will pass, or which will be affected by the undertakings, or who have pecuniary interests in the localities. Further, all directors of railway companies—and these in the present House of Commons number about one hundred and twelve—must be eliminated. When, therefore, to the two hundred or two hundred and fifty members who will be required to man the Grand Committees of the future you add the total number of those who are exempt from serving on Private Bill Committees, you reduce the number of available men to a fraction of the House of Commons. And, what is even more serious, you exclude from the service of these committees the pick of the business faculty in the House. The consequence is that the Private Bill Committees, if they are to be manned at all, must be handed over to those who have not the ambition to serve on the Grand Committees, or who are unlikely to be selected for the purpose; and the judicial functions of the High Court of Parliament will be discharged by the waifs and strays of Parliamentary life, who have no profession or business of their own to attend to, and are not regarded as especially qualified to take part in the more important departments of House of Commons work. In these circumstances it is hardly possible that the present system can retain in the eyes of the public even the little prestige and confidence which at one time is supposed to have attached to it.

I may be told that this is a House of Commons view of the case, and that outside opinion is different. Let us look at the most recent declaration on the subject and see if this is so. In the new number of the *Edinburgh Review* (published on the 15th of January) the whole subject of Private Bill Legislation is handled in a masterly manner. The writer of the article knows the subject in all its bearings, and he deals with it judicially and without prejudice. From internal evidence it is obvious that he does not look at the question from a House of Commons point of view. It is probable that he is not a member of that body, and that he has no connection with it. And what does he say on these points that we have been discussing? Writing as a friend rather than as an opponent to the present system, he sees that reform has become inevitable. He admits that in the Select Committees 'there are to be found every

now and then the elements of incapacity, of slovenliness, of narrow-mindedness, of self-conceit.' He speaks of occasional inattention of individual members while important issues are being fought out before them, and he wishes for a 'return of the number of letters consigned to the post office from the Private Bill Committee-rooms of both Houses.' He admits that the expenses are great; 'not out of proportion,' he thinks, 'when the issues are vast and the litigants wealthy, *but burdensome beyond endurance when the issues are trifling and the suitors poor.*' 'The character of the tribunal,' he says, 'has added much, although the extravagance of promoters has added still more, to the expense of these investigations in one important particular, the production of witnesses. Shoals of perfectly useless witnesses'—these are the words of a critic who is not unfriendly to the system—shoals of perfectly useless witnesses are brought, like herrings, up to London every session, only that, unlike herrings, they have to be expensively fed instead of providing cheap food.' Nor is this all. There is still another undoubted abuse to be charged against the present system. The best obtainable counsel are retained by promoters and opponents with a profuse, almost a reckless, prodigality. But committees are struck, and cases are brought on without reference to the engagements of the Bar or the convenience of suitors, and 'the consequence is a great deal of wasted work on the part of counsel, and many lost fees on the part of clients. . . . So long as a dozen committees are fixed for one week suddenly, and none, it may be, for the weeks before and after, this abuse must continue.' This accusation, it may be said parenthetically, receives a striking corroboration from a statement in a speech made by the chairman of the company which is promoting the Manchester Ship Canal, last August, just after the second rejection of the scheme. 'Another matter,' said the chairman, 'which required attention was the fees paid to the lawyers, and the way they did their work. Just imagine the promoters of the scheme paying thirty guineas an hour for their four men and only having one of them present.' The fault is not in the lawyers, who are willing to accept retainers, nor in the promoters, who are eager to give them. The fault is in the system, which is so organised that, as no one knows when the cases may come on, the leading counsel have to be retained in all the more important of them; and, as a man cannot be in more than one place at a time, he is unable to give his attention to all his cases if they should happen to come on simultaneously.

These are a few of the many admissions reluctantly made by the writer of this remarkable paper, who, as we have said, is by no means a hostile critic. But we have still to mention the crowning concession. After mentioning several grounds for the necessity of reform the Edinburgh reviewer says:—

Lastly, the institution of Grand Committees takes off the better men, of whom

there is certainly not an increasing supply. The work of the Grand Committees, upon which no less than 130 members were employed last session, is more attractive, it savours more of the public business, and it may well be that many a good man finds there attention, consideration, and prominence, which he has failed to obtain in the House itself. The Grand Committee is, in fact, an unusually good Parliamentary audience. The personal composition of the Private Bill Committee is consequently doomed to decline, and it will decline more rapidly as the formation and application of the Grand Committees become more general. It may even be that, as the delegation of public business grows in extent, the furnishing of the Private Bill Committees may become not inferior but impossible.

The opinion, therefore, which I expressed a little earlier in this paper, that the success of the Grand Committees is the knell of the Private Bill Committees, is not exclusively a House of Commons opinion. It is shared by those who have studied the question from the outside, and can look at it dispassionately.

If, then, reform of procedure must be the first work which the new House of Commons will take in hand, and if the extension of the system of Grand Committees must be an important branch of that reform, the conclusion is inevitable that the Select Committees on Private Bills will become institutions of the past, and the judicial business of the House of Commons in connection with Private Bills will be transferred to another tribunal. What, then, is to be the nature of this new tribunal? Various plans have been suggested at different times, and various schemes have been propounded. Lord Redesdale proposed to appoint a committee, consisting of one peer and two members of the House of Commons, which should sit *en permanence* during the autumn and winter months to inquire into the schemes which were to be brought into Parliament in the following session. Earl Grey proposed the appointment of a tribunal in connection with the Board of Trade, whose decisions should be embodied in provisional orders. Colonel Wilson Patten (Lord Winmarleigh) proposed an extra-Parliamentary tribunal to inquire into the facts of each case. Mr. Dodson, now Lord Monk-Bretton, suggested an extended system of provisional orders and a permanent tribunal to take evidence. Another proposal was the appointment of a Government Department in which the powers now vested in the different departments with regard to provisional orders should be concentrated, and all matters relating to Private Bills should be dealt with by this Department. In other words, all Private Bill legislation should be centralised in, and conducted by, a Department of State. Another suggestion is made which goes in the opposite direction. A great deal of work, it is said, in connection with Private Bill legislation might be done by local authorities, by municipal bodies, or by county Boards when we have them, assisted by assessors sent down by a Government Department or appointed by Parliament.

There is something to be said in favour of all these proposals, and a good deal to be said against them. I cannot here discuss the argu-

ments for and against in detail, but on a full consideration of them all I think the adverse arguments preponderate. The scheme, therefore, which I propose in the Bill which is now before Parliament differs materially from all these plans. It is founded on the proposal made by Sir Thomas Erskine May before the Select Committee of 1863, and repeatedly urged by him upon the attention of the public. After stating that he 'apprehends that many of the evils arising out of the present system are incurable,' Sir Thomas says that 'it has long been his opinion that the complete remedy for the whole of the evils is to be found in the constitution of a distinct tribunal, . . . and the tribunal should be as judicial in its character and constitution as possible.' . . . He 'would establish a court of a high degree of authority; he would make it a Parliamentary Court amenable to but independent of Parliament; and he would give its decisions as much weight as is usually attached to the decisions of Parliamentary Committees.'

This proposal amounts to this—that a permanent tribunal of high position and influence should be specially constituted to investigate the merits of Private Bills; or, in other words, that the judicial functions of Parliament, which are now discharged by the Private Bill Committees, should be relegated to a body of judges appointed for the purpose, in whom the powers now exercised by Parliament through these committees should be vested. That is the proposal in the Bill which is now awaiting a second reading. The scheme embodied in this measure goes on the principle of *quieta non movere*. It makes no unnecessary changes in the present system, but, where the changes are necessary, it makes them thorough. The object is to set free the time, but to preserve the control of Parliament. It is of the essence of the measure that the legislative action of Parliament should remain undiminished. When you are dealing with rights, extensive or minute, in private property, it is only reasonable that the ultimate sanction should rest with Parliament. No interference, therefore, will be proposed in this respect. Neither will there be any interference with the preliminary proceedings before the Bill has been introduced into either House. Deposits, inquiries before examiners, notices, and the like, will remain as at present. Schemes, as heretofore, will be embodied in Bills, and these Bills will go through precisely the same stages in both Houses as at present. A Bill will be presented, read a first time, read a second time, committed, reported, and read a third time both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Both Houses of Parliament, therefore, will retain complete legislative control over the Bill if, at any time, either of them should deem it necessary to exercise it.

The point of change is in the committee stage. It is proposed to establish a strong court of three highly-paid Parlia-

mentary judges, and this Court will take the place of the Select Committees. Bills which under the present procedure would be referred in either House to a Select Committee will, if the Bill passes, be referred to the judges, and they will be invested with all the powers, jurisdiction, and authority now possessed by the committees. The judicial functions of Parliament will no longer be discharged by committees of four or five members sitting in different committee-rooms at the same time, but by specially qualified judges. These judges will report to Parliament just as the committees now report; the only difference being, that whereas the committees decline to give reasons for their decisions, the judges will be required to give their reasons. There is also this further difference, that, while under the present system a double inquiry, one before each House, is required, under the Bill only one inquiry will be held, and the report of the judges to the House in which the Bill was introduced will be received by the Second House as if it had been referred to the judges by that Second House. The judges also will hear and determine all cases of *locus standi* which are now heard and determined by the Referees.

These are practically the only changes contemplated or suggested by the Bill. But, though apparently small, they really are considerable. They amount to this, that Parliament is asked to relieve itself of its judicial functions with regard to Private Bills, and to delegate these functions to a judicial body outside, though closely connected with Parliament, in order to economise the work and energy of its members, which are now diverted into unsuitable channels and squandered.

And after all there is no novelty in the proposal. By this Bill Parliament is invited to do once more for its good what it has often done before—viz. to relieve itself of a species of work which it is not well fitted to undertake. In 1845 Enclosure Bills were similarly delegated to the Enclosure Commissioners; in 1846 Estate Bills were transferred to the Court of Chancery; in 1857 Divorce Bills were handed over to the Divorce Court; and in 1868 Election petitions, which previously had been dealt with by Select Committees exactly as Private Bills are now treated by the Private Bill Committees, were removed from the jurisdiction of the committees and entrusted to the election judges. These and other acts of delegation have been carried out by Parliament during the last forty years to the great benefit of Parliament, of the public, and of the State. There were prophets of ill omen who foretold all sorts of evils which must arise out of such startling innovations, but not one of their forebodings has come true. .

The Court, as I have said, will be outside, though closely connected with and amenable to Parliament. It will represent Parlia-

ment, and it will have important and delicate work to perform. It must, therefore, be of such a character as will inspire confidence in the suitors, in Parliament, and in the country. It must be composed of high functionaries, who will be, and must be, independent of the Law Courts, but with rank, salaries, and position equal to those of the judges of the High Court of Justice. Sir Thomas Erskine May suggested that the Court might consist of four judges, and that it might be constituted of—(1) a judge withdrawn from the bench as in the constitution of the Divorce Court; (2) an ex-chancellor, or someone of great eminence; (3) a leading Parliamentary counsel; (4) an experienced ex-chairman of committees. The Bill proposes only three judges, but the class of man contemplated to fill the judges' places would be something of the stamp suggested by Sir Thomas May. The legal element probably must predominate, but what is chiefly wanted is administrative capacity and recognised eminence. It is proposed in the Bill that each of the judges should have a salary of 5,000*l.* a year, and that they should be appointed by the Crown exactly as the judges in the High Court are now appointed. This may seem a large sum to be assigned to each judge. But the answer is that, if you wish to inspire confidence in the new tribunal, you must secure the services of the best men for the purpose, and the services of such men you cannot secure unless you pay them adequately. The officers and servants who are now in attendance on the Select Committees would be required to give their services to the Court, and thus the necessity of forming a new staff of officials would be avoided. Each judge would have a clerk attached to his office on a salary of 400*l.* a year. With that exception no special staff would be required. An expenditure of some 18,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* a year would cover every charge against the new officials; and as the fees paid to Parliament by promoters and opponents of Private Bills amount to a sum of between 70,000*l.* and 80,000*l.* a year, there would be no demand upon the Exchequer which is not more than amply covered by those receipts.

The Court would sit, as a rule, in London. But as the great expense of bringing witnesses to London is one of the most serious evils connected with the present system, full latitude would be given to the judges to accommodate their sitting to their work. Thus if it were represented to them that it would be for the convenience of suitors, or that it would serve the interests of economy, that such and such a case should be tried in the locality affected, it would be in the power of the judges to go in a body, or to depute one or more of their number to go to the locality, and there to hear the case. It may be said that this power would be inoperative. Being left to the discretion of the judges, it may be thought that they would seldom use it. It could be made imperative; but such a provision would tend to diminish the authority of the Court. If they have the power to go

on circuit, public opinion will be quite strong enough to compel them to do so if it should be obviously to the interest of the suitors that their cases should be heard upon the spot.

A good deal of difficulty has presented itself with regard to the claims of Scotland and Ireland for separate bodies of judges to determine Scotch and Irish causes. Scotland and Ireland, owing to the distance from London, have been at a greater disadvantage with respect to their Private Bills than even the remote parts of England; and many industrial undertakings have been nipped in the bud or abandoned in those two countries by the dread of the excessive costs required for the passing of a Private Bill through Parliament.

Two years ago, when I had the honour of moving a resolution on the subject in the House of Commons, I proposed that separate courts or tribunals should be appointed to conduct these inquiries in Scotland and Ireland respectively. This proposal received no active support in the House of Commons, and Lord Monk-Bretton, or Mr. Dodson as he then was, speaking on behalf of the Government, showed that the Scotch and Irish work was not of such an amount as would justify the appointment of separate tribunals. It was argued that the work would increase if the expenses were decreased and the facilities were improved, and this argument is sound enough. But as the average number of Scotch Private Bills during the last five years has been only twenty-three, and the average number of Irish Bills only eighteen, the increase under the stimulus of separate local tribunals would require to be very great indeed to warrant the appointment of distinctive and separate courts for each country.

Last year, in order to meet this difficulty, I suggested that one of the judges of the Court of Session, acting as a Scotch branch of the Private Bill tribunal, should be appointed to undertake the inquiries in Scotland, and that a similar arrangement should be made in Ireland. But this proposal again met with but a small modicum of support, and I was given to understand that the suggestion was unfavourably received by the Scotch and Irish judges. Both these proposals, therefore, are abandoned.

It is proposed in the Bill that, in addition to the powers which the judges have to try cases in the locality, which apply to Scotland and Ireland as well as to England, the judges may sit for a month in Edinburgh and a month in Dublin in each year for the hearing of Scotch and Irish cases. I have considered the convenience of the Scotch and Irish law courts, and have provided that the Scotch sittings shall take place during the Spring vacation, and the Irish sittings in the latter part of May and the beginning of June, which I am informed on good authority is the most suitable time for the purpose. A month may not appear a very long time for the consideration of all the Private Bill schemes in any one year in Scotland or in Ireland. It might not be long

enough for the hearing of the cases by the Select Committees. But it must be borne in mind that the Select Committees sit for only three or four interrupted hours and for five days in the week, and listen to volumes of irrelevant or unnecessary evidence during much of that time. The Court will sit for six hours every day of the week, and will confine the evidence to what is relevant to and necessary for the case. If three judges, for it must be remembered that they may sit separately or together, working 100 hours in the week cannot accomplish the whole tale of Scotch and Irish Private Bills within the limits of a couple of months in each year, the expansion of industrial undertakings in these two countries under the new system will be so great that it will force upon Parliament the necessity of a large extension of the system.

Such, then, is the general character, and such are the leading provisions, of this Bill. If I were asked to state the results which I anticipate from it if it were passed into law, I should say that the work of Private Bill legislation will be in the future conducted with greater economy and greater efficiency than it has been in the past, and that we shall see an increase in the number and an improvement in the quality of the schemes which, under the head of Private Bills, come before Parliament. When the procedure before the Court is systematised, and the causes are conducted in an orderly and business-like fashion, the expenses will decrease and attain a reasonable level. When the evidence is heard, and heard once only before experienced men, there will be less of it, and it will be of a better quality. And when the decisions are guided by principle and by fixed, but not inelastic, rules of practice, and the reasons for the decisions are given to the public so that they may be criticised by all men, the judicial findings of Parliament will be purged of caprice, and will lose the haphazard, gambling-table character which they have so long possessed. These affect the subject-matter of the Bill, and they are in themselves no light results if they should be attained. But above and beyond them I am convinced that by relieving Parliament of the work of the Select Committees, and delegating its judicial functions to a qualified body of judges, there will be a saving of the time and of the energy of Parliament, and, through that saving, a simple and direct means of expediting and improving the legislative business of the country.

ALEXANDER CRAIG SELLAR.

SOCIALISM AND RENT-APPROPRIATION.

A DIALOGUE.¹

Mr. Hyndman. I see that you have been hard at work since you have been over here in the land agitation. I think, as you know, that you expect far too much from nationalisation of the land by itself.

Mr. George. Why?

H. Because I understand you to advocate merely the confiscation of competition rents, and that, to my mind, will not benefit the labourers.

G. I advocate the recognition of equal rights to land. As for any particular plan of doing this, I care little; but it seems to me that the only practicable way is to take rent for common purposes. Rent is, of course, fixed by competition.

H. That is rather vague to me. I am as much in favour of nationalisation and communisation of the land as you are; but taking rent would not bring this about; it would leave the labourers, whom we both wish to benefit, competing against one another for subsistence wages just as they were before.

G. That I think a mistake. It would not only give the labourers their equal share in the benefits of an enormous fund which now goes to individuals, but, by making land valuable only to the user, would break up the monopoly which forces men who have nothing but their own powers to that fierce competition which drives wages down to the lowest possible rate. The fundamental mistake of Socialists of your school, it seems to me, is in your failure to see that this competition is not a natural thing, but solely the result of the monopolisation of land.

H. I should dispute to begin with, if it were worth while, that all rent is necessarily competition rent. Customary rents are still far more common than competition rents. But let that pass. What

¹ The authors desire to say that, from pressure of time, they could only carry out their suggestion of a joint article in this form by dictating to a shorthand writer whom they called in a few hours before Mr. George's departure from London. They hope that any literary blemishes may be attributed to this circumstance.

we contend is that the confiscation of rent leaves the competition untouched. This you admit yourself. And if you broke up the landlord monopoly to-morrow by taxing land up to what you would call its full value—an impossibility as I believe in practice—the control by the capitalist class of the means and instruments of production would remain untouched, and the labourers would still compete under the control of that class, who would derive all the advantage from the change. The historical growth of private property in land has ended in the domination of the capitalist class or *bourgeoisie*. In England, at any rate, the landlord is a mere hanger-on of this class—a sleeping partner in the product taken from the labourer by the capitalist.

G. You are using the term rent in one sense, and I in another. By rent I mean the value of the advantage which accrues from the use of a particular piece of land, not what may, as a matter of fact, be paid by the user to the owner. The amount paid by custom, or the amount paid under lease, may be lower or higher than the true rent. In the one case the owner gets more than is really rent, in the other case he gets less, and the tenant or intermediate tenants get the difference. Rent involves competition. Until two men both desire the same piece of ground, land, no matter what its capacities, can have no value. True rent is always that rent which could be obtained by free competition. The confiscation of rent would not lessen this competition, nor is it desirable that it should, but it would destroy that power of withholding land from use which in so many cases forces its price far beyond the point which free competition would fix. The price which crofters and agricultural labourers pay for land, the price, many times the agricultural value, which must be paid for building sites on the outskirts of towns, is in reality not rent, but blackmail. In short, were every holder of land compelled to pay its competitive value to the community, the power of withholding land from use would be gone, and there would be substituted for the present one-sided competition in which men deprived of the natural means of livelihood are forced to underbid each other, a free competition in which employer would compete with employer as fully as labourer must now compete with labourer. The social difficulties we are both conscious of do not arise from competition, but from one-sided competition. Monopolies of capital not only to a very large extent grow out of the monopoly of land, but are of comparatively insignificant importance. No monopoly of capital of which it is possible to conceive would, so long as land was open to labour, drive wages to the starvation point. As for the landlord being a mere hanger-on of the capitalist, the monopoly of land is the parent of all other monopolies. Give men land, and they can get capital, but shut them out from land, and they must either get some one to let them work for him or starve.

H. Perfectly free competition for land is unknown, but I am

quite content to argue the question as you put it. Without going into the genesis of capital in its modern sense, I urge that the system of production which assumes the payment of wages to 'free' competitors who necessarily produce commodities for exchange, and have no control, individually or collectively, over the means and instruments of production or their own products, would not be in the least affected by the confiscation of competition rents. The men who attempted to work on the land would inevitably fall under the yoke of the capitalist class just as they do now. They would be producing for the world-market under the control of the employing class just as they are now, and would be at their mercy as a class in the same way. Moreover, even from the individual point of view, crops or buildings can be hypothecated just as easily as the land. I repeat, therefore, that the capitalists as a class would be the sole gainers by the confiscation of rent and its application to the reduction of taxation or to public purposes. The workers would be no freer than they are to-day.

G. I cannot see why not. The confiscation of rent would give to all labourers, as well as capitalists, a share in the income thus arising. This would necessarily be to the far greater relative gain of the labourer than of the capitalist, and would greatly increase his power of making a fair bargain. Even now an equal division of the rent of the United Kingdom would give to a large number of families more than they have at present to live upon. Further than this, the effect, as I have before pointed out, would be to make land valuable only to the user, that is to say, to make it free to labour and to keep it free. No harm whatever that I can see could come from the power of hypothecating crops and buildings or anything of that nature. As for producing for one's own use or producing for the world-market, that form of production is best for the producer which will give him most of the things he wants, and which are the real objects of his production. The effect of the recognition of equal rights to land would be necessarily to greatly diminish the proportion of wage-workers, but I can see nothing wrong in that system in itself. The trouble is not in men's working for wages, but in the fact that, deprived of the natural means of employing themselves, they are forced to work for unfair wages. You speak of the means and instruments of production as though they did not include land, which is the principal and only indispensable means and instrument of production. All other means and instruments have been produced from land. Give men land, and they may produce capital in all its forms. But give them all the capital you please, and deprive them of land, and they can produce nothing.

H. I venture to think my argument is quite clear. You say that an equal division of the rent of the United Kingdom at the present time would give a large number of families more than they now have

to live upon. The total rent of Great Britain, agricultural rent and ground rent together, apart from interest on capital invested, is estimated by no authority worth a moment's consideration at more than 60,000,000*l.* or 70,000,000*l.* a year. The population of Great Britain is 30,000,000. An equal division would therefore give 2*l.* to 2*l.* 7*s.* a head, or from 10*l.* to 11*l.* 15*s.* per family. None but pauper families can possibly subsist on that yearly sum, and they of course are kept by the ratepayers at a much higher cost. But admitting the division to be so made, what then? Each working family could afford, in periods of severe competition, dull times, crisis, or the like, to accept 4*s.* a week less wages from the employing class by reason of this dole, and thus the 10*l.* a year per family would almost immediately go into the pockets of the capitalist class. Surely that is clear.

G. Rent is generally under-estimated, many important items being omitted, and I am inclined to think that the estimate of 300,000,000*l.* as the true rental value of the three kingdoms is nearer the mark than that you gave. But we have not time to dispute as to statistics. Even 2*l.* per head would be a most important addition to the income of many working-class families, relieving them from the necessity of forcing women and children into the labour market for any pittance they can obtain. But such a division would not be the best way of utilising the fund. By substituting the income thus derived for the income now raised by taxation, which, falling upon production and consumption, represses enterprise and bears most heavily on the poorer classes, the gain of the labourer would be much more considerable than from a simple division of rent; and while it is true that, land being monopolised, any general addition to the income of the working classes would ultimately carry wages still further down, the breaking up of the land monopoly, which the appropriation of rent for public purposes would cause, would prevent the competition that has this effect. Here is the main point which it seems to me you fail to appreciate, that the tendency of wages to a minimum which will merely enable the labourer to live and reproduce is not an inherent tendency, but results solely from the monopolisation of land.

H. The first argument is merely a contravention of my figures. As a matter of fact, agricultural rents are falling all over England to-day, and will continue to fall in the face of American competition and the rapid improvements of transport. With relation to municipal rents, I am talking merely of the ground landlords; the moment you go beyond that, you enter upon the expropriation of the capitalist, and, even as it is, the capitalist class takes a large percentage of the ground rents and agricultural rents as interest on mortgage. The effect of the reduction of taxation would be precisely the same as the division of the income from rent among the population; the working classes would be able to accept to that degree lower wages in a period of fierce competition, and the total benefit in the long run would go

to the capitalist class. My answer to your last statement will come better later on.

G. Agricultural rents are falling in England, but I think this fall is over-estimated, and cannot long continue, for they are rising elsewhere, noticeably in the United States, where in new sections of the country half the crop is now being paid as rent. But urban rent and mineral rents, which in this country are more important than agricultural rents, are steadily rising. In the cities the rise of house-rent is entirely the rise of ground rent. Buildings do not become more valuable, but land does. Where the capitalist gets interest on a mortgage on land, he is simply getting a portion of the rent.

H. Of course, as his class gets a much greater portion of all products of labour (being more powerful under present conditions) than the landlord class.

G. Capitalists, as capitalists, are not, and never can be, more powerful than landlords. Men can live in a rude fashion without capital, but cannot live without land. But the point I wish to make is, that where the capitalist receives rent he is to that extent a landlord. The effect of a mortgage is simply to divide proprietary rights.

H. If you come to that, the effect of the whole system is to confiscate labour. The question is, which of the expropriating classes is dependent on the other. I say, under the present economic conditions, which result from an historical growth extending over centuries, the landlord class is dependent on the capitalist class. You say the contrary. It is at any rate impossible to argue as if conditions of society which have long since passed away still existed.

G. It is only necessary to argue from the facts of nature, which are the same to-day as they always have been. Give men land, and they can produce capital. Deprive them of land, and they cease to exist. Were all the capital of this nation destroyed to-morrow, some remnant would continue to live, and would in time reproduce capital; but destroy the land, and what would become of the nation? You are talking of a capitalist class and of a landlord class; as a matter of fact, these classes blend into each other. There are probably no landlords who are not to some extent capitalists, and few capitalists that are not to some extent landlords. If we talk of the capitalists and the landlords, it must be by considering them in the abstract.

H. The facts of nature are perpetually modified by man, and in an increasing degree as social forms develop. I have already said that in England the landlord is merely a hanger-on of the capitalist, and that the two classes therefore do blend. Capital, to my mind, expresses a whole series of social relations; class-monopoly of the means of production on the one hand, and competition of wage-earners on the other. Again, what is the good of giving men access to land if they have to compete with other men who own much larger capital, and therefore can undersell them by sheer force of cheaper production,

owing to superior machinery and greater command over the forces of nature—who can produce with less labour, that is? Man cannot live by bread alone. He must exchange his agricultural products if he is to attain a decent standard of life in other respects. Yet here the big capitalist steps in and reduces the exchange value of his raw commodities as estimated in the universal measure of value—gold. Big capitals must in the long run crush small; you admit that, I know. Agricultural land in short, whether ‘nationalised’ or not, is just as much capital to-day as any factory, and is used as a factory, the wear and tear being made good in precisely the same way as the wear and tear of machinery or buildings. Louisiana is a great raw cotton and sugar factory; Minnesota and Wisconsin are great grain factories; Lancashire is a great manufactured cotton and iron factory, and so on; all carried on under the control of the capitalist class who produce for profit on the world-market. Nationalise the land as much as you please therefore, without giving the producers the collective control of the social machinery, the means of production and distribution as well as of the exchange, and no good really will have been done. The land is only one of the means of production, and under existing conditions is useless without the others. Production for profit, and competition for wages under the control of capital, will in my opinion go on equally when the land is nationalised; wages will equally tend to a minimum; and there will be as now the same phenomena, the causes of which we Socialists alone explain—over-production, crisis, and glut, followed by periods of boom and prosperity.

G. It seems to me that you Socialists confuse yourselves by using terms in varying senses. Here we are discussing the relations of capital and land, the inference necessarily being that they are separate things, whereas you include land as capital, and also include as capital [such things as monopoly and competition. Land is not merely one of the means of production, but the natural factor in all production, the field and material upon which alone human labour can be exerted. No matter how much nature may be modified by man, man can never get beyond his dependence upon land until he can discover some way of producing things out of nothing. Capital is simply wealth (that is to say, the material products of human labour exerted upon land) applied to assist in further production. It is the monopolisation of land that always drives men into such competition with each other that they must take any wages they can get, and thus forces wages down, as may be seen by the fact that in new countries, where land is more easily obtained, the wages of labourers are always higher than where the monopoly of land has further progressed. Land being free, capital cannot force wages down, for capital must compete with capital; a competition which where monopoly does not exist is quicker and more intense than any other

competition. Break up the land monopoly, and not only would capital become more equally diffused, but capitalists must compete against capitalists for the employment of labour; or, to put it in more absolute form, labour would have the use and assistance of capital on the lowest terms which the competition between capitalists would bring about.

H. Whether Socialists explain the phenomena of industrial crisis or not is a point we have not yet discussed, and may come later. Nobody has ever disputed that land is necessary to the production of wealth; but land has been used very differently, and has been the basis of very varying social relations in the history of mankind, as you are perfectly well aware. You say that capital is wealth applied to further production. 'A spinning-jenny is a machine for spinning cotton; only in certain conditions is it transformed into capital. When torn away from those conditions it is just as little capital as gold is money in the abstract or sugar the price of sugar. In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature alone; they only produce when they work together in a certain way, and mutually exchange their different kinds of energy. In order to produce, they mutually enter upon certain relations and conditions, and it is only by means of those relations and conditions that their relation to nature takes place, and production becomes possible.' The fact that in new countries wages are high arises from the fact that there a man is, in many cases, able to take himself out of the wage-earning class altogether, to dissociate himself from his period in fact, as the Mormons did in Utah, and as other people have done in the West of America and other parts of the world; but this cannot be permanent, whether land were common property or not. We Socialists, as I have said before, are as much in favour of making land common property as you are; our only difference arises as to the means whereby such nationalisation and communisation should be brought about. There are two other points I must touch upon briefly. The capitalist system of production involves class monopoly of the means of production and competition among propertyless wage-earners. As to the competition between capitals and capitalists, that is going on most fiercely to-day; the result always is that in the long run the capitalist class, as a whole, gets a greater relative proportion of the products of labour, and the working class a less relative proportion. The same would be the case if the land were nationalised, the other conditions remaining unchanged.

G. The point at issue between us is as to what would be the effects of nationalisation of the land unaccompanied by nationalisation of capital. 'We are talking of land, of labour, and of capital, and of three corresponding classes—landlords, labourers, and capitalists. We can never reach any clear conclusion unless we attach to these words a definite meaning and exclude from what we embrace in one that which is embraced in others. A spinning-jenny is an article of wealth,

a product of labour and land, and, like all other articles of wealth, may or may not be capital according as it is used. But land or labour never can be classed as capital as long as the three terms are used in contradistinction. Whatever varying social relations may exist among men land always remains the prime necessity—the only indispensable requisite for existence. The development of exchange and the division of labour do not change the essential facts that each labourer is endeavouring to produce for himself the things which he desires, and that land is the raw material from which they must come. Make labour free to land, and it will be impossible for capital to take any undue advantage of it. Just as men in new countries can take themselves out of the wage-receiving class by going to work for themselves, so would it be in such a country as this. The competition of capital with capital is intense to-day, and its effects may be seen in the lowering rate of interest. But labour being shut out from land, wages tend to a minimum, and the advantages of the improved processes of production and exchange go either to the landowner who possesses the natural element indispensable to production or to capitalists who in other ways secure a monopoly which shelters them from competition and who thus take what, if these monopolies were abolished, would go not to the labourers but to the landowners. In short, our social difficulties arise not from capital or from capitalistic production but from monopoly.

H. As to monopoly, capitalism and a wage-earning class involve class monopoly, or we should not be arguing now. It is almost unnecessary for me to repeat that, in England at any rate, I consider the landlord to be a mere appendage to the capitalist, and that you cannot get at the land with any advantage to the people except through capital. You seem to forget that the mass of mankind who labour would be wholly helpless on the land if they had perfect freedom to go there. Each man produces not what he himself desires to keep and to use for himself, but things which other people desire to have in exchange under the control of the capitalist class, all production now being practically conducted with a view to exchange. As to the competition of capital lowering the rate of interest, 3 per cent. on 100,000*l.* is the same as 30 per cent. on 10,000*l.*, and the capitalist class may be taking a very much higher amount out of the total product of labour, although the rate of interest may be very low. We are both agreed of course that labour applied to natural objects is the sole source of wealth; and that the quantity of labour socially necessary to produce commodities is on the average the measure of their relative value in exchange.

G. The mass of mankind, even the men of the cities, would not be wholly helpless on the land. Man had in the beginning nothing but land, and it is from land that all the instruments that he uses to assist production are derived. But even admitting that man in the present state of society can make no use of land without some capital,

the effect of throwing open land to labour would be that those who had some capital would go upon the land, thus at once relieving the competition of wage-earners and increasing the demand for their labour. Not to prolong the discussion on these lines, it seems to me the difference between us is simply this. We both agree that labour does not find its proper opportunities or get its fair reward. Your contention is that, to remedy this state of things, not merely land but also capital must be made common property; while I contend that it is only necessary to make common property of that to which natural rights are clearly equal, and without which men cannot exist or produce—land.

H. With regard to your last sentence I agree that it formulates our difference (omitting the phrase 'natural rights'), and using 'capital' in the sense of means and instruments of production, and all improvements upon them.

G. What do you mean by 'capital' in that sense?

H. I mean railways, shipping, machinery, mines, factories, and so forth. I contend, in short, that all production to-day is necessarily social, and that exchange is conducted for the benefit of individuals or a class, the products belonging to the capitalists, not to the producers. I wish to socialise both the means of production and the forms of exchange as well as the land.

G. This seems to me indefinite. I am quite with you as to the desirability of carrying on for public benefit all businesses which are in their nature monopolies, such as *the telegraph and railways*; but it does not seem to me necessary to go any further than this, as, where free competition is possible, the same end will be much better served by leaving such things to individual enterprise. Even as to railways, telegraphs, and such agencies, the assumption of them by the community is quite a minor matter. Give the people land, and they can live without either the railway or the telegraph, and, though a railway or telegraph may be a monopoly, its owners must in their own interest fix their charges at such a rate as would induce people to use them. As a matter of fact, we see everywhere, the advantages that accrue from such improved instruments as railways and telegraphs do not go to the capitalists who construct them, but very largely to landowners in the increased value of land. I can understand how a society must at some time become possible in which all production and exchange should be carried on under public supervision and for the public benefit, but I do not think it possible to attain that state at one leap, or to attain it now. In the meantime, people are suffering and are starving because the element which is indispensable to existence, and to which all have naturally equal rights, has been monopolised by some. Destroy this monopoly, and the present state of things would at the very least be enormously improved. If it were then found expedient to go further on the lines of Socialism,

we could do so, but why postpone the most necessary and the most important thing until all that you may think desirable could be accomplished?

H. The capitalists as a class would, meantime be strengthened. But we wish to postpone nothing. In our opinion, given the necessary political predominance of the producers, the economical forms are all ready for the nationalisation of the means and instruments of production of which I have spoken. From the Company to State or Communal control is an easy, and, as you would say, a natural transition—the salaried officials and wage-earners of the Companies becoming the salaried officials and wage-earners of the State or the Municipalities. They themselves would then in reality constitute this State or these Municipalities, and would certainly have nothing to gain by making profits out of their own over-work or under-pay. The economical forms for the nationalisation and communisation of agricultural land for productive purposes are in my opinion not ready, except in the way I state. The suffering and starvation which we see around us now are due to the capitalist system of production, which throws people out of employment the moment production at a profit to the capitalist class ceases to be possible. This brings us, I think, to practical proposals. I, at any rate, have said all I wish to say at present on the main issue between us.

G. Taxation supplies the form for the virtual nationalisation of land, and I cannot see your reason for thinking that of itself it would not relieve labour. Take, for instance, the overcrowding of cities. That does not arise from any system of capitalistic production, but merely from the fact that people are not permitted to build houses without first paying an enormous price, and that when the houses are built a further tax is placed upon them which must necessarily fall upon the user. The effect of appropriating rent would be to at once increase the number of houses by reducing the price that must be paid for their sites, and abolishing the tax now imposed upon them. So, all through the agricultural districts men would be able to go upon and cultivate land from which they are now debarred, thus relieving the labour markets and producing a greater demand for the commodities which the working classes of the towns and cities produce. It would make it impossible for men to shut up mineral resources as a certain Scotchman recently shut up an iron mine employing a great number of hands, saying he could afford to keep it idle as it would 'not eat anything.' In short, the effect would be to stimulate production in every direction.

H. Taxation leaves competition among wage-earners untouched. The people are driven into the towns by improvements in machinery which enable the farmers to do the same amount of work with fewer hands, and therefore ought to benefit the whole community; partly also, in England at any rate, by the substitution of pasturage for arable culture. Thus driven into the towns, they compete with

their fellows. Moreover, overcrowding in cottages in the country, where the ground rent and the taxation is a mere trifle, is just as bad as it is in towns. As to shutting up the iron mine, the men could not work that mine unless they appropriated the mine-owner's capital. The causes of the present universal crisis, the seventh of this century, lie, I think, much deeper than you suppose, and would not be affected by any one single proposal.

G. I think, on analysis, all these evils are traceable to the fact that land, which is necessary to all, is made the property of some.

H. That is your contention, I know; but do you not think we have argued sufficiently now to be able to speak on points of agreement rather than of difference? For instance, we are quite at one in wishing to bring about greater freedom, comfort, and happiness for the mass of mankind, who at the present moment are driven into degradation and misery by class monopoly of one sort or another. Whichever way we look we see the adulteration of goods; overwork of women and children; science and art at the command of a privileged few; education in any high sense shut away from the mass of the people; hours of labour unduly prolonged; men forced into idleness who wish nothing better than to work for the good of themselves and their fellow-creatures. Anything, therefore, which tends to bring the workers of the world together upon a common basis, whether of nationalisation of land or collective ownership of capital, must necessarily tend to the overthrow of these abuses. You know that to-day peasant proprietorship is being put forward as a remedy for the ills of this country. On this point, at any rate, looking across the Channel and seeing the condition of the French and other peasant proprietors all over Europe, we are thoroughly of one mind, that no benefit whatever can accrue by such an extension of the rights of private property. Here, in England, a Bill is before Parliament which, I believe, will be carried, for the enfranchisement of leaseholds. This, again, will but interest a larger class in that very monopoly of land to which you and I equally object. With regard to the thousands of the unemployed whom you spoke for yesterday in front of the Royal Exchange, and in whose interests we Socialists have been working for many months past, you, I presume, would be as glad as we should be to see the Government recognise its responsibility and organise their labour alike in town and country for the benefit of the community at large. The present depression which has extended through every civilised country is independent of despotism or republic, protection or free trade. These social questions evidently lie below all forms of government and all fiscal arrangements. We hold, as you know, that these decennial crises are due to the revolt of the socialised form of production against the individual form of exchange all over the civilised world. The incapacity of the *bourgeoisie* or middle class to handle its own system is, at any rate, proclaimed in every industrial

and commercial centre. Whether we are right, or whether we are wrong, no doubt makes a difference to the tactics of the immediate future, but it can make no difference in the desire which we all must have to work in common for the great end of the emancipation of our fellow-men. The mere fact that you and I are meeting here to discuss in a friendly manner the deepest social and economical problems, however cursorily, is a proof that men are learning to sink differences of opinion in the sincere desire to find a base of agreement in view of the silent anarchy of to-day, and the furious anarchy which, unless some serious and important measures are immediately taken, threatens to overwhelm the civilised world to-morrow. The equality of men and the enfranchisement of women, which to-day are spoken of by many as a dream, are becoming really a necessity for the advance of civilisation. Only by and through an International Socialist feeling, and a brotherhood amongst the workers of the world, can we hope for the happy future which thousands of the noblest of our race have longed to see.

G. With all your sentiments I heartily agree. We who seek to substitute for the present social order one in which poverty should be unknown are not the men who threaten society. They are really the dangerous men who insist that injustice must continue because it exists. Nothing but good can come from a free interchange of opinion. Every man who looks at civilised society to-day must feel that the order that exists, and which you have so graphically described, is not that order which the Creator has intended. The only question between us is as to the best way of substituting for it that order of things which will give free play to the powers and full scope to the aspirations of mankind. And questions of method are as yet but secondary. The great work is to break up the 'pitiable contentment of the poor,' and arouse the conscience of the rich, to spread everywhere the feeling of brotherhood. And this your Socialists are doing. These are indeed world-wide questions. We on the other side of the Atlantic have the same social problems to solve that are forcing themselves upon you here. The great change in public feeling that I have observed since my visit here a year ago proves to me that you in England are indeed taking hold of these questions with a determination to solve them. In my opinion, the greatest of English revolutions has already commenced, and it means not merely revolution in England, but one which will extend over the whole civilised world.

HENRY GEORGE.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. XCVII.—MARCH 1885.

THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

I.

'I do not say that we are trying by federation to make the Empire one commonwealth in relation to Foreign Powers, because at the present time it is one commonwealth.'—Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, *Nineteenth Century*, February 1885, p. 201.

'Why can't you let it alone?'—Lord MELBOURNE.

At a time like the present, when the unity of our Empire is a patent fact; when Colonial and Old Country troops are converging from East and West to a common base of military operations, a writer who allows to appear even an appearance of disunion among those who desire the continuance of a firmly united Empire incurs a grave responsibility. I entreat the Federation League to accept the following pages as the warning, not of an enemy, but of a friend. It is not without serious deliberation that I have arrived at the conclusion that the remonstrance is necessary.

First let me begin by a profession of faith. If, in these pages, I argue against the new plan proposed by the Imperial Federation League, I desire to say at once that I do so because I am in favour of continuing the Imperial Union which now exists, and which has not heretofore needed, and does not now need, the aid of any league at all. I object to the methods but not to the object of the League. The professed object is to promote the unity of the Empire. I agree with that; but the federation which the League proposes is to be established on the ruins of our presently existing Constitution, which I

look upon as an object of reverence to be jealously maintained. Even if it were necessary (which I do not admit) to amend the British Constitution, in order to strengthen the Empire, I should still object to the means advocated by the League: because I think the new constitution they want to establish would, in no long time, break our Empire to pieces; and I believe that the existing Union, which, from year to year, in modern times has been growing stronger, and is likely to increase in strength if it is let alone, will dwindle away if it is tampered with.

This statement of faith is put on record at the outset because the advocates of the League declare loudly that those who are not with the League are against Imperial Union. I categorically deny it. Imperial Federation now exists; all I entreat of them is, to allow it to continue.

I look upon this League as another instance of that craze for over-legislation which never can rest without tinkering our Institutions. Rent, wages, contracts—all the relations between man and man—must be matter of State interference. The existence of any matter not directly regulated by statute is a direct challenge to make one. ‘All our Institutions are now upon their trial,’ said a Radical speaker, a few years ago. It is quite true that they have been put upon their trial; and this present proposal outdoes all former proposals, for it sets aside, absolutely, the Prerogative of the Crown and the powers of the two Houses of Parliament in favour of a brand-new Constitution. Let those who disbelieve this statement read the paragraph which begins at the foot of page 208 of the February number of this Review, and which is quoted and commented on at page 395 of the present number.

The League is of quite recent formation; and it has been fortunate enough to enlist Mr. Forster as its president. He has thrown himself into the work with characteristic energy and singleness of purpose.

Men who have all their lives been working, quietly and without fuss, to promote the steady development of Imperial Union, were at first puzzled, and perhaps somewhat amused, by this sudden outburst of enthusiasm. Before they well knew what was afloat a great organisation had been planned. A meeting (at which admission was by ticket, and from which all persons not specially invited were excluded) passed Resolutions, forming a League; Committees, Secretaries, Honorary Secretaries, Vice-Presidents, and all the familiar machinery of organisation were appointed. The inevitable hat went round, and the papers began to ring with the great things the League was going to accomplish. The quiet workers, of whom I spoke—men, for instance, like the Agents-general for the various Colonies—were placed in a somewhat embarrassing position. By the necessity of their position they were deeply interested in anything which could foster the unity of the Empire: the objects of the League were excellent, the means to be employed were at first left judiciously vague; and it was generally agreed by the older hands, that although they were not quite clear that the new organisation was wanted, it would be unwise

to discourage it. Many of them joined it; but before long an opinion arose among some of the most practical and influential colonists sojourning in England, and among English political men of all parties who understand Colonial matters, that the League were going too fast, and were in fact likely to do more harm than good; besides, to put the matter mildly, among the leaders, always excepting Mr. Forster, there were some who would not have been chosen as leaders by any other process than self-election.

I must here make a strictly necessary explanation respecting the Empire Club, the name of which has been freely mentioned of late. That body is strictly non-political. It only exists to promote, in its own humble way, the unity of the Empire. It counts among its members large numbers of gentlemen from various colonies; among them, eight governors, nine ex-governors, seven agents-general for the colonies, seven premiers of the colonies, five ex-premiers, seven chief commissioners, many chief justices and other legal dignitaries, as well as almost all English statesmen, of all shades of politics, who have devoted attention to colonial affairs. The meetings of the club are of a social not a political character. Doubtless, most various opinions prevail at its gatherings, and are freely expressed: such free expressions are cordially welcomed, and such weight is attached to them as belongs to the individual influence of the speaker. It is obvious that such a body, so variously constituted, cannot authorise anyone to speak in its name.

It, however, happens that the doubts respecting the wisdom of the Imperial Federation League, first acquired publicity by speeches made at a dinner of the club, by three persons, one of whom was myself, and two were Agents-general for the Colonies. That expression of opinion was, perhaps naturally, though quite erroneously, treated by the press, and as I understand by the League, as the opinion of the Empire Club. I desire distinctly to say that such is not the case. I hold no brief for the Empire Club, and the opinions here set down, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, must be attributed to myself alone. It does not, however, follow that I stand alone in my opinions.

Just at the time when the speeches of which I have just spoken were made, Mr. Forster published his article. We have in it the authoritative teaching of the League and the development of its policy, as formulated by its president. To do him justice there is no hesitation about it; it is subversive of the present order of things, and if I plead strongly against it, it is because I feel that, against an antagonist so strong and bold, the only hope of safety lies in equal boldness. It is always a pleasure to encounter Mr. Forster whether one agrees with him or not. He always writes like a gentleman and a statesman. He thinks before he speaks; whether he is right or wrong, he is always in favour of what, in his opinion at least, is true

and good; and he is unfeignedly attached to the 'Imperial Idea,' which has been so much maligned. For all this I honour him. I read his article with a sincere wish to find myself in accord with the writer, for I have been a worker in the same field for more than thirty years. Moreover I had the honour of being the founder and first president of the Colonial Institute, where the Imperial Federation League has been invented. So that I entertained a paternal curiosity to see what my bantling was doing. The result has been to a considerable extent disappointing. Wishing as I do with all my heart to draw closer the ties which bind Great Britain to her colonies, I cannot but fear that the proposals of Mr. Forster would have quite an opposite effect.

Mr. Forster occupies a peculiar position in politics. Though his strong good sense and his feeling of what is due to England's honour separate him from the party now in power, there is a side of his political character which is purely Radical, and which renders him unwilling to range himself under any Tory banner. What with 'Fourth parties' and 'corner men' there is no room for another independent flag. There is for a man of such energy as his no alternative but to go forth into the wilderness.

With no political work immediately at his hand, and with inexhaustible energy which friend and foe know him to possess, he has wandered through dry places, seeking rest, and found—the Imperial Federation League. He has given characteristic enthusiasm to the study of Imperialism: but it is a necessity of the case that he is in this matter of Colonial policy necessarily a novice. He has arrived at conclusions logical enough as deductions from reading, and from the outward seeming of things, but which are yet contradicted by experience. He starts with a main proposition which is not tenable. I venture to think that if he had looked it in the face for twenty years, instead of one or two, he would not hold it so strongly as he does. When he says (p. 201) that, 'in giving our colonies self-government we have introduced a principle which must eventually . . . dissolve the union, unless counteracting measures be taken to preserve it,' I respectfully join issue with him. I say that you may logically prove that this ought to be true, if you like, but practically it is less true than it was twenty years ago; moreover it is becoming less true every year. If by 'eventually' Mr. Forster means a hundred years hence, I will not stop to contest the point: practical statesmen deal with the immediate future: but I do say that influences have come into play during the last twenty years, and are becoming stronger day by day, which, as far as we can now see, render disruption more and more improbable.

In ordinary matters it would be impertinent in me to question Mr. Forster's experience. But in this matter I may fairly claim to be a veteran, where he, comparatively, is a novice. It is thirty years since I began to know a great colony,—not as a traveller, but as a

sojourner; as one whose dwelling, home, and occupation were there. It is twenty years since I published, in 1865, some volumes on the history of Colonising Nations, in which I arrived at very much the same conclusion that Mr. Forster has arrived at now. I think that if he, like me, had submitted those opinions to the test of twenty years of careful observation, he would be willing to admit with me, that new influences have gradually sprung up which have changed the conditions of the problem. I ought to be the last man to complain that a dispassionate observer, after closely examining history and studying passing events, should come to the conclusion that it was the inevitable destiny of colonies to become independent. If I did my own writing could be quoted against me. I must also admit that such is still the abstract lesson of history, and that history would repeat itself now if new considerations had not come into existence. The colonies of France, gifted with immense tenacity, with a power of amalgamating with aboriginal tribes, such as no other nation has ever possessed, with leaders of conspicuous ability, with a government highly centralised, a policy curiously definite and profound, fell as easy victims to a foreign foe as the weak colonies of the Swedes and Dutch. Under the French rule the Canadians were allowed to do nothing for themselves, their energy was destroyed, and their strength turned to weakness. When French America came into English hands, an opposite system was adopted. The French were encouraged to govern themselves, to debate, to legislate, to combine; yet both roads, widely divergent as they were, tended equally to the subversion of a metropolitan authority. The Spaniards introduced into America a crushing tyranny; they ruled by means of a Spanish aristocracy, to whom was committed the government, the property, almost the lives, of those who had not the advantage of being born in Europe. They crushed the Creoles to the ground, they enslaved the Indians, they subjected Spanish America to an intellectual and religious thralldom, which almost annihilated both intellect and religion. The result was independence. The Portuguese established in Brazil a despotism, formed mainly upon commercial monopoly. Circumstances raised Brazil to the position of an integral portion of the monarchy; some rays of intellectual light were permitted to penetrate through the darkness, some degree of freedom was allowed to their trade, and encouragement to their agriculture. What was the result in their case? Independence. English fugitives spread themselves among the forests of Maine and Virginia, and received from the Home Government 'the inestimable boon of its neglect.' They grew up as free as any nation upon earth; no one interfered with the pursuits in which they chose to indulge; they lived under laws which they had framed themselves; they submitted to no tax that they did not themselves propose; learning religion, arts, sciences—all were free. In their case, also, the result was independence.

I cannot wonder if Mr. Forster, running over this story in his mind, should say that the present state of affairs offers no material point of difference from that which, in each of the colonising nations, preceded it.

Here is a sentence of mine, written in 1865, which shows that a similar course of study left on my mind the same impression. 'From the time of the union of Upper and Lower Canada the colonies have been free to deal with every great question of politics, religion, law, or commerce, as it pleased them, without fear of interference from the Imperial Government; frequently indeed against its expressed opinion and advice. The authority reserved to England is purely nominal: the more closely it is examined the more vague and shadowy it appears. Statesmen, who would hesitate to acknowledge that the moment of separation from our most important colonies has arrived, make admissions without scruple, which, taken in the aggregate, prove that separation is a fact accomplished, and not a question for future consideration at all.'¹

I have quoted these words to show that twenty years ago I thought as Mr. Forster thinks now. But facts are too strong for opinions, however carefully formed. I am fain to confess that I was wrong, and I think that if Mr. Forster will have patience, he will by-and-by agree with me. When St. Paul was wrecked at Melita, and the barbarous people made a fire to warm the shipwrecked strangers, we are told that a viper came out of the heat and fastened on the Apostle's hand. No doubt, said the islanders, this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, vengeance suffereth not to live. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen, or fallen dead suddenly. But when they had looked a great while and saw no harm come to him, they changed their mind.

And so for years I watched for the separation which I firmly believed would come: but instead of separation came firmer union. Other circumstances came into play—other motives animated men, and now, in 1885, after twenty years, how stands the case? Are England and Canada less closely united now than they were in 1865? Is English loyalty more passionate in devotion to the Sovereign than Canadian or Australian loyalty? Has not all talk of separation died away? Is it not true that from New South Wales, from the Dominion, from South Australia, from Victoria, and from Queensland, offers of military assistance have been accepted; that from the scattered ends of the Empire troops are gathering to the standard? Is it not the fact that a regiment of Canadian troops is coming over to do duty in England, and a body of French Canadians have been performing good service on the Nile; throughout Australia, too, have they not armed ships and prepared troops? have they not offered us material assistance at the Cape? Is not the Queen revered among our

¹ *Exodus of the Western Nations*, vol. ii, p. 420.

Antipodean brothers? The fact is indisputable that Imperial unity is practically stronger than it was twenty years ago, though, logically, to a student fresh from his books it may seem strange that such should be the case.

There never was a question which more deserves to be treated according to Lord Melbourne's famous phrase 'Why can't you let it alone?' All kinds of experiments have been tried with colonies, with very evil effects, and for very many years. There is one plan that we have only lately begun to try: and that is the plan of letting them absolutely alone as to home affairs, and showing them, and receiving from them in return, friendly and ever-growing cordiality; that policy has answered very well; why disturb it?

Colonists with whom I have lately talked, from all parts of the Empire, tell me that this new proposal of Imperial Federation is looked upon everywhere with the same sort of amused acquiescence as the exuberant loyalty of an after-dinner speech. It is all right, no doubt; but it does not require serious comment. As for asking for it, or agitating for it, such a thing has never entered into a colonist's head. The Agent-general of one of our largest dependencies told me that he had made it his business to inquire whether any of the Colonial papers had commented on it, and he was told that the matter was considered to be one that was hardly within the range of practical politics. It might amuse unemployed statesmen at home, but if ever it came to be so far practical that sacrifices were demanded or even talked of in the colonies, it then would be time enough to speak. Sacrifices are freely made as we see, under the bond of a free and unwritten constitution. Would they be made for a paper Confederation? And would not the mother country, on her side, think that theoretical perfection of federation was too dearly bought at the expense of giving up the Institutions which have been the growth of centuries?

What is the use of the League? Do they propose to create anything which does not already exist? It appears to me that Mr. Forster gives up the whole question in his first paragraph, when, in answer to his own question, What do you mean by Imperial Federation? he replies:

Such a union of the mother country, with her colonies, as will keep the realm one State in relation to other States. Purposely I use the word *keep*, not *make*. I do not say that we are trying by federation to make the Empire one commonwealth in relation to Foreign Powers, because at the present time it is one commonwealth.

Everything according to this is right just now. But Mr. Forster is afraid that everything will go wrong if he does not intervene. But, if he does intervene, he does just the very thing that has destroyed former Colonial systems. He wants to provide a remedy for weak points which seem logically consequent on facts as he understands them. But is he sure that he understands the facts rightly? Does he

make due allowance, for instance, for the fact that the world is not altogether, or even mainly, peopled by doctrinaire Radicals? 'There is,' as Sam Slick says, 'a good deal of human nature in man,' and moreover there is a good deal of unobtrusive common sense on both sides of the globe. There is in the Colonies quite sufficient acuteness to see that on the whole there is an advantage in belonging to a great Empire. It affords strength, prestige, and, up to a certain point, safety. As for the mother country, if she and any colony disagree, she gives up as far as she can for the sake of peace, and for the sake of union. If she really cannot yield, she says so; by a little forbearance matters are usually accommodated. Even in times of trial both parties to the compact know that to exercise rights to the full might cut off the nose to spite the face.

The colonist could go if he pleased; complete representative institutions, administered by persons chosen by and responsible to himself, make it possible. But he is quite conscious that British citizenship is worth something. Loyalty to Queen and country is a solid factor though it be not easily ponderable. Passion blows over, tempers cool, good humour returns. It is not logical perhaps; a self-governing community might, reasoning *à priori*, be expected to make no concessions. But, as a matter of fact, mutual concessions are made, and things go on smoothly—so smoothly that, as I have pointed out, the unity of the Empire has increased enormously during the last twenty years. Colonial loyalty has even survived the reign of Lord Derby at the Colonial Office: they have burned him in effigy in Queensland, it is true; but that has not prevented Queenslanders from volunteering with hearty good will for service in the Soudan. Now suppose for a moment that the particular form of Congress or Imperial Parliament recommended by Mr. Forster were in existence, how would matters stand then? A question arises, say in Australia. The Australian delegates, probably after strong electioneering disputes about the point at issue in their own country, bring the matter before the Superior Legislature, according to definite instructions from home. England takes her position, and states it, much as she would do under the present system. She is aided perhaps by the delegates from the Dominion. The matter is formally and publicly debated, the press takes it up, the parties grow more and more in earnest, a vote of the Superior Council hostile to Australia is imminent. But I will not go on. Would any question be more likely to come to a common-sense peaceful solution under such a system than under the present? And if it did not, we should be infinitely worse off as regards Imperial Federation under the new system than under the old, because a breach would be irrevocable. At present a quarrel might end in estrangement for a time; but, as no formal act would be recorded, there would be at least a chance of making friends again. A tiff would not necessarily be fatal. Under the new system a serious rupture would be much more likely.

Disguise it how you will, Mr. Forster's proposal amounts to this: that the colonies should give up something which they now possess, and that the mother country should acquire something she has not now. Mr. Forster frankly admits that the nominal veto possessed by England on colonial legislation (I speak, of course, of colonies where responsible government exists) cannot be exercised. Burke² pointed that out before the American War of Independence. 'Spain,' he said, 'in her provinces, is perhaps not so well obeyed as you in yours; she complies too, she submits, she watches times—this is the immutable condition, the eternal law of extensive and detached empires.' This was true of the old Colonial system; it is true also in a still greater degree of the new system under which we live. We do not even pretend to command. England acts the part of elder sister among her scattered dependencies. In 1864, I moved, in the House of Commons, for a return of the titles and dates of Bills, passed by legislatures of various colonies, to which the Royal assent was ultimately refused, since the year 1836. That return, dated July 26, 1864, is on record. It shows that a few utterly unimportant colonial Acts, relating to such matters as timber duties, local currency, &c., were disallowed about the years 1840–3. An Act was disallowed in 1852 in New Brunswick, because it dismissed a Bishop appointed by the Crown. In Canada three Acts have been disallowed since the Union: one relating to secret societies, one relating to the constitution of the Legislative Council, and one—the last time when the veto was exercised, March 29, 1845—'An Act to dissolve the marriage of Henry William Harris, Esq. with Eliza Walker, his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.'

It may therefore be said that the direct Royal veto does not exist. I will speak by-and-bye of an indirect, but none the less powerful, veto which does exist and flourish. Colonies are completely free of direct interference, or at any rate as free as they wish to be. There is a machinery by which they keep touch with the Sovereign of the Empire and avail themselves voluntarily of the Royal Prerogative in daily life. The fact that this machinery exists does not contradict, but rather emphasises the assertion, that if the colonies remain in Union with us, and in subjection to the Queen in the same sense as we in England are subject to her, it is because they like it. They prefer a Constitutional Monarchy to other forms of government; they love the Queen and England. They know that by remaining under a limited monarchy they are saved from the periodical recurrence of the most disturbing form of political excitement, namely, Presidential elections. The great Past of our common country is their possession as well as ours. Lastly they form part of an Empire upon which the sun never sets; the glory of it, the strength of it, the sentiment of it is theirs as well as ours, and to as great a degree as ours.

² *Conciliation with America.*

But, beyond mere self-interest and convenience, there is, as I said just now, at present existing a material bond of union between Britain and the colonies, of which Mr. Forster apparently is unaware, for it is hardly conceivable that, if he knew of it, he would omit to notice it. The bond in question forms a material link of federation as solid as that which Mr. Forster is anxious to secure; and it has this advantage over Mr. Forster's proposal: it exists already; it is constantly and freely used; and it requires no new addition, nor does it demand any sacrifice on the side either of the colonies or of the mother country. The bond of which I speak is the close inter-relation which exists between the Law Courts of the various colonies and the Crown. There is, as students of our Colonial policy are aware, a power of appeal from the Colonial Law Courts to the Queen in Council, who, on appeal made to her, refers the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The English Parliament has full powers of legislation. They rest on the '*jus et consuetudo Parliamenti*,' and are independent and unlimited. The Colonial Parliaments on the other hand derive their authority from their respective Imperial Acts. Appeal lies from the Colonial Courts to the Queen herself. For instance: in Canada there is a federation:—every matter which is not specially reserved to the Provincial authorities is by presumption of law reserved to the Union Parliament, and an appeal lies from the Provincial to the Supreme Court; but a further appeal lies from the Supreme Court to the Queen in Council, and thus a constant and indeed continuous pressure of continuous superior authority is kept up, which keeps the Colonial Parliaments through their law courts in direct touch with the Crown. No artificial authority would replace this direct and natural relationship. The absolute impartiality of the Judicial Committee is known and thoroughly trusted throughout the Empire, and by this means a tie is kept up between the colonies and home which is stronger than mere convenience; it is indeed a necessity so imperative that, if forcibly taken away or broken, its removal would involve consequences that are equivalent to revolution. There is a very solid advantage to the colonies in having without expense or trouble a Court of Appeal beyond the limits of the colony, a court, moreover, of so high a character that it is constantly invoked, and its decisions received with unquestioning submission and with general satisfaction.

But since there is absolutely no reason why the colonies should not enjoy all these advantages as long as they like, and since under our present system they show every symptom of wishing to remain with us, why interfere? When a schoolboy examines the works of his watch, his elders, if they are cognisant of the deed, are sure at least of one thing: that he will not improve it—going. He may by good luck do no harm. But if the watch went well before the examination, it will go no better afterwards, and if it goes worse, it will then be too late

to regret that the examination has been made. For thirty years and more the present system has been in full swing. We depend for the Union of the Empire, not on treaties or written documents, but on the unwritten law of custom and the strong bond of mutual advantage. The plan has worked well. The bond is strong; it is increasing in strength; why not let it alone?

I must now recur to the assertion of Mr. Forster, that the union must eventually be dissolved unless something is done to preserve it? Everything here depends upon what Mr. Forster means by 'eventually,' and what he means by 'something.' Everyone must acknowledge that if ever a time should arise when anger at real or fancied injury should prove stronger than the forces which now work for continued union, disintegration will ensue. That would equally be the case if a written Federation were in existence. The problem, then, to be examined resolves itself into three questions: (1) What are the forces which make for union? (2) what are the possible forces which make for disintegration? and (3) what is the 'something' which, according to Mr. Forster, must be done to preserve the union? When we have ascertained that, we must ask, will that something be efficacious for the purpose proposed?

In examining these points we shall see that very often Mr. Forster answers himself, and when that is the case I shall assume that such answer is sufficient without further argument. First, then, what are the forces which promise a continuance of union?—that such union already exists, and has not now to be effected, Mr. Forster expressly affirms. The question is, will it continue? Two of the forces now in operation for continued unity I have noticed before: one is loyalty to the Crown. It is a sentiment: I give it *valeat quantum*; it would be unwise to overvalue it, and equally unwise to under-estimate it. Then there is the prestige and the solid advantage of belonging to a confederation powerful beyond compare: the same observations apply to this as to loyalty. In the words of Dante, 'Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda, e passa.' Then comes self-interest: that of course is the main consideration; and I think Mr. Forster supplies a quite sufficient answer when he says (p. 203): 'We do not tax the colonies, but we do defend them; and I rejoice to believe that we shall continue to defend them.' So strong does Mr. Forster think this argument, that he says it is one which must be pondered in the interests of the voters and taxpayers of the United Kingdom. Plainly, it is an inducement so great that it would require a rude shock to colonial interests to make them cast it behind them. That they do feel the advantage of it is plain by the fact that they are organising armies and navies of their own to co-operate with ours. Mr. Forster says that, though they are doing so now, they are bound by no compact to continue that line of action, and that, having no voice in the making of peace or war, they are likely

to break off if that power is used in a way of which they disapprove. I have no wish to undervalue that argument; but I would ask how would Mr. Forster's proposed Federation mend matters? If circumstances of so grave a nature arose as to make it necessary for England to make war against the strongly-expressed wishes of any large colony, and if the question between them was so sharp that neither could give way, it is obvious that the strain which was too much for the present unwritten bond of union would also be too great for Mr. Forster's written Constitution.

There is another advantage possessed by the colonies under the unwritten law now in force, which they would lose, according to Mr. Forster's written constitution. They now have the right to make their own tariff arrangements. A great number of the colonies are addicted—rightly or wrongly I do not now stop to consider—to protection. Mr. Forster says (p. 214) that 'the right of the colonies to levy high duties on all imports, even with the object of protection and not merely for revenue, must be admitted.' He adds, 'such action can only be combated by argument and persuasion; but would not this colonial Board of Advice be an excellent opportunity for persuasion?' and further, 'could it not have great weight in checking protectionist legislation in any colony? and, I believe also, in furthering Free Trade.'

All through this part of the article it is difficult to make out exactly what Mr. Forster recommends. He does not venture to say that the written constitution should be used for the purpose of interfering with colonial tariffs; but it is obvious that his hope is that it would be so used. It is almost pathetic to see how Mr. Forster, like other followers of Cobden, clings through evil report and good report to their idol as to a thing good in itself, and to be forwarded everywhere and by whatever means. But I cannot help thinking that the following dilemma presents itself. If Mr. Forster does not mean to use the Federation as a means of interfering with colonial tariffs, he proposes nothing new, and we may as well leave the present system, which works very well, alone; but if Mr. Forster really does mean that under his constitution the colonies would have to defer to other colonies, or to England, or to a majority of the Council, then he is (and this is all I want to establish) asking from them a concession of enormous amount which they could avoid (without losing any of the advantage they at present possess) by the simple process of leaving matters as they are.

This is the case, from the point of view of the colonies. They have, as their portion, membership of a great Empire, with all the safety and protection it entails, and complete command over their own fiscal arrangements. Their preparations for defence, and naval and military preparations, are either voluntary or matters of agreement from time to time. If the union becomes irksome, they

have the power of putting an end to it. Under a written constitution all these obligations would be defined, and the necessity for them would be settled after debate by an Imperial Council. In return they would have a voice in the making of peace and war. But under the present system, if they considered the question of any particular peace, or any particular war, of such importance as to justify the sacrifice, they have the power of withdrawing from the confederation. Under Mr. Forster's constitution they would have no other power. It seems to me that they would gain absolutely nothing which they do not enjoy at the present moment.

Now as regards Great Britain, would she gain anything by a constitution? She would have under it, as she has now, the advantage of trade. Trade follows the flag. As regards our colonies, it follows the flag to an enormous extent. But this is an advantage which ought to have been put down to the credit of the colonies too, to a certain extent. She has the advantages and the attendant disadvantages of having an extended empire. As far as defence goes she is the stronger by the number of fighting men, and the weaker by the amount of vulnerable coasts and harbours. But in any great war she must have coaling stations, and to have them in war she must maintain them in peace. These she would lose, losing the colonies. And this must be set down as an advantage gained by Great Britain. She has also the possession of an immense field for emigration. She has all these advantages and disadvantages under the free system, just as she would under a constitution. But she has in addition the undisputed power of peace and war, which under a constitution she would share with others, and she would gain under a constitution (if the colonies could be persuaded to grant it) a certain advantage as regards uniformity in fiscal arrangements.

Now comes the question, would either party gain materially by a constitution, and, if so, would the party who did not gain agree to a constitution? To settle this point, Mr. Forster's proposals must be understood and defined. Perhaps we ought to have examined this point before, but the simple fact is that there is so much difficulty in deciding what Mr. Forster really means, that I was unwilling to enter upon that part of the question till I had examined what would be the effect of a constitution—*any* written constitution—without complicating that inquiry with the further question what it is that Mr. Forster really means and wants.

As I said above, when talking about colonial tariffs, Mr. Forster is by no means unambiguous. I think I shall not misrepresent him if I say that his main argument is this. The colonies have complete local self-government, but they have no power to modify or participate in the foreign policy which may at any time bring them into war. They will not long submit to this disqualification. A constitution must therefore be devised which shall give them a voice in affairs of

Imperial importance, and each party to the contract must be persuaded to make whatever sacrifices are necessary in order to attain the object. The question for debate, therefore, is what is the nature of the constitution to be devised, and what are the sacrifices to be made on either side?

The proposals that have been made, according to Mr. Forster, vary from a Parliament for Greater Britain, elected on equal terms by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom and of the colonies, to a working alliance, as proposed by Mr. Douglas in this Review.³ Mr. Forster then proceeds to examine the various proposals. One is the admission to the House of Commons of members for the colonies, and probably at the same time an addition to the House of Lords of colonial peers. This House or Houses would deal not only with Imperial questions, but with matters affecting the internal government of the United Kingdom. I need not dwell upon the plan, for Mr. Forster dismisses it as impracticable: I cannot but think he is right in doing so: questions relating to Canada, Australia, and the Cape would be blocked by vestry business and Anglo-Irish party politics. The thing would not work.

Then there is the proposal of a Congress (p. 208); an Imperial Parliament with subordinate Parliaments. This proposal Mr. Forster speaks of with approval but does not adopt it. He says the plan has nothing in itself impracticable, but anticipates that it might be viewed with suspicion in the colonies, and not be altogether acceptable even in England. In fact, though he expresses an opinion that it may be the ultimate form of federation, he rejects the establishment of it as at present premature. I cannot but think this summary rejection somewhat strange, because it alone of all the forms of federation that have been proposed is at this moment in operation, and has been in operation for nearly forty years, with the best possible success. Every self-governing colony has such an assembly, and if any form of written constitution were necessary, it would be easy to invent some way of allowing colonial Parliaments to make their wishes heard in the Imperial assembly. But I will not dwell upon this; I am not concerned to propose any new or modified Constitution, being quite content with things as they are, or might easily become under the present system.

I pass on to the form really advocated by Mr. Forster; but I am free to confess that I do not follow his meaning. He says (p. 208), speaking of the model he proposes:—

A Federal Congress is not the only form of federation, or even of complete federation. It is not the form of the League of the United Provinces, or of the Swiss Confederation as at first constituted, or of the German Diet. . . . My impression is that whereas in the one case the representatives of the different common-

³ *Nineteenth Century*, December 1884.

wealths deliberate as individuals and decide by a majority of members; in the other case they meet as the agents of the different communities, not merely to represent their interests and express their opinions, but also to convey their wishes.

I must frankly say that I cannot make out the meaning of this sentence. Deciding by a majority, in the first case, is clear enough. But what distinction is meant to be drawn between 'meeting as individuals and deciding by a majority,' and 'meeting as agents to represent interests, express opinions, and convey wishes'?

Be that as it may, the object, as I understand, is to obtain, by some form of delegation, a Council who shall deal (p. 208) with

Peace and war, treaties and negotiations, and also with all questions affecting the defence of the realm, the fortifications of its ports and forts, the provision for its army and navy, the determination of the strength of each service, and especially the respective contributions by each member of the Imperial Commonwealth for such defence.

Here we have a clearly defined scheme. Of course an Assembly which deals with sovereign questions, peace and war, strength of armaments, and still more expense of armaments, is and must be supreme and Imperial. It is not to be a 'Reformed' Parliament; that is, the present House of Lords with Colonial Peers added, and the present House of Commons with Colonial members added: that proposal has already been discussed and rejected as impracticable (p. 207). The Council is to be a new one, composed of Delegates or Agents from the Colonies, together with such members of the present Houses of Lords and Commons as may be voted into the 'Supreme Council'; the present Houses of Lords and Commons are to be set aside; or if they are to continue to exist, which does not very clearly appear, they are to occupy positions only of the secondary importance of vestries or local Parliaments. The Council is to decide on the strength, and the expense of the Imperial forces. It therefore follows either that the old dicta about no taxation without representation, and grievances being disposed of before supplies are granted, must be cast aside, or else the colonies must agree to share the enormous taxation which we now bear, and from which they are fortunate enough to be exempt. In fact our present Constitution, as by law and custom established, must be replaced by a brand-new constitution in which Great Britain is to throw the Monarchy, the Legislature, and the Imperial supremacy she enjoys into commission; and the colonies are to consent to submit to Imperial taxation!

I will not waste argument on this: I will content myself with asking, would the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland agree to this? It seems to me that when experienced statesmen go into Constitution-making on this stupendous scale, they should fairly face the meaning of the war-cries they utter. Imperial Federation is a fine, high-sounding phrase as long as its meaning is veiled in

decent obscurity; but when once the true significance of the propositions it makes are understood, one may fairly ask, will Great Britain and will the colonies make such enormous concessions to gain so very little? I trow not: and I can but marvel greatly how Mr. Forster can have brought himself to make such a proposal.

It is true that Mr. Forster adds, 'at the Federation Conference last November, I said that I did not think that the time was come, nor that as yet it was necessary, for the advocates of permanent union to decide between these two, the ultimate forms of federation.' Perhaps not: but Mr. Forster has named three forms, and has dismissed two of them as impracticable: this last he has formulated in the words I have quoted, and he adds that he is 'rejoiced to see that many men are becoming possessed by the idea of federation, and are determined to realise it.' So that at the best we are only offered a reprieve.

Alas for the British Constitution! As Marcellus says of King Hamlet's Ghost,

We do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence.

The rest of the article need not detain us; it contains some very good advice about consulting the colonies on matters that concern them, which can be followed equally well whether the Federation League carries out its plans or not. In fact, as far as I know, every Secretary of State for the Colonies has habitually followed it, except perhaps the flabby politician who now holds the Colonial Seals, and whom Mr. Forster expressly tells us he does not blame for his acts of omission. In which again I must respectfully differ from him.

Mr. Forster describes with approval Lord Grey's proposal to make the Agents of the Colonies Privy Councillors, and constitute them as a Board of Advice, to assist the Cabinet in the management of colonial affairs. This, as might be supposed from Lord Grey's great experience, is a steady-going and so far as it goes practicable proposal; it might be adopted without changing by one iota the present relations of Britain and her colonies. It need not entail on anybody a single sacrifice. I do not know what the Agents of the Colonies, or the Colonies themselves, may say upon the point. But, if the suggestion of Lord Grey is adopted, at any rate the assistance of the Imperial Federation League will not be essentially necessary in order to make it work effectually. If the League plays any part in the matter, it will be that of the wicked godmother in the fairy tale, who was omitted from the invitations to the christening, and who came in, unasked, to drop some evil gift into the baby's lap. I humbly venture to urge all who wish well to our now united Empire, not to sacrifice the priceless Freedom which has been the growth of ages, to the impracticable Utopia of a written Federation.

BURY.

II.

LORD BEACONSFIELD called the English an enthusiastic people, and there is some danger that we may hastily infer that if our fit of enthusiasm for new schemes of Imperial Federation be not at once caught up by the colonies, a permanent union with them is impossible. It must be 'either a closer union or disintegration,' say some. But let us not be too hasty in assuming that sudden developments are necessary.

If Mr. Goschen will allow us to say so, 'after all' it is no bad thing that the Federation League should have been formed, although it may produce just now more 'fads' than federation. The formation of the Society shows that men's minds are alive to the value of the colonies. It is to be hoped that there will be less said of drawing 'the bonds between us and our children closer,' and more of confirming their position where satisfactory, and of securing their commercial aims. The position of a listening and helpful friend should be ours, rather than that of a dictatorial parent. Where colonists have spoken of federation, they have often meant reciprocity in trade. Where Englishmen have spoken of it, they have often meant only colonial contribution to common defence. Our long-established trade has taught us that defence means defence of trade-interests, wherever they lead. Our sons' minds have been more set on creating industries at home, and they have hardly begun to think of wars which come from opening new markets. Although the different lines of thought lead to the same conclusion, namely, organised union for common interests, we may be somewhat premature in laying down plans for Imperial co-operation. They who have as yet spoken of these plans are, for the most part, British politicians. It is, however, significant that the Prime Minister of Canada was present at a meeting of the 'Imperial Federation League,' and gave a general promise of Canadian aid in any 'wars of defence.' It remains to be seen how far Canada would be willing to impose a permanent charge on her Treasury for other than home defence. As yet she has had too much to do in developing public works to attain to more than the maintenance, in a poorly organised and badly officered condition, of a force of about 20,000, out of a nominal roll of 40,000 militia, whose fine phy-

sique and great individual intelligence make them worth a great deal more than their small numbers imply. She has shown that she looks to England to do armed marine duty for her, and she is not desirous to garrison her one important fortress near her Atlantic coaling stations—namely, Halifax. But she is showing her knowledge of her inadequate military condition, and is training officers and is voting larger sums for the annual drilling of the militia. Her population, expanding over vast surfaces, is being strengthened both for civil and military cohesion by a thorough railway system; but she will need all the consciousness her best men have, that defence means preparation and organisation, if she wishes to inspire respect for her ever-increasing and ever more vulnerable possessions. One of her statesmen, formerly her High Commissioner to England, has suggested that a tonnage duty, levied on all ships sailing under the British flag, be devoted to fortification of coaling stations. It is to be feared that the shipowning provinces of the Dominion would object to this excellent proposal, although it might meet with the approval of those who are less directly interested in marine property, and would be an indirect tax which might commend itself to inland provinces and to some of the Australian colonies.

If Canada, then, has but recently shown striking aptitude to realise the conditions necessary for adequate defence, how does it stand with Australia and the Cape? The Cape Government's past attitude may be described in few words: 'Be always taking what you can, and seeking how you can get more; our contribution towards necessary expenses being one corps of Rangers.' With Australia it is different. She has shown a natural desire to prevent her neighbourhood from being garrisoned by convicts or the forces of warlike States, and she has been quite ready to pay handsomely for any English assistance she requires. Some of her colonies have exhibited a most spirited desire to share the expenses of maritime as well as land defence, and have even offered their vessels for offensive operations. The excitement attending the outbreak of war, with the sympathy for the mother-country, may be depended on to produce offers of assistance whenever England needs them. It is the permanent contribution for a common policy in the piping times of peace which presents more difficulty. Her division into several colonies, often showing a good deal of jealousy of one another, has prevented any combined scheme of national defence; but she, like Canada, may be relied upon to slowly improve her opportunities. The spirit is willing, but the stress is weak. She has not known the pinch of danger. Until a Customs Union exists throughout her continent, and railways bind her together, she will not be able to do justice to the patriotism so conspicuous among her people, or take the place due to herself in the Imperial union of States.

There is always a minority among all English-speaking peoples

who deem military expenditure so much waste, a mere thing of vanity, of fuss and feathers. There is in the colonies a certain minority who, as with us, deem patriotism to mean anxiety for the welfare of those only who may for the time have identical ideas as to trade, or who may reside within easy distance of certain centres, geographical or manufacturing. Their ideas are not to be left out of account, for they embody one of the most powerful of human sentiments—namely, the imagination (for it is not the reality) of immediate interests. It is important to show such parties that anything proposed to be done is devised not only for Australian, or Canadian, or British purposes, but for mutual and general good. We adopt free trade because we think it suits us. The colonies have no direct taxes, and have a high revenue tariff because they think such arrangements suit them. It does not follow that we need not care for them because they are not free traders. In giving us more favoured treatment than they give to foreigners, and in taking far more of our goods than they take of foreign goods, they yield to us more than we yield to them, for we treat them and foreigners equally. Our gain from their affections and trade connection far outweighs the cost of the navy we keep to protect the ships which carry the commerce. But in asking them to look to their own defence we exercise a legitimate moral influence, which is not for British interests only, but for theirs also. We must not ask too much or more than their legislatures will freely sanction. There has been no sign as yet that Colonial Parliaments desire to shirk the legitimate expenses of common defence. They have much to do with their money, but will listen to any reasonable representation for the general weal. It is probable that maritime war, except as regards shore-torpedoes, can be best and most cheaply undertaken by the British Navy, while it may be reasonable to ask the colony requiring the service of the ships for any special duty affecting their coasts to contribute to the expense of maintenance during the time they are so engaged. War is becoming a common danger for all parts of the Empire. It is so in a greater degree, the more the colonies develop, and possess, or are connected with, great areas around the original settlements. Any hostile force would in the Pacific attack at once the Australasian cities and the valuable coaling stations of Vancouver, thus injuring at once Australia and Canada. It is the same in case of war with Russia. These colonies have, therefore, a right to have their wishes consulted, to be informed of all that is passing that may lead to war, and in case of the non-observance of that consideration which should be shown by the Imperial Executive, would acquire a right to refuse supplies and declare neutrality. The only way to reduce the danger of temptation to such action is to admit them in some form into Imperial Councils. It should not be possible that a Secretary of State can settle payment to America for alleged outrages by New England fishermen, without consulting Canada and

Newfoundland, and then expect these colonies to pay the damage assessed without their knowledge. It should not be possible for Downing Street to negotiate with France about the abrogation of her fishing rights in Newfoundland, without informing Canada of what is contemplated. It should not be possible for British Ministers to propose that France be given islands in the Pacific in lieu of rights in Newfoundland, without consulting Australia. If we take powers of attorney, it should be by express commission.

In commercial matters we have ceased to assume the power of attorney. It is a mark of the great change which has been wrought by the growth of our so-called dependencies that Lord Grey, who twenty years ago specially claimed for the mother-country the right of directing the fiscal policy of the colonies, should be the first to propose the immediate adoption of the suggestion, made at the Colonial Institute in 1884, to have a 'council of envoys.' The Board of Advice he proposes is nothing else. It would be a Committee of Privy Council holding regular meetings, and able to advise, check, and direct the Secretary of State. It would advise the consummation of different commercial bargains made for the advantage of different parts of the Empire with foreign nations. Made under the auspices of England, these would always give to England the most favoured nation treatment. But they would not be made on England's basis of free trade, and hence the dislike of some among us to the proposal. The council or board would further agree how best to defend the interests created by such treaties. It cannot be too strongly stated that the making of such separate treaties is no new thing. Since the appointment by Canada of a High Commissioner to represent her in England, she has had the fullest latitude given to her to send her envoy to make separate bargains with Spain and France, the English ambassador acting as introducer and co-adjutor in the negotiations undertaken by the Canadian. This was a great and new departure at the time, but it marked a recognition by England of actual facts, which will grow clearer and clearer to the eyes of all men every year. The situation of our Empire is an entirely new one. Nothing like it has ever existed since the world began. There is no precedent for it. Our union with our sons must be strengthened, not by tying them to our commercial programme, but by helping them to realise that which they desire to adopt. The partners in the Imperial firm must pursue each his own line to benefit himself, and so raise the reputation of the partnership as being composed of men of wealth and enterprise. In affairs affecting the standing and credit of the whole number, or of several, they may meet the senior in consultation, and, as each represents important property, a new policy is not likely to be adopted lightly, nor will any project calculated to enhance profits lack good backing. The statesmen in Canada, who have been in office since this new

departure has been fully inaugurated, are perfectly satisfied with the position of their country in this most important of all matters. The leader of the Opposition, before he knew of this freedom given to the Canadian envoy, spoke of his countrymen as 'the subjects of subjects,' for that was indeed the position in which the old British policy placed them, and it was one which could not survive an increase in their own power. 'We want,' said Sir John MacDonald last month at Montreal — 'we want no independence in this country, except the independence that we have at this moment. What country in the world is more independent than we are? We have perfect independence; we have a Sovereign who allows us to do as we please. We have an Imperial Government that casts on ourselves the responsibilities as well as the privileges of self-government. We may govern ourselves as we please; we may misgovern ourselves as we please. We put a tax on the industries of our fellow subjects in England, Ireland, and Scotland. If we are attacked, if our shores are assailed, the mighty powers of England on land and sea are used in our defence.' And under this so-called 'protection' government the tariff against English goods is one-half less than that imposed against us by the Americans; and the merchandise bought from us is immense in quantity, Australia taking even more proportionately than does Canada. Australia, probably owing to the want of a common tariff, has not as yet shown a wish to have her representatives put on the same footing as that secured, by Canada's desire, to her envoy. The Sydney Convention, indeed, rather gave the Agents-General to understand that they were not sent in any way as quasi-ambassadors. This alone shows the unreadiness to undertake common action and to push common interests, for there is no strong central government having any definite will and policy which it is necessary to have explained and illustrated and pushed by personal conference and contact with the Home authority in Downing Street. I fear that the Cobden Club have more tribulation in store, for it is highly probable that all Australia will have a common high revenue tariff. Then will come, as has already come in British North America, the desire to push a national commercial policy in alliance with England.

The work, then, of any friends of Imperial Union should be first to ascertain the desires of the colonists. If any special scheme be thought good here, it should be submitted to the colonial governments by the Association before it is pressed on the public for acceptance. We can form, as it has been suggested, a vigilance committee in Parliament at home to take cognisance of anything affecting the colonies, and this we can do without consulting anybody but the men who may desire to serve. But it is difficult to believe that any Australian or other administration can have been consulted and can have given a favourable reply to such proposals as the following, namely:—1. The proportional representation in one unwieldy Parliament of the

colonies. The House of Commons has too much to do now, and hardly attends to Indian affairs. It is not to be imagined that colonial M.P.'s would like to be constantly out-voted by a British majority, nor is it conceivable that, when the colonial population is larger than ours, England would submit to be outvoted by the colonies. Mere difficulties of personal attendance would make the scheme hard of execution, and its unpopularity makes it impossible.

2. Nomination to the House of Lords of prominent politicians from distant parts of the Empire. It may be sufficient to ask what politician, having good influence in his native Parliament, would leave it to sit in a House which has little weight even in England, and less in deciding Imperial issues? And if any man chose a seat in the House of Peers in preference to a place in his own Parliament, how could he be considered a representative of the Government in power in his own country? If he be not that, he would have no right to speak in the name of his own country, nor could his vote bind her action. If not a prominent man, his acceptance of such a nomination would only excite ridicule. Who would be a Viscount Wagga-Wagga or Marquis of Massa Wippi? A man elected to sit in the present House of Lords would only be one voter in an assembly of several hundred, and would have no special weight.

3. Conference of Trades Unions. This would be useful as indicating where the unemployed or well-provided emigrants had best direct their steps. It may be safely assumed that the workmen of towns where high wages may be had would not invite others to come and thus depress the standard of the remuneration earned by labour.

4. A council like that of the German 'Reich.' This would be more easily accepted than the sending of a contingent to either House of Parliament, but it has not been discussed.

Other suggestions might be mentioned which all partake too much of the fault of looking at Federation as a means of making more powerful the British vote in a general union, and in not being endorsed by colonial voices. We should make vocal their desires rather than press upon them our own. The idea of a Board of Advice, composed of their representatives, has the merit of giving them opportunity of speech and of knowledge. It would not 'draw closer the bonds' so much as prevent any strain on those which exist. Do not let us do anything 'behind the backs' of those whom our action in their behalf may touch, however indirectly. Let no Minister in a colonial Parliament be able to say, 'We are threatened with this or that in consequence of Imperial action; but it was not until the danger had been incurred that we knew there was any likelihood that it would arise.' We need have no misgiving that the colonies would be unreasonable in their fears, or averse to incur the danger if fully informed, any more than we apprehend from an English House of Commons repudiation of the responsibility of the Executive charged

with the responsibility of war or peace. But the danger of repudiation becomes less, the more those affected by the determination are taken into confidence. The revival in some form of a Committee of the Privy Council, to advise 'on trade and the plantations,' would be the most certain method of giving for the present knowledge and voice to the combined colonial representatives. If the colonial Governments do not care for this, the 'question falls' for the time, and we may patiently await the demand, taking care in the meantime to fully inform each individual representative of our rising 'auxiliary kingdoms' of what is passing, and granting them free access to all persons and papers they desire to see, if these may be shown to Parliament. It has been objected that delay would be caused by any council. If the council be small, this is not likely, because telegraphic communication makes Australia as near to the Colonial Office as is Victoria Street. The time, if there be any delay, may be well spent in avoiding future misunderstanding. There is hardly any conjuncture where a Secretary of State must act with lightning rapidity in colonial affairs; but, if the necessity arose, the British Government must, as they do now, take the responsibility. It is also said against the plan that in most cases the members of the council whose countries are not affected by the business would only sit twirling their thumbs. This objection applies to all boards, councils, and Parliaments, and is an argument for autocracy. It is also alleged that the Indian Council Board is an analogy, and has been proved a nuisance. But the Indian councillors represent only their own opinions, and these often formed on past experience, whereas the men on the Privy Council Board of Advice would represent those whose voices would be potent factors in deciding questions submitted, because they are the mouthpieces of living nations and of living policy. A minute drawn up by Australia, dissenting from a given policy, would not be looked at so lightly as is a minute by an Indian councillor who may object to an addition to a salt tax. We should therefore consult with the colonial cabinets, and ask them if they do not think that we can obtain, by regular and recognised conference with their envoys, more intimate knowledge of the desires of their people; further opportunity for them to bring their wishes directly to the notice of England and of brother colonists; a better chance for them to combine to further the views of one of their number, or to declare against any impracticable project; less danger that any imprudent course shall be entered on by any one colony without consultation with others and with Britain; a time of discussion for any schemes for joint defence—in short, less isolation, and consequently greater strength for any policy taken up with forethought. The Secretary of State would be supported in adopting any given line by knowing he had the Empire at his back, or, by finding himself alone, would know when to advise withdrawal. But it is a question whether the day for any such plan is yet come.

It is only yesterday that Canada became a Pacific Power. It is only to-day that the Australians are being united by railroads, and they are still sundered in fiscal policy. The Cape has not yet become possessed of a people sufficiently powerful to make themselves felt. In any case let the colonies speak out, and we can wait, for 'all's well' at present with the loyal sentiments of our scattered brethren.

During this last fortnight they have again proved that they are heart and hand with us in time of trouble. Let us, if they desire it, make their voices be heard in council. They have told us that theirannon shall speak for us in the field.

LORNE.

THE VOLUNTEERS IN TIME OF NEED.

MORE than a quarter of a century has passed since the menace of some French colonels, expressive of their ardent loyalty for Louis Napoleon, called the Volunteers into existence. The proclaimed object of the new force was the defence of this country against invasion. In all the years since, there has never been so much reason to provide against that formidable contingency as at the present moment. The situation is far more menacing now than when the Volunteers first assembled in Hyde Park. It is impossible to deny that a combination of certain Great Powers, not ostentatiously friendly to us, would enable them to command our coast line and to land a great army on our shores. An especial interest therefore attaches to an inquiry into the competence of the Volunteers to bear their part in a possible event, to form a security against which is the reason of their existence.

Since their first establishment the Volunteers have largely increased in numbers. There was a time, some fifteen years ago, when, for some years, the force kept diminishing. But since 1873, when the number enrolled stood at 172,000, of whom nearly 19,000 were non-efficient, it rose steadily, till it stands now at 214,000 enrolled men, of whom less than 7,000 are non-efficient.¹ That so many men, of whose lives leisure forms but a small part, should give so much of it to this almost gratuitous service, proves that they have taken up the task in no holiday spirit, and is one of the hopeful signs of the times.

For some years the Volunteers were constituted in small corps according to localities—and of these there were many hundred. The infantry of the force, of which I will first speak, are now formed in battalions made up of companies—manifestly a great improvement; though with the tactical drawback that there is great inequality in

¹ It is difficult to say what other forces would be available for defence, because regular troops with their reserves, and in certain cases militia, would be required for foreign service, and to reinforce the garrison of Ireland. Taking the present establishment, and counting Army Reserve, Militia, Militia Reserve, and Yeomanry, the Volunteers would probably form two-thirds of our defensive army in Great Britain.

the head-quarters of military districts, when the nature of the certificate they have obtained is also indicated by a letter in the army list.

The non-commissioned officers are appointed by the commanding officer from among the enrolled members. Sergeants must obtain a certificate of proficiency within one year after appointment. They are tested, in a prescribed examination, by the adjutant, and their certificates, signed by him, are countersigned by the commanding officer.

This adjutant is, for the most part, an officer of the regular or auxiliary forces who fulfils certain conditions prescribed in the Queen's Regulations. He gives instruction to his corps. He visits all parts of it twelve times a year for military instruction. The names of Volunteers present are recorded by him, and he examines the recruits in drill. He notes those Volunteers present who may be qualified for the certificates of efficiency already described, drills the company, keeps a diary of the instruction he imparts, visits the practice ranges, and inspects the arms. He is assisted by duly qualified sergeants from the active army, their principal duty being to attend to the drill and instruction of the corps.

Hitherto the infantry has been spoken of. The formation of artillery Volunteer corps is only sanctioned when circumstances enable them to obtain suitable facilities for artillery practice. Great Britain is divided into artillery sub-districts, to each of which a lieutenant-colonel of the royal artillery is appointed under the orders of the officer commanding the royal artillery of the district.

The garrison batteries of the royal artillery and the militia artillery are formed in territorial divisions. Thus a brigade of the royal artillery has its depôt in Sunderland, and forms—with the Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire brigades of militia artillery, who have their head-quarters at Sunderland, Berwick, and Scarborough—the Northern Division. With these are associated twelve corps of Volunteer artillery, having their head-quarters at Newcastle (2), Alnwick, Tynemouth, Scarborough, Hull, Middlesborough, Carlisle, Seaham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield. The adjutants of these corps and the sergeant instructors are taken from the royal artillery and royal marine artillery.

They have officers in the proportion of one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, eight captains, and eight to twelve lieutenants, with a quartermaster and surgeon, to a corps of eight batteries, numbering from four hundred to six hundred and forty men, with a sergeant-major and two to three sergeants and three to four corporals per company. To obtain a certificate of proficiency the officers can go through a school of instruction at Woolwich, or be attached to a battery of the royal artillery, or a regiment of artillery militia; or be examined by a board of officers—non-commissioned officers are

examined by their own adjutants. They may form camps, by corps or by batteries, at stations where gun-practice can be carried on.

The efficient artillery Volunteers in Great Britain number roundly 38,000, forming 62 corps.

Engineer corps are formed, as a rule, of men whose business has fitted or prepared them for the service: of engineers, masons, carpenters, quarrymen, or the like. They form part of the forces of the military districts, and are under the orders of the Commanding Royal Engineer of these. A corps of eight companies has the same establishment as a similar artillery corps in officers, but a larger number of enrolled men, its force being 480 to 800, averaging 80 per company, and their non-commissioned officers more numerous in proportion (sergeants two to three, corporals eight to ten). The three years' course of instruction in the business of engineers comprises the making of field works, the preparation of posts for defence, the construction of military bridges, batteries, magazines, and mines. The drills, for two years, are divided into twelve engineering and twenty-four other drills—afterwards six engineering and nine others, and the certificate of proficiency depends on the Engineer Volunteer in each year attending and duly profiting by these.

The Engineer Volunteers number roundly 9,000 efficient in 22 corps. Those admitted to a course of instruction go to Chatham for the purpose.

The Light Horse and Mounted Rifles, less than 300 in all, are too few for specific mention.

Of the whole force, 6,000 officers and 12,000 sergeants hold certificates of proficiency.

Every corps, of whatever arm, is inspected once a year by an officer of the regular army duly appointed. Arrangements are made for the inspection by the general of the district, and time and place are made to suit the general convenience of the corps. Two-thirds of its numbers must be present, or the inspection is postponed. When a corps is in its regimental camp of exercise it is to be inspected in the camp. But when it joins a camp of exercise of the regular or militia forces, it is not to be inspected there (the number being too small for the purpose), but at its own head-quarters.

The Volunteers are not left altogether without assistance from the public to defray their necessary expenses. An annual allowance of 1*l.* 10*s.* is granted for every efficient Volunteer officer (who has attended a prescribed number of drills) and man, with a special additional allowance of 2*l.* 10*s.*, on account of each Volunteer officer or sergeant who holds a certificate of proficiency; and a special allowance of 10*s.* for every officer who has passed in the year the examination in tactics is granted for that year only. These sums go to the general fund.

Travelling expenses on a fixed scale are granted where companies

attend drill at stations more than five miles from the head-quarters of the corps, and artillery corps receive extra allowances for conveyance of guns, or other expenses incidental to gun-practice. Officers receive travelling allowance when on military duty.

Every company or battery receives 4*l.* a year for postage and stationery. Army forms and books are supplied at the public expense, and also regulations, and manuals of instruction and exercise.

The artillery corps from their own funds provide the sites of batteries, obtain leases of them, throw up the earthworks, provide accommodation for a resident gunner to take charge of each, and pay for keeping them in repair. The Government provides side-arm sheds and expense magazines.

Every corps is expected to provide a secure place for the custody of its small-arm ammunition, unless it can be placed in charge of ordnance store officers in Government buildings.

Every Volunteer receives a rifle, belt, and pouch. These they for the most part take with them to their homes. The Snider, hitherto their weapon, is being exchanged for the Martini-Henry.

Such, then, briefly are the conditions under which the Volunteer force is constituted. It is important in other ways besides numbers. The material of these two hundred and odd thousand is of superior quality. Londoners observe with considerable pride the workmanlike aspect of the battalions which march through the streets on their way to the drill ground. That the spirit they bring to the service is thoroughly national and patriotic is proved by the steadily increasing numbers enrolled, by the largely diminishing proportion of non-efficients, and by the zeal of officers and men. A large proportion of the officers are bent on extending their professional knowledge; they study the business of drill, administration, and command, they read military works, pass good examinations in tactics, and when in military camps show themselves capable of engaging, on even terms with regular officers, in the contests of the *Kriegspiel*. The men go into their work as if they enjoyed it, they give to it increasing proportions of their spare time, and while cases of insubordination are few, it is noted that the more strict the discipline of a corps the more ready is the obedience rendered. And when we remember that this is said of men who are under no obligation to continue to serve, it is a large tribute to their soldier-like quality. Lastly, we need not say that they are as a rule of superior education and intelligence; they consequently acquire a knowledge of their duties with unusual quickness, and it is to be expected, from the greater demand which modern war makes on the mental quality of the individual, that this would prove a great advantage before the enemy.

As to their proficiency in exercises as shown at reviews, manœuvres, and inspections, there is a good deal of important concurrent testimony to the effect that at present they work surprisingly

well when associated with regular troops, and that within a period of training after being called out, which different authorities estimate differently, but not exceeding the length of the notice to be counted on before they would be called on to engage the enemy, they would be fit to meet foreign troops in the field.

This estimate is of course formed on the system of training now in practice. Whether much of that system has not now ceased to be practical, whether much time is not spent in learning what does not fit troops for their only true function, is a question which has a wider application than to the Volunteers, though of course it specially concerns those whose opportunities of practice are smallest. But it is likely that a larger proportion of time given to exercising in extended order would not only be more in unison with the requirements of the age, but also better suited to the utilization of the special qualities of the Volunteer. When revolutionary France confronted Europe in arms, recruits full of zeal and intelligence were plentiful, but time did not permit them to acquire the close and rigid movements of the trained battalions; they were therefore practised as skirmishers, and acted with such effect that that mode of fighting was henceforward a necessary feature of an engagement. With no less practical effect would the quick perceptions and individual alertness of Volunteers be specially applied to the extended order in which they would be called on to move against the enemy. It might have been thought that the ancient superstition known as 'marching past,' demanding much time in preparation, for no practical result, could have been dispensed with, in the case of men with so little time to spare; but it seems that the relations and acquaintances of the troops take especial pride in seeing them go by in serried ranks, and it is therefore probably a necessary concession, though about three hours of the day's work are thus taken up on Easter Mondays.

Not less essential than training in movements is practice in shooting. At present all Volunteers use a range, where it is obtainable, up to 800 yards. But this is very far beyond what is desirable for the majority. The number of men who can ever make good shooting at long ranges is small, and much time and ammunition are thrown away. It would probably have an excellent effect to limit the practice of all but those likely to be fine marksmen to 300 yards, at which range the sight of the rifle need not be elevated. By firing all their ammunition at ranges not exceeding this, the Volunteer line would pour in an unusually effective fire at the distance practically adapted to the ordinary conditions of the battle-field; while the superior shots of each company should be specially trained at Hythe, and would find in a campaign plenty of opportunities for the exercise of their skill.

So far, then, the country has excellent reason to be satisfied with the Volunteers. Far more than could have been expected of what they

could do for their own efficiency they have done. At this point the responsibility passes from them, and the question arises: How is this excellent weapon to be employed effectively for its purpose? How are these two hundred thousand men to be so directed as to guard our shores and to assemble promptly on the line or lines of invasion?

In the first place, it is evident that to assemble the Volunteer corps, rifle in hand, at their different head-quarters, is only a first step towards meeting the enemy. They must be able to march, to encamp, to remain for any requisite time in positions where large bodies could no longer rely on the railways for supply; they must have haversacks, water-bottles, knapsacks, mess-tins, and cartridges; they must be accompanied by tents, provisions, ambulances, and ammunition. Where are these to come from? Can anybody indicate even the sources from which all these supplies could, with sufficient promptitude, be drawn? But to indicate the sources would be going only a very small way to the end. For how would this vast quantity of equipment, even if stored in existing dépôts, be made available for the troops? To be ready for immediate use on an emergency the personal equipment must be stored at the head-quarters of corps. Magazines of ammunition should be formed at strategical points, that is to say, at points from whence their contents could be at once directed on several possible lines of invasion; and dépôts of all that is necessary for the maintenance of armies in movement or in the field should also be established at these points. Without all these, the spectacle of the Volunteers assembled by battalions and corps at their own 178 head-quarters all over the kingdom, waiting for all this indispensable material to be manufactured, collected, and conveyed, would be of itself sufficient to cause a general panic. The first step, then, towards making the Volunteers a competent army is to create stores of personal equipment at all these head-quarters for every man, and more than every man, in the regimental district, and to construct and fill the necessary dépôts and magazines on all possible lines of invasion. These last, which need not amount to a great number, must be duly protected, and placed in charge of officials capable of directing the issue.

Now it is an unfortunate fact that this very first step is the one least likely to be accomplished. All War Office officials are familiar with the process that goes on when the army estimates are to be brought under discussion. A mandate has gone forth for cutting them down by a certain figure. The easiest, the simplest expedient, that which will excite least remark and least inquiry, is to cut down the estimate for stores. Who knows anything about them, or cares anything about them? So fortifications are left indefensible, batteries without guns, the army without equipment—and nobody objects. Troops may march about the streets and appear on the parade ground while quite destitute of the material of war. It is different with

the navy, which could not be left without equipment (except indeed in the matter of efficient guns), it is an inconvenient circumstance connected with ships that they cannot exist at all without supplies and equipment; so the only remedy in their case is to dispense with the ships.

The reason of this disastrous neglect lies in the extraordinary means by which we are content to administer our departments of war. They are in the hands of ministers 'who never set a squadron in the field, or the division of a battle know,' but who are pledged to maintain the interests of a particular political chief and political party. I speak not of any particular party, nor any particular minister—it is the vice of the system. It is not peculiar to these departments that they postpone the interests of the country to the interests of the party. There is no more powerful projectile with which to assail a political adversary than a charge of extravagance. Accordingly, at every crisis, the leaders use these missiles to bombard each other: 'The right honourable gentleman's administration cost the country six millions more than that over which I had the honour to preside.' 'Not at all; the noble lord forgets that a much larger expenditure than that was entailed upon us by his own policy,' &c. &c., to the great edification and delight of the hearers. If the speakers were to be perfectly frank on these occasions, like the inhabitants of the Palace of Truth, their avowals would take something of this character: 'I found my best claim to your confidence on a remission of taxation. The expense of preparing for war is very irksome in time of peace. As I hope for peace in my time, the odium of meeting war without preparation will not fall upon me. I have therefore reduced this item of expense to the lowest point consistent with the maintenance of appearances. I have allowed the army to become a huge simulacrum. I have encouraged that cheapest of national defences, the Volunteers, to enrol themselves, but chiefly at their own expense. I have withheld from them all that could render them of service in case of invasion. I have left the walls of our most important fortresses incapable of resisting an attack; for, to render these defensible, expensive works would be necessary. I have left the navy short of ships and the ships short of guns. While foreign Powers are vying with each other in the effort for military superiority, I have displayed in this respect a masterly inactivity. I am told that in given possible circumstances we might be invaded and even conquered. But let us hope that the contingency is remote, and not to be considered as of any importance in presence of the fact that I hope next year to take a penny off the income tax.' Now, strange to say, it is by no means incredible that a popular minister might address an audience in these very terms, not merely without disapproval, but with applause. The political prescience of our real rulers is bounded by next quarter's taxes. Yet there have been (and they

may come again) times when such a policy would have led not to Westminster but to the Tower.

The next proposal I shall touch on, with special reference to the Volunteers, is one that the most economical Government might venture to agree to, for it relates only to the completion beforehand of the plans necessary for preparing to meet an invasion. England, with London for the enemy's objective point, is a very compact, and not very extensive, theatre of war. Except along the southern shore, the points of possible landing are well marked and not numerous. Along that shore there exist wide spaces of beach where large forces might be landed at once; points capable of being made into bases of operations need not be chosen, as the real bases might be French, Belgian, or Dutch ports, the short distance from whence to the place of landing would be crossed in a night with supplies and reinforcements. But, in all cases, the groups of roads which the enemy must use for the march upon London might be foreseen with exactitude. The whole area between the coast and the capital, divided into possible theatres of operations, must be carefully reconnoitred, and all its military features thoroughly recognised. The first position in each case should be as near the coast as possible. It might not, indeed almost certainly would not, be practicable to assemble a force sufficient to oppose a landing covered by the guns of the enemy's fleet, since there are so many places where demonstrations might be made in order to render the real point doubtful. But, the position selected, the movement of all the field troops in the district, of all kinds and all arms, upon that position should be laid down, and every march by road or rail, every order for the transfer from the dépôts and magazines of the necessary material, should be anticipated. And as it might very well happen that a concentration on this first position might not be possible in view of the more rapid concentration of the invaders, the lines of movement on the next position should in the same way be calculated.

A piece of work of this kind was done by the students of the Staff College in 1877. It had been for several years the practice for the commandant to select a piece of country offering varied military features, and to plan a series of operations as taking place within its area. The officer-students were then employed as if under a general in actual war. Divided into parties, some on foot, some on horseback, they made reports of the roads, rivers, and railways, calculated the times of marching by road, or being entrained and despatched by rail; devised additions to platforms, and regulated the transit of troops and baggage; took up positions and placed beyond them a line of outposts. In the year named, some plans of defence having been sketched by the Intelligence Department, it was desired to complete by means of the officers of the college one of these plans. The rate at which the enemy could land in boats at a certain part of the

coast was calculated. The orders were thereupon issued ; the nearest available troops the force of which was known were summoned to observe and oppose, in some degree, the landing ; the enemy's first advance, and the measures for obstructing it, were calculated ; orders were issued (the writing of all orders was a part of the practice) for the concentration of the troops by rail and road ; a first position was taken up on account of its strategical importance as the troops continued to arrive, and was assailed by the still faster increasing forces of the enemy ; all our troops were then directed on a position of suitable extent in rear, those already engaged retiring upon it ; the manning of the position by the whole force was then planned, the ground sketched, and the troops of the defensive lines and reserves represented thereon ; and the line of outposts covering the front of the army was carefully placed and the due proportion of troops allotted to all its parts. This exercise when complete in all particulars was sent to the Intelligence Department.

Something of this nature has been in progress at that department for many years ; and two considerable sections between London and the coast have been completed. Six officers who have passed through the Staff College have been generally employed on the work under the chief of the Intelligence Department. And I make no doubt that it has been ably done. Still it appears to me that larger and more special means might well be employed for so important an end. One defect of the present mode is that as it must be more or less slow and intermittent, and as the officers directing it change with their tenure of office, there may possibly be some lack of unity in the system. A new chief may bring to the work new ideas not perhaps in harmony with those of his predecessors ; moreover, it is no disparagement to the officer who may hereafter be chosen to conduct the general business of the department to say that he may not have been able to give to strategy and tactics the sustained study necessary for so vitally important a task. It should be confided to an experienced officer or officers assisted by a considerable permanent staff composed of trained members of the Quartermaster-General's department, Staff College officers, Engineer officers, and draughtsmen, and they should proceed with all possible despatch.

The work is at present kept secret ; and it would at first sight seem judicious that the arrangements should be concealed from a possible enemy. But secrecy has its disadvantages : a work so entirely unnoticed may, on occasion, such as the demand elsewhere for the services of those engaged on it, be dropped altogether ; it is to be feared that, when so few know anything about it, in the end nobody might know anything about it ; nor would an enemy find any difficulty in making his own plans, and in calculating with considerable general accuracy, exactly what we might be expected to do—nay, it is quite possible that schemes including ours are now in some

foreign War Office. If it were conducted openly, those engaged in the work would be under a deeper sense of responsibility; their plans would be discussed in the army; they would have for what was good the confirmation of general approval, while what was doubtful would have to stand the test of criticism. All these considerations, however, are secondary compared with the step I would advocate—namely, that, when these schemes for defence are once finally settled, all the auxiliary forces should substitute for some ordinary drill a rehearsal on the ground of what they would actually do in time of war; that they should form camps near the places where they would be posted; should occupy in order of battle the line of the position; should see every outpost and every sentry posted—till there was not a company in the kingdom of the counties along the coast which would not have had the meaning of its existence vividly impressed on it by knowing its own place and its own part in the defence of its own locality. This would be infinitely more practical and more interesting than the ordinary autumn manœuvres; and it would cost nothing more than the present exercises of the militia and Volunteers, except in compensation for any damages to fences, &c. By-and-bye some autumn bank-holiday might be substituted for the Easter Monday, and all the forces of at least the eastern and southern sections of the country, militia, Volunteers, and regulars, might be assembled at once as defensive armies. What foreigners would chiefly learn from contemplating this would be the useful lesson that we were thoroughly preparing ourselves for a strong defence.

The theory, I believe, is that the field army would be formed of the territorial corps—that is, such line battalions as may be at home, or their dépôts, and militia, reinforced by the army and militia reserves; and that the garrison duties should be taken by Volunteers, whose primary function would of course be to guard the coasts of their own counties. Happily, their number is far in excess of that required for our fortified ports and posts, and a very large proportion of these valuable troops would go to augment the field army. But it is none the less expedient to assign at once to the auxiliary forces, whose head-quarters are at or near posts of which they might form the garrisons, the duties which would devolve upon them. For instance, the 2nd and 3rd Hampshire Rifle Volunteers have their head-quarters at Southampton and Portsmouth; they number together about 2,200 efficient; the 1st Hampshire Volunteer Artillery is 1,270 strong. Supposing these might constitute suitable garrisons for four of the forts on Portsdown Hill, I would suggest that these troops should be enabled to substitute for some of their battalion and battery drills a rehearsal of the garrison duties, taking over a fort from the present garrison for the day, the rifles manning the defences and furnishing the guards, and the artillery taking post in the batteries. It is especially necessary that these last troops

should be exercised with the identical guns which they would serve when called out. Acquaintance with the exact weapon, projectile, ammunition, and equipment is, in these days of complicated engines of war, indispensable to making use of them at all; while the confusion of gun-detachments which, called suddenly to man the batteries, would have to learn where to look for all the necessary stores, need not be described. The Isle of Wight Rifle Volunteers number 670, and should be appropriated in a similar way to that section of the coast defences which is nearest their head-quarters. The Devonshire and the Cornish Rifle battalions, seven in all, number nearly 6,000 men; the three Artillery corps of these counties amount to near 2,000; and these might be at once assigned to take up, in due proportion, the defences of Plymouth, conveyance by rail being given, with other allowances, whenever the more distant corps can find a day for the purpose. It would not be necessary that entire battalions or corps should take up the work together on other than special occasions. When every part of these knows its own place, it may proceed to exercise in its own part of the works, or its own battery, whenever an opportunity is found for the assembly of its members. I use examples only to give point to the suggestion. The consideration of an entire scheme might, of course, lead to modifications; but I think the soundness of the principle of making the men acquainted with their special duties cannot be disputed.

A matter worth attention is to consider what special advantages an army defending an island enjoys over one crossing the sea to invade it, and how these might be improved to the utmost.

First, the facilities of communication will be all in our favour. While the invader must at first depend entirely on the transport which he can land, we shall have railways, roads, and, it is to be hoped, a large transport corps (which, however, must probably be improvised from the vehicles of the district, escorted by yeomanry), at our command. But to render these available it is indispensable that the exact use to be made of every item of rail, road, and transport should be laid down beforehand, with reference to the identical troops which in the first instance are to use it. I believe that the data for plans for railway transport of troops in given districts have been submitted to members of the corps of Engineer and Railway Transport Volunteers to be worked out. These gentlemen are very eminent civil engineers bearing military rank—gentlemen whose names we are all familiar with in connection with the most important and remarkable public works of the time; but I do not know what special opportunities they may have had (unless when one may be a director of a company) of mastering the details of the regulation and service of trains on particular railways, which is the essential matter, and which I should have been inclined to entrust to the railway officials on whom the actual execution will devolve.

Next, it is to be considered that the horses of a great army would occupy a vast amount of transport, and their numbers would be kept down to the lowest limit possible in the invading force. We, on the other hand, should have all the horses and forage in the theatre of war at command, and would find no difficulty in employing all that could be used with advantage. We have some 8,000 Yeomanry who might do excellent service—not perhaps in manœuvring against and encountering regular cavalry, for which the time they can give to training must be all too little to fit them, but in orderly, escort, and outpost duties. But besides these services, I believe they might play a highly important part if they were trained as mounted riflemen. Many years ago I published the opinion that such a force might at a small cost produce great results. I am told that a prejudice exists on the part of at least some portion of the force to being trained in this way. But I believe that fuller knowledge would remove this. I do not now consider the subject for the first time, and continue to believe that the nature of the service would render it especially popular with the active, the enterprising, and ambitious. Men like Sir Herbert Stewart—an admirable horseman and full of dash—would make ideal commanders of bodies of these, which, under such leading, would neutralise greatly superior forces of the enemy, and might be expected to deal strokes of the most decisive effect. I can hardly doubt, therefore, that if the Yeomanry were trained as mounted infantry they would add immensely to their value as a national force.

Again, the enemy's march would be accompanied only by field artillery; the difficulties of horsing and moving heavier guns would be too great for him. Our guns of position—that is to say, guns of larger calibre than field artillery mounted on travelling carriages—would be of immense advantage in a pitched battle. Batteries of 40 pounders, placed on commanding ground, would defeat what must be the first endeavour of the enemy, namely, to crush our artillery with his own before launching his infantry to the attack. An artillery duel is almost of necessity a prelude to a general action, and it may be said that if the assailant fails in it he has but small chance of gaining the day. It would be a most important step accomplished, therefore, to complete the step already in progress, of giving these guns, with their full equipment, as soon as possible into the charge of the Artillery Volunteer corps, who would use them in action, so that they might be thoroughly practised in the service of this kind of ordnance. Sheds should be built for the guns, stores for their equipment, and magazines for their ammunition, near the destined places of the batteries in the line of battle, which places they should be made to occupy on days of specially complete exercise. We possess, I believe, a practically unlimited number of these guns, so that,

supposing a sufficient number to be (and a large number are) on travelling carriages, all the Volunteer and Militia Artillery available for the field army might be supplied with them. The position thus armed, the more mobile field artillery of the regular army would be disposable to augment the fire of the front or to manœuvre, and an invader must be greatly superior in other ways to contend with success against such a preponderance of artillery.

The task of the Engineer Volunteers attached to the land forces would be chiefly to entrench the positions. With this view they, like the rest, should have their places assigned according to their localities, and should spend some part of their time of training in becoming so familiar with the sites of the shelter trenches and batteries which they would be called on to construct, that every company would thoroughly know its work and be capable of rehearsing it on its own exercising ground. But there are other modes of employing a part of the force usefully. A scheme has been for some time in progress for defending our navigable rivers by submarine mines in charge of the Engineer Volunteers whose homes are along the banks. They are receiving the necessary instructions from the Royal Engineers, and the plan has made such progress that corps have already been assigned to defend in this way four of our rivers—the 1st Newcastle and Durham Engineers are entrusted with these defences for the Tyne, the 1st Lancashire for the Mersey, the 1st Lanark for the Clyde, and the 1st Gloucester for the Severn.

The general scheme of preparation would include a register of all the means of transport in the form of horses, wagons, and carts in the various localities, and the assignment of these to what would be their special duties, and to the troops which each part of them would accompany in the field.

So far, then, I have endeavoured to sketch a complete general plan for the mode of employing the Volunteers as a field and garrison force; a plan which, it appears to me, would endow them with extraordinary efficiency and vitality. Instead of the chaos and confusion that must ensue if the occasion were now to arise for calling the Volunteers to arms—a bewildered crowd, a futile haste, a purposeless tumult—we should have order and method secured by practice, and animated by an intelligence which would of itself go far to anticipate directions and rectify errors; resulting in the spectacle of a nation in the most perfect attitude for self-defence, and consequently glowing with the most resolute spirit. Those resources of which we hear so much would then flow in obvious channels for manifest purposes. Yet to render the kingdom secure there is still a measure wanting, and to it I will now advert.

Everybody who has touched on the question of the defence of England has insisted on the necessity of rendering London safe by means independent of the armies in the field. The capital is so near

to many points of our coast (one vulnerable point is about thirty miles from London, and others hardly more than forty), that a part of an enemy's army which might succeed, in any way, whether by force or surprise, in moving inland faster than the defenders could intervene, might lay hands on it. Vain would then be any victories of ours elsewhere; the foe would have us by the throat. Therefore, many schemes have been devised for the defence of London. The problem has proved one of quite unique difficulty, owing to the vast and constantly increasing area of the metropolis. Only a military ruler, absolute in power and energy, could face the task of making of it a fortress, that is, of enclosing the town with ramparts to secure it from assault, and surrounding these with an outer circle of forts to shelter it from bombardment. A compromise has been more than once attempted by abandoning the idea of the ramparts, and proposing to surround the capital with detached forts, permanently built and armed.

But besides the objection of locking up in these forts the great force necessary to man them, the value of the land would render it vain to think of purchasing sites so extensive. Moreover, forts imply the ability to stand a siege, and London is never victualled for that contingency, and never could be if the command of the sea were lost. What it needs is the ability to protect itself from assault, and to relieve the field army from the necessity of always directly covering it; a condition which must be embarrassing, and would perhaps lead to a fatal extension of our forces.

I would therefore propose the practicable and, to my mind, every way preferable course of designing a line of positions round London. Taking at first the most vulnerable sides, this line might start from Claybury Hill, in Essex on the Roding, to the Thames about Barking; thence, south of the Thames, following either the line marked by the heights of Plumstead and Shooter's Hill, to Bromley, or, if it were judged necessary to preserve Woolwich from the chances of fire, the more forward front of Erith, Bexley, Chislehurst, Bromley, and on by Beckenham, Upper Norwood, and Wimbledon to Kingston Hill, from whence the Thames would be the front of defence to Kew; thence, north of the river by Acton, Willesden, Muswell Hill, Tottenham, Woodford, to the completion of the circuit at Claybury. Within this circuit, of some fifty miles in extent, positions must be chosen, each including a group of roads leading upon the capital from a possible landing-place. Now it is not to be supposed that London would ever be attacked all round at once. The troops of the sides unattacked—presumably the northern and western—would therefore be available as reserves to the rest. On this basis 60,000 men might defend London. It is essential that the troops appropriated to this service should have their head-quarters within, or very little outside, the circle of defence. Let us see what proportion of this number is made up by corps now existing who fulfil this condition.

Thirty-six battalions of Volunteer Rifles have their head-quarters well within the line, mostly in London itself; these number 25,000. Two of the Essex battalions, numbering* about 1,300, are also within it. The London division of Artillery Volunteers is 3,300 strong. This force of artillerymen would suffice for the 160 guns (forty-pounders), which would amply supply batteries for the positions. But the infantry would need to be considerably supplemented. It is no peculiarity of the present plan, but common to all schemes for the defence of London, to require that a large force shall be available for that purpose only. My estimate is far below others when I take it at 60,000 men. This would involve the raising of 30,000 fresh Volunteers within the circuit, which, with those already enumerated, would form the guards of London. I believe that the universal encouragement and stimulus which the general scheme set forth in this paper would give to the Volunteers would render the addition of this number to the London division quite feasible. The Engineers of the defence would play an important part; the Middlesex and Tower Hamlets Engineer Volunteers number 1,400; the great building contractors and their workmen, who would be thrown out of employment by an invasion, should be enrolled in addition; and the whole force of this branch should be appropriated to parts of the line, and should practise exactly the works necessary for the defence of those parts—the shelter trenches, field works, preparation of buildings and streets—as previously planned by those charged with the scheme of defence—so that, when occasion should arise for executing what was already completely designed, every company would know and fulfil its own share.

I do not, of course, pretend that this force of 60,000 would be nearly sufficient to surround London with troops. But, as already said, it is not to be supposed that this could ever be necessary. A position from Claybury Hill to the Thames near Barking, six miles, would, when duly prepared, be amply furnished with 20,000 men and 60 guns, and would bar the approaches from the Essex coast. Another position (the longer of the two before indicated) from Erith, by Bexley and Chislehurst to Bromley, nine miles, would close all the roads to London from an invader landing anywhere from the mouth of the Thames to Hastings, and this line could be held by 30,000 men with 90 guns. Thus our most vulnerable sides would be at once secured; with 10,000 men still in reserve. Again, if the invasion, altogether south of the Thames, were to embrace the coast line from the mouth of the Thames to Chichester, the same troops, with the remaining 10,000, would continue the line from Bromley, by Norwood and Streatham, to Tooting. The line of defence from Wimbledon, by Kingston Hill, to Kew, on a curve of nine miles, would bar all advance from an area of invasion between Southampton and the Land's End. By the employment of these London guards on the front or fronts menaced, not only would the metropolis be secure from such bodies as might evade the field army, but the main body of the invaders, after

breaking through the field army, might be held till our forces could again combine against it. Moreover, there would then be no need for our field army directly to cover London, and the advantage of basing it on some other point would be easily demonstrable. Thus, based on Portsmouth, and posted across the Brighton Downs above the river Arun, it would oblige an invader landing near Brighton to wheel round to attack it, when, if the enemy were decisively defeated, he would not regain his landing-place.

In making themselves acquainted with the intended positions, the Volunteers should also occupy thoroughly designed lines of outposts.

Returning to the general subject, it is observable that the Volunteers are not always most numerous where most needed. Thus in Scotland there are 45,000, and in the Midlands of England more than 20,000. This, however, would suit the general scheme very well, for this last-named 20,000 could join the field army as the reserve of the battle-field; and the routes of all its corps, from their points of assembly to their places in the rear of each position of the field army, should be laid down. Scotland would certainly be able to reinforce this reserve with 10,000 men, while continuing to guard her own ports and coasts. But a more serious feature of the case is, that the counties most exposed to attack are very far from being the strongest in the numbers of their volunteers. While Manchester, for instance, supplies nearly 8,000 and Derbyshire 3,500, Essex has only four battalions, two of which have been assigned in this scheme to the defence of London, while the others would be needed for the forts on the Thames; the East Kent corps at Woolwich and Blackheath would also be needed for river defence, leaving only the 2,100 West Kent for the field in that great and exposed county; Sussex has only 1,600, while the Hampshire force would only serve to man a few of the works of Portsmouth. I would therefore point out the expediency of increasing the Volunteers of Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and Surrey (most of the Surrey corps are in London) till each should make up its quota of the field army to at least 5,000; that is to say, that the total additional numbers contributed by those five counties should be, say, 22,000. These, with the regular active force, the regular reserve, the militia and its reserve, and the yeomanry, supported by the numbers already computed as available from Scotland and the midland counties, would at once enable us to confront an invader, in the field and in fortresses, with a most sufficient army, while guarding London with its separate force. And it is easy to imagine circumstances in which a large proportion of the rest of the Volunteers would be free to reinforce those in the field. I am assured that nothing is needed but the feeling that they are a reality, to induce the Volunteers generally largely to extend their term of service, so that the recruits, who come in plenty, would be in augmentation, not in replacement; while the passed men might be induced extensively to re-enrol themselves.

I will here endeavour to give an approximate estimate of the expense which the proposed measures would entail. The field equipment—valise, water-bottle, haversack, mess-tin, greatcoat, infantry leggings, and a pair of boots—of each Volunteer would cost 2*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per man at regulation prices. If summoned to the field each would bring his own blanket, for which an allowance might be made to him. This rate, for the existing force, would amount to 442,000*l.* The 52,000 additional Volunteers would cause an addition of 107,000*l.*

The strategically placed magazine and store centres might be thus assigned: North of the Thames at Willesden, Highgate Junction, and Stratford in Essex; south of the Thames at Wimbledon, Croydon, Woolwich, and Chatham. Plenty of accommodation exists at the two last-named places; there would thus be five centres to provide for. Each of these should have a magazine to hold 300 rounds for 60 guns, with a shell store, and a store for field equipment, as tents, &c. To lease the site, and construct these buildings, may be estimated at 25,000*l.* a centre—125,000*l.* in all. Small magazines, gun-sheds, and drill-sheds at such headquarters of corps as do not already possess them, say 100,000*l.* Still better, perhaps, might it be to rent existing buildings for the purpose. A year's work on the general plan of defence (and a year might go far to finish it), with a staff of thirty to forty officers and a sufficiency of draughtsmen, might cost 25,000*l.* Total, in round numbers, 800,000*l.* Thus a grant of a million would leave a large margin with which to indulge any liberality towards the force that might seem most expedient.

The force cost the country last year 570,000*l.*, about 2*l.* 13*s.* a man. The projected augmentation of numbers would cause, at that rate, an increase of 138,000*l.* in the annual expense.

It is desirable that the nation should awake to a sense of the force it possesses, and which might be such a power for defence. I am confident that most readers will be astonished to find what a weapon we hold, and what we might achieve with it. I can only regard it as a piece of good fortune that would have been incredible if not real. Self-formed, and springing from the ranks and the will of the people, it is more than commonly secure from the operation of crotchets and mal-administration. In endeavouring to complete its efficiency I have suggested nothing which would not make us a large return* for a small outlay. We might make a beginning at once, and so give the world a much-needed assurance that we are a practical people capable of opposing the evils which threaten us. It is the fashion to call our navy our first line of defence; but this refers only to material means. Our first line of defence should be the respect of Europe.

EDWARD HAMLEY,

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE HILL.

‘I have spent all my life in trying to guess what was at the other side of the Hill. All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do—that's what I call guessing what was at the other side of the Hill.’—Duke of WELLINGTON, *Conversations with Mr. Croker*.

IN writing the present paper I am trying to follow the precept of the great man whose words I have quoted, but in trying to find out what is at the other side of the hill before us I must look back to what is at the other side of the hill behind us.

I make no excuse for again putting forward my opinions as to our dealings with Egypt; for at a time like this, however unpleasant it may be not to swim with the stream, or rather with the torrent, down which so many friends, men of ability and worth, are being hurried, it becomes a matter of duty to speak out if one thinks that thereby any good can be effected. I think good may be effected; for many persons who formerly differed from my views, even to irritation, as to the course that was pursued in Egypt in 1881 and in 1882, have of late informed me they are now convinced that, if those views had prevailed, we should not be struggling in our present sea of troubles. I may claim to write on Egypt with some knowledge of the subject. I have been constantly there since 1855, and I have taken invariably the deepest interest in the poor, downtrodden, industrious, and kindly natives of that country. I sympathised strongly with the movement of the National party that Egyptians should have a share in the government of their own land; I had confidence, which still remains unshaken, in the integrity of ‘Ahmed Arabi the Egyptian,’ to whom every eye was directed with hope and love from Assouan to Damietta. I believed that the moderate reforms of scandalous abuses asked for by him would have received the approbation of England, and indeed of every free self-governing country in Europe; but I was over-sanguine. The reforming party never had a chance. Abolition of abuses, the very recognition that the fellahs were ground down and oppressed, their cry of distress, their plea for mercy that their virtual slavery should in some degree be

lightened from off their shoulders—all these pretensions were highly distasteful to Turkish pashas, and to the usurers, financiers, speculators, and all the Levantine and European adventurers who had thriven, were thriving, and hoped to thrive, on abuses. To a man they lifted up their voices in dismay, from the *haute finance* down to the *cafés-chantants* keepers :

Mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne,
Mœstum ac sollicitum fuit,

lest the voice of Egypt should reach the nations by which her destinies were controlled.

Unhappily for Egypt, and quite as unhappily for England, this clamour prevailed. Those who should have tried to get at the truth, and to have ascertained what were the aims of the National party, were stunned by the clamour; they listened to those who were actuated by cupidities and fears, they kept at arm's length those with whom they might have worked with perfect harmony, they represented to our Government that the movement on foot was nothing more than the insolent and selfish pretensions of a mutinous soldiery, quite forgetting that these soldiers, officers and men, were neither mercenaries nor soldiers whose tendencies were military, but peasants, sons of peasants, whose only hope was to get back to their mud cottages and village life, and there to attain some security in the enjoyment of their own, and some relief from incessant exactions and the 'courbash.' Unfortunately Mr. Gladstone, the friend of Greece, of Italy, of the Roumanian Principalities, of the struggling nationalities in European Turkey, was not presented with the other side of the question. The English press and English tourists, all hearing the same story, ran in full cry, with but few exceptions.

And here let me pay a tribute to Mr. Cameron, the correspondent of the *Standard*, who lately fell at Abu Klea. He, when sent to Egypt, judged for himself, and informed the readers of that journal that the National party were not a mere nucleus of mutineers, but that they were the representatives of the whole country, native Christians as well as Mussulmans—that they were men whose character stood high, and that their aims were practical and moderate.

For a considerable period I hoped that we should have the foresight to work out this question in a manner thoroughly satisfactory to the interests both of Egypt and of England, by taking up and directing this national movement. I found Arabi eminently well disposed to place his trust in England. His reasons were clear and simple: all the miseries which had befallen his country were due to the reckless extravagance of the former Khedive Ismail, and in all of it the French were the chief abettors, and it was they who had obtained the profit. There was nothing to show, said he, for the overwhelming debt, except palaces multiplied on palaces, and reckless prodigality in

their fittings, and the south of France was peopled with lucky speculators who had retired to live in affluence on their spoils; but when Englishmen had made money in the country, they had left, as in the Alexandria harbour and docks, great and lasting benefits. The English, too, had the reputation of having dealt fairly with his Mohammedan co-religionists, whereas France had recently, by false pretences, laid hands on a Mohammedan country, and had violated with insults those sacred spots in Tunis which were revered by every Mussulman. He had a strong dread, too, that their main object was to gain ultimately the entire possession of Egypt. He complained with sorrow and no little indignation of the manner in which the objects of himself and his friends were misrepresented in the English press, but still he hoped that time would overcome all prejudices, and that the honesty and fair-dealing of his Government would convert England into its fast friend. He always said, 'The Suez Canal is, according to your profession, your first solicitude. You may rest assured it will be as safe for all the world in our hands as it would be with an English garrison at each end.' As to the payment of the debt, there was never the slightest faltering or evasion: 'Pay the interest of the debt,' said he, 'to the last piastre; but let us Egyptians decide as to the surplus, how it can best be spent for the good of the country.' It is alleged that he insisted on increasing the army—that is no doubt true; and I think, considering the work it had to do in guarding the frontier of Egypt, and in maintaining the many garrisons in the Soudan, he was not making a preposterous claim in fixing the limit of the army at 18,000 men—a far less number than that which was enrolled under Saïd. I have no doubt also that Arabi had turned his eyes to a possible invasion of Egypt and its occupation, but not by us. As I said before, there was still a hope, based on the amicable feeling of the National party towards England, that we might have got on together, and that prejudice would subside. But the clamour did its work. The Dual Note fell like a bolt from the sky, and from that moment English influence was at an end with the National party. Then followed the massacre of Alexandria, its bombardment, and its destruction, the slaughter of Tel-el-Kebir and the occupation—an act bad in itself and rendered ten times worse by the manner in which it was carried out. Every step since that event has more deeply involved us in the slough of difficulty, and now we are in it up to head and shoulders.

I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy, and assert that I foresaw all the misfortunes and humiliations which our untoward policy has brought upon us; but this I did foresee—that intervention and occupation would be followed by most serious consequences, and I expressed myself over and over again to that effect. When our diplomatists were eager to precipitate events which should lead to intervention, I ventured to say 'Hold hard,' and to give my reasons,

which I now briefly recapitulate. After the death of M. Gambetta French policy changed, and there was no desire for the occupation of Egypt by the French Government. It was not necessary for us, therefore, to go with them hand in hand. There was no danger of a foreign nation becoming masters of Egypt, and so interfering with the passage to our Eastern possessions. The Suez Canal was perfectly safe, whether Riaz or Sherif or Arabi ruled the country. It was clear to me, who have had much intercourse with Mohammedans, that no step could be taken by England more calculated to rouse the deepest resentment in the breasts of all who professed the religion of Islam than for us, a Christian nation, to assume the government of a country so essentially identified with Mohammedan thought, teaching, and tradition, and from the central college of which large bodies of students would go forth to inflame religious indignation against us throughout India and Afghanistan. We were bent on maintaining the security of our Indian possessions by dominating the Suez Canal, yet we forgot to shut our eyes to the insecurity we were ourselves causing by irritating very formidable masses in those possessions. I well remember, twenty-eight years ago, the warm greeting I received from the warlike tribe of Beni Zîd on the confines of Tunis and Tripoli. They had never seen an Englishman before; but nothing was too good, they said, for any of my countrymen, who were 'cousins of the Mohammedans,' who had come to the assistance of the Sultan, and helped him to beat off the Muscovites; and when I said the French had done the same, that was true, they replied, but the French were nevertheless their enemies, for they had trampled under foot their brethren in faith of Algeria.

It was my expressed opinion at the time of our intervention that we were courting danger in India, and that however honest our intentions might be to govern Egypt for the benefit of Egypt, we should be distrusted and detested by ninety-nine out of every hundred natives of that country; and so it has been. Of all nations we were the most popular there a few years ago, of all nations we are now the most detested. It is sad to think that the terrible news of the fall of Khartoum, accompanied as it was with the story of the massacre of their countrymen, was received with ill-concealed delight by the population of Cairo. But not only did I foresee all this Mussulman hostility, but also widespread and virulent Christian hostility; that we should be exposed to a continued course of European intrigue fomented by our French friends, who never would be at ease while a British bayonet remained on Egyptian soil, and that these intrigues would render all our honest endeavours to improve the condition of the people absolutely useless. We have not only France against us, but a combination of countries, and have had terms pressed upon us which savour much of humiliation; for most Englishmen cannot but consider the position forced on us by European Powers to be un-

worthy and humiliating. We are the only nation which has had an honest sympathy with the unfortunate peasants of the Nile valley and the Delta, and yet we are forced to be the nigger-drivers, the administrators of the lash to exact the last piastre from these poor wretches for the benefit of the bondholders. 'It is in vain,' we say; 'they cannot pay the full interest on this unjust debt.' 'They must pay it,' say the Powers, 'and you must at our bidding collect it.'

By these Egyptian transactions, moreover, we find ourselves at once involved with Europe. We have thrown away our envied and enviable insular advantages. We stand face to face with those nations whose armaments are absorbing all their vital forces, and whose example we have sedulously avoided. Now, however, we have to take a leaf out of their book, and the cry is raised for men and ships to meet all possible combinations. The cry is right enough, for the thought of a catastrophe is not to be endured, and the combinations, whatever they be, must be faced. But what has caused these combinations? What has encouraged the attitude of Russia on the confines of Afghanistan? What has given confidence to Prince Bismarck that all his rudenesses and pretensions will be accepted with meekness? Undoubtedly this ill-omened and unjust occupation of Egypt, must be the reply. We have never had a moment's peace since intervention began. The Nemesis of original wrongdoing has never slept.

But why recapitulate all this? First of all that I may claim the right to be heard now because what I said in 1881 and in 1882 has turned out to be but too true; and, secondly, because, on the Duke of Wellington's principle already quoted, I think we may best come to a sound conclusion by judging of what we don't know by the help of what we do. I abjure all idea of attacking the Government—that has become weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable—my only wish is to try and strengthen what I trust will be their ultimate resolve.

And now as to our future dealings with the Soudan and with Egypt. A month ago, if anyone had asked me if I were in favour of the retention of Khartoum as soon as our forces had joined hands with Gordon, I should have expressed myself quite as strongly for its retention as our Ministers have spoken for its virtual abandonment, thereby alienating from us every soul in the Soudan; for it was not likely that any man would be disposed to tender his throat to be cut directly we departed, as we took every occasion to announce we should do to all whom it concerned. I had the fullest confidence in General Gordon's resources, that he would be able to place in security this important fortress commanding the Blue and White Niles, and to make it the seat of a strong and well-administered government. I had equal confidence that of any engagement which should ensue the result would be such a defeat to the Mahdi's army as would have forced him to a precipitate retreat to the south, where he would pro-

bably have met the fate of unsuccessful pretenders. I believed that even an Egyptian garrison well commanded and aided by steamers would baffle every assault of the tribes, and I looked forward to the inevitable construction of the line from Suakim to Berber as rendering the position perfectly secure, and of the greatest value for commercial purposes and for the extinction of the slave trade. All this is changed now. We were inside the fortifications then, we are outside now. We have to face the siege of a place strongly fortified. We have no siege guns, and it is difficult to know how they are to be conveyed there. The district is unhealthy, and our troops would be exposed to all the worst influences of the climate, having to live in tents. The Arabs are now flushed with the conquest of the town and would make a desperate resistance. They were recently little more than a mob armed with spears and clubs; they are now possessed of cannon, rifles, and ammunition, which they have shown they know too well how to use. All the Mohammedan population of the Soudan would flock to their assistance, harass our communications, and cut off our supplies. I need not advert to the enormous expenditure which such an adventure would render necessary, and which this is certainly not the moment to incur.

What is the plea for going there? The plea—an irresistible one no doubt—was the rescue of Gordon and of the garrison, and the establishment of some stable Government. But Gordon is lost, and the garrison has gone over to the Mahdi, and there is no reason why a strong and settled Government may not be established by him, and his authority be respected; for, whatever has been the want of success of his lieutenants, his own career has been one of uninterrupted triumph, and faith in him burns as brightly as ever. Is it the fear of loss of prestige and of disastrous consequences arising therefrom, as resulted from our action in the Transvaal after Majuba Hill? The cases are totally different. We had been defeated by the Boers, and the failure to reassert our power so strongly deprecated at the time by the ablest of our colonial governors, Sir Hercules Robinson, has been fraught with the most disastrous consequences ever since. But in the Soudan we have experienced no defeat; British arms have not received a check, and foreign countries, even those least friendly, have expressed the highest admiration of the courage of our soldiers.

The plea assuredly cannot be revenge, though too often indeed we hear and read the expression, 'Gordon's death must be avenged'; but why avenged more than the death of any other Englishman during the war? He died a soldier's death; he was not subjected to cruelty or outrage. There has been no Cawnpore to drive us wild, and to make us cry aloud for just retribution. But he was slain by treachery! Surely to bribe an enemy is not treachery and contrary to the usages of war. It is impossible to beat it out of the heads of credulous folk that some such means were used to remove the Bedouin outposts the night before our attack on Tel-el-Kebir. Well, then, the

plea of policy remains, and it is asserted that not to persevere in 'smashing up the Mahdi' will have for its effect, first, to create in all probability an exultant uprising of Mohammedan fanaticism in India, and, secondly, that it is demanded for the security of Egypt, and that if Khartoum be not retaken and held, the wild tribes of the Soudan will harry Egypt to the very gates of Cairo.

In regard to the first objection, I am of opinion that a prolonged war with a Mohammedan spiritual conqueror is calculated to produce in India the very effect so properly deprecated. At this moment, wherever the Muezzin calls to prayer, the career of the Mahdi is the talk of men, and Allah is invoked to strengthen his arm against the Christians. The longer this state of things continues the more dangerous it becomes, and eight months at the least must elapse before the siege of Khartoum can be commenced. Ought it moreover to be lost sight of that we are about to employ Indian troops, carefully eliminating the Mohammedan element from among them? Is not such a course as that likely to awake a something more than irksome feeling—a suspicion that their religion is in danger—among the Mohammedan troops left behind?

Then as to the second objection. Cannot the security of Egypt be maintained by the connection of Suakim with Berber—that is, if we take it—and by the conversion of that town into a fortress at small expense? If that were done, and certain other points on the Upper Nile secured which command the desert routes—if, as has been done in Syria, small forts are erected to keep a mastery over the wells on these routes—the safety of Egypt would be maintained. Once we are established at Berber, and have opened our communications with the Red Sea, the probabilities are strong that the Mahdi will be willing to come to terms—to be satisfied with the position he has won, to see the extreme hazard of destruction involved in further warfare, and to be overjoyed in establishing peaceful relations with us on the basis of the recognition of his authority up to a certain territorial limit. I fully recognise the necessity of sending a large force to Suakim, and of occupying Berber. What is to happen afterwards, and how the various strategic points to which I have referred are to be garrisoned, is a point for future consideration. The Egyptians have proved that they can be trusted to fight with vigour and constancy behind walls, if commanded by brave leaders. I see no reason for the introduction of Turks into the interior; we have had enough of the oppression and cruelty of Turkish Pashas, though, if the stationing of a Turkish force at Suakim would give satisfaction to the Sultan, it might be well to entertain the proposal, as these troops would then be under constant foreign supervision.

Let me, however, proceed one step further in this argument. Supposing we have poured out an infinite amount of blood and treasure, and have faced successfully dysentery, fever, and ophthalmia in

the recovery of Khartoum. Supposing we have shut our ears to the bitter cry of mothers, wives, and little children mourning over the brave men who will leave their bones to bleach around those dreary mud walls. Let us say that we have taken it, and let us picture to ourselves all the triumph of hearing the newsmen proclaim 'Storming of Khartoum—Splendid success of the British Army—Frightful slaughter of the enemy.' What comes next? I ask. Are we going to restore it to the Egyptians with some such ruler as Prince Hassan? (save the mark!) But Mr. Gladstone has already spoken of the Soudanese as brave men fighting to free themselves from the misgovernment by which they were oppressed, and Mr. Gladstone's view is that of Arabi. Speaking to him last spring in Ceylon about the insurrection in the Soudan, I asked him if the movement was at the beginning religious in its nature, or political. He said it undoubtedly arose at first from the tyranny and bad government which were unchecked and intolerable, and that as the Mahdi had raised the standard of revolt the oppressed people had flocked around him, and the religious feeling became predominant. He added, 'Rely on it, if Ceylon had been governed like the Soudan, you would have had your Mahdis to deal with, and had the Soudan been governed like Ceylon, we should never have heard of a Mahdi.' Is Mr. Gladstone's Government prepared, then, with eyes open to restore Khartoum and the territory it would command to the same evil government, and to again inflict on the conquered Soudanese a renewal of the iniquity to escape from which they have valiantly and desperately shed their blood? That is impossible, or I grievously misjudge Mr. Gladstone.

So far back as 1855, in writing on Nubia, whence I had just returned, and in commenting on the vile misgovernment of the Egyptian conquerors, I quoted Mr. Bayard Taylor, who, in describing the plains of Dongola, once fertile, but then almost wild and abandoned, thus explains the causes of the change:—'Sakias are here taxed at 475 piastres each, notwithstanding the sum fixed by Government is only 300. The remainder goes into the private treasury of the governor. For this reason many persons unable to pay the tax emigrate into Kordofan and elsewhere. This accounts for the finest tracts being abandoned.' 'I passed,' he adds, 'fields given up to Halfeh grass. From Handak to El Orda is two days' journey—the country presents the same aspect of desolation and ruin as that in the neighbourhood of Old Dongola; untenanted villages line the road during nearly the whole distance. It is a melancholy deserted region, showing only palms growing wildly and rankly along the river, fields covered with Halfeh grass, watercourses broken down, sakias dismantled, and everywhere dwellings in ruins.' And to this account I added information I received:—'If the owner of one sakia is unable to pay the tax, the others in the vicinity are obliged to make good the deficiency; and it constantly happens that when one proprietor decamps the whole

neighbourhood decamps after him, as each successive default would fall with redoubled severity on those that remained to confront the tax-gatherer.' No wonder the Mahdi's ranks are filled with ardent volunteers.

Are we going to hold Khartoum ourselves? Such an obligation would be Quixotic and also impossible. We are not going to incur it to render secure the coupons of the bondholders, for all of whom Prince Bismarck would not risk the life of one Pomeranian grenadier—though both he and Russia are credited, judging from some passages in the German press, with looking not unfavourably on our assumption of such a task. Shall we hand it over to the keeping of a Turkish garrison with an English resident and English officers? What possible security could we have that, if these English officers attempted to maintain discipline, and to restrain their troops from violence and plunder, their lives would not be sacrificed? Should we then send another expedition to retake the town and avenge their death? Most assuredly we should be bound to do so; for, though they would be less romantic as heroes, they would be as British as Gordon. Put Turks alone there, is the probable solution because the easiest. How many regiments, and in what condition, could be spared from the ragged, unpaid Turkish army? Not enough to resist the Arab leader for long, but enough to make him more formidable should they join him against the Christian, which their penury, rags, and religion would in all probability, before long, induce them to do. I should hardly think the patience even of English taxpayers would endure that the cost of this Turkish garrison should be placed on their shoulders, already heavily burdened, for securing the safety of a country from which Europe seems to consider we should be ousted as soon as the attainment of this security shall have been accomplished.

In whatever light we view this subject, whether as regards the obstacles in the way of recovering Khartoum, or the difficulties which are certain to arise when we have recovered it, we ought to pause and ascertain if negotiation may not still be made to take the place of arms. We have had one wolf by the ears in Egypt, which we can hardly hold and yet dare not let go; let us think not once, nor twice, nor thrice, before we place ourselves in the same predicament in the Soudan.

But, say those who cannot bring themselves to abandon the thought of retaking Khartoum, how are you to deal with such a fanatic as the Mahdi? There are no means of reaching him, and if you did reach him, all the answer you would get would be 'Let Lord Wolseley and his army become Mohammedans, and wear my uniform, he may then depart.' I have seen a good deal of Oriental fanaticism, and have generally found, except in the case of religious madmen, that it is combined with a keen appreciation of worldly

advantages. If you can show clearly to the Mahdi that on one side are hard blows and possible destruction, on the other security and power, there will, I believe, be very little hesitation on his part. But who is to approach him? Lord Wolseley holding a sword at his throat is not the man to do so; but I have little doubt that an emissary properly accredited would find ready and secure access to him. Such an emissary should be furnished with credentials from the Sultan, expressing his desire that peace should be established, and on that condition his readiness to recognise the position of the Mahdi. There is an evident desire on the part of the Sultan to renew his ancient friendly relations with us. He sees he has gained little by his alienation. Our late policy in the East has had one effect—that of causing all Mohammedan nations to draw closer together against the common Christian foe—to regard England as their enemy, and the Sultan as their friend. The Sultan's influence was weak in Egypt till we strengthened it by bombardments and bayonets. The Mahdi was in rebellion against his authority when the insurrection began; now, things have so veered round that the Sultan is supposed by the so-called rebels to be favourable to them, as they are fighting the battle of Islam against the Christian. The spiritual influence of the Sultan has never been so great as at the present time, and he has come to us with an outstretched hand. Dislike as we must Turkish visible misrule—and no one has more denounced it than myself—yet may not the spiritual power which we are not too proud to ask the Pope to help us with in Ireland be profitably used in this emergency, and that without giving him any additional control over Egyptian administration?

There are many ways by which we could repay his assistance. Let his suzerainty of the Soudan be formally agreed to in England, though it be as shadowy as that of her Majesty in the Transvaal. Let a money payment for a Turkish regiment at Suakim be guaranteed for a certain time, we taking care to be the paymasters. If necessity constrains a change in the viceroyalty of Egypt, let it be intimated that England's influence, if the selection be one she can sanction, shall be cast into the scale of a *persona grata* to his Majesty; and let a person be proposed as a negotiator with the Mahdi who will be acceptable to the Sultan as well as to the Prophet. There is one man pre-eminently fitted to undertake the task, if he could be persuaded to accept it—and that is Ahmed Arabi, the exile. I presume he would do so. However strong his feelings may have been against the invasion of Egypt by Christians, so great as perhaps to induce him to accept for himself and his countrymen, as it is alleged, the Sultan's yoke rather than English domination, still I think the knowledge that Englishmen saved his life, and that he has been treated during his exile with constant kindness and respect by our countrymen in Ceylon, would

induce him to serve us cordially and faithfully in any such negotiation. He would know that he was doing a service to his own co-religionists, for he is well aware of the power of England, and of the havoc that menaces them if the war is to be worked out to its bitter end. He would know that he was serving his own countrymen by restoring peaceful relations between them and the Arab tribes, who, now that they are aware of their strength and of Egyptian timidity, would harry the Nile valley without let or hindrance unless opposed by foreign bayonets, which he is the last man to wish to retain. We too know this much, that if we searched the whole world we could find no other man who would be received with such trust and honour by the Mahdi.

I adhere unflinchingly to the good opinion I have always had of this man. In his public career his hands were ever clean; no man was more incorruptible; and never was an Oriental more placable, indeed more gentle, to his enemies—for everyone dismisses with the contempt it deserves the cock-and-bull story of his having assisted at the imaginary torturing of Circassians. In spite of his strong religious opinions, I have ever found him moderate and liberal in his views. His demands for reform did not exceed, or even come up to, the concessions recognised to be just by Lord Dufferin (though never carried out). How moderate were those views, let the following extracts from his programme (published in the *Times* of the 2nd of January, 1882) speak for themselves. All of it ought to be again submitted to English public opinion, to show how little formidable it is, how enlightened in its objects, and how just in its demands.

The National party fully recognise the services rendered to Egypt by the Governments of England and France, and they are aware that all freedom and justice they have obtained in the past has been due to them. For this they tender them their thanks. They recognise the European Control as a necessity of their financial position, and the present continuance of it as the best guarantee of their prosperity. They declare their entire acceptance of the foreign debt as a matter of *national honour*—this, although they know that it was incurred, not for Egypt's benefit, but in the private interests of a dishonest and irresponsible ruler; and they are ready to assist the Controllers in discharging the full national obligations. They look, nevertheless, upon the existing order of things as in its nature temporary, and avow it as their hope gradually to redeem the country out of the hands of its creditors. Their object is some day to see Egypt entirely in Egyptian hands. Also they are not blind to the imperfections of the Control, which they are ready to point out. They know that many abuses are committed by those employed by it, whether Europeans or others. They see some of these incapable, others dishonest, others too highly paid. They know that many offices, now held by strangers, would be better discharged by Egyptians, and at a fifth of the cost; and they believe there is still much waste and much injustice. They cannot understand that Europeans living in the land should remain for ever exempt from the general taxation, or from obedience to the general law. The National party does not, however, propose to remedy these evils by any violent action; only it would protest against their unchecked continuance. They would have the Governments of France and England consider that, having taken the control of their finances out of the

hands of the Egyptians, they are responsible for their prosperity, and are bound to see that efficient and honest persons only are employed by them.

The National party of Egypt is a political, not a religious, party. It includes within its ranks men of various races and various creeds. It is principally Mohammedan, because nine-tenths of the Egyptians are Mohammedans; but it has the support of the mass of the Coptic Christians, of the Jews, and others who cultivate the soil and speak the language of Egypt. Between these it makes no distinctions whatever, holding all men to be brothers and to have equal rights, both political and before the law. This principle is accepted by all the chief Sheykhhs of the Azhar who support the party, holding the true law of Islam to forbid religious hatred and religious disabilities. With Europeans resident in Egypt the National party has no quarrel, either as Christians or as strangers, so long as these shall live conformably with the laws and bear their share of the burdens of the State.

I should be glad to see him employed on the present occasion in the interests of England and Egypt, for it would serve to bring back the one man who might be the means of extricating us from our Egyptian troubles. The good opinion I formed of him is shared by all who know him in Ceylon, where he is universally liked and respected by Europeans and by natives, and where his influence has been so strong that he has healed a long and deep-seated feud between two sections of his co-religionists.

I have never, though I have often written publicly about Egyptian affairs, used a disrespectful word as regards the Khedive. Accusations have been made against him that he was privy to the disturbances in Alexandria which culminated in massacre, that he has promoted and honoured men who were engaged in these disturbances, and that he disgraced the men who were foremost in preserving the lives and property of Christians at the time of the European flight from Egypt. So many stories against Arabi, notoriously false, have been constantly circulated and believed that I have not allowed these accusations against the Khedive to weigh on my mind in considering his position. If the Government has either reliable information or moral proof that he by his acts has rendered himself unfit to rule, his deposition would be a comparatively easy matter; but if they consider him beyond reproach, there is doubtless great difficulty in abandoning a man who, however unacceptable to his own subjects, is supposed to have acted loyally with us.

I should think that by this time most Englishmen are heartily sorry that we ever engaged ourselves in this Egyptian perplexity, and most Englishmen would be heartily glad if we were out of the country. I am not an advocate of the 'scuttling' policy, but I am for retiring as soon as ever we can do so with honour to ourselves, and with some forethought for the interests of the population. But how can we even think of getting away, and of leaving behind us any hope of stable government? The person of the Khedive would not be safe one hour after the last flash of English bayonets had ceased to be visible from Cairo; and then would follow revolution, pillage, and

massacre. We must have someone not unacceptable to the nation as ruler of the country when we leave it. The choice might fall on Halim, the legitimate heir, or on little Abbas, the son of Tewfik, with a regency; but certainly not on Ismail, the author of all the trouble and miseries of Egypt; nor on Prince Hassan, whose exploits in Bulgaria and Abyssinia are pretty well known by Egyptians, although apparently not by English rulers, or he would hardly have been appointed to a responsible command. The present Khedive sleeps on no bed of roses; and if, for State reasons, his retirement should be considered unavoidable, I daresay he would not unwillingly accept a position of grandeur and wealth, but without the uneasiness of the Vice-crown.

Twist and turn it as we may, we cannot retire from Egypt leaving Tewfik as Khedive behind us. If we stay, he can undoubtedly stay; if we go, he must go too. I believe and hope that the present Government are anxious to go, and that they will be supported in that policy with the voice of England.

How much more easy would the policy of retirement become if we knew that we left a Government behind us supported by the confidence and love of the Egyptians, instead of one regarded with aversion! The restoration of the National leaders to Egypt, and as a consequence their restoration to power, can be but a matter of time. Is it not worth the while of our Ministers to consider whether the employment of Arabi in the mission I have suggested may not pave the way for one indispensable step in the future government of Egypt—namely, the confidence in it of the people of the country? This confidence they would feel were they once again to see in a position of eminence ‘The One,’ ‘El Wahad’—the only one whom they ever learned to love and to trust.

WILLIAM H. GREGORY.

THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS:

A VINDICATION OF THE REPORT OF THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION.

IN an article in this Review for the month of November, entitled 'A Corrected Picture of the Highlands,' the Duke of Argyll has produced an indictment against the Report of the Crofters' Commission. He has imputed to the Report that it conveys an erroneous impression concerning the distribution of the tenure of land and the condition of the rural population in the Highlands in two ways, by presenting the case of certain exceptional and selected districts as representative of all, and by failing to offer a comparative view of Highland tenancies in connection with the tenancies in other parts of Scotland, and especially with those of the 'Southern Highlands,' as exemplified by the upper ward of Lanarkshire and the border districts.

Having assumed that the Report is guilty of misrepresentation and omission, the Duke proceeds to achieve an easy victory over imaginary misconceptions and alleged suppressions by showing that the distribution of tenancies in the Highlands is, on the whole, not unfavourable to humble industry, and that all the phenomena of clearance and consolidation have been developed on a more comprehensive scale and with more relentless effects in the southern than in the northern provinces.

In the following strictures on the argument submitted by the Duke of Argyll, and in the subsequent vindication of certain views and suggestions embodied in the Report of the Crofters' Commission, the reader will understand that I speak for myself alone, and that the gentlemen with whom I had the honour of being associated in an arduous and congenial duty are in no degree implicated in this expression of my personal sentiments.

In connection with the first contention of the Duke of Argyll, I have to state that the Report of the Commission was never intended to contain, and does not contain, any general view of the repartition of tenancies in the Highlands. The Report deals with the tenancies of the crofters and cottars, and even with these on restricted and localised areas, selected because those areas discover in the most intense, inveterate, and enduring forms the symptoms of social distress and discontent which have caused so much debate and still create so

much anxiety. Many districts of the Highlands both extensive and interesting remained unvisited or lightly touched, where the sufferings and complaints familiar to a crofting population exist sporadically or in a mitigated shape, or are subject to compensatory influences or remedial tendencies apparently of a progressive character. The region selected by the Commission as the object of their special study is that which the caprice of nature has stricken with so many disabilities and invested with so deep a charm, the Northern Hebrides, the Long Island and the coast-line from the borders of Argyleshire to the boundary of Caithness, with all its profound indentations and winding shores. Within these limits there is much that is homogeneous in the physical aspect of the country as well as in the industrial pursuits, material condition, and moral disposition of the people, and much that divides them from the remainder of their countrymen.

The Report of the Commission, in dealing with this portion of its subject-matter, indicates as one of the principal causes of the depression of the population the excessive comminution of holdings on the one hand, and the excessive extension of holdings on the other, with the absence of intermediary tenancies of graduated dimensions accessible to the industrious poor. In illustration of this position the cases of four parishes are analysed—one in Sutherland, one in Lewis, one in Skye, and one in South Uist; a fifth parish, that of Bracadale in Skye, was added as an example in which small tenancy had disappeared altogether, and in which depopulation to a considerable extent had occurred within a recent period. The four parishes referred to above are presented as examples of what is characteristic and familiar, not over the whole area of the Highlands, but over the districts with which they are associated. On this point the language of the Report is not subject to misconception. It runs as follows:—

Taking the four parishes together we believe that the conditions of tenancy which they reveal may be regarded as fairly representative of the state of the seaboard on the mainland, and of all the islands from Ardnamurchan in Argyleshire on the south to the borders of Caithness on the north. A similar repartition of tenancy exists in some districts of the central Highlands in Ross and Inverness, and it prevails over nearly the whole of Sutherland. The evils attached to excessive subdivision and consolidation are less felt in the Southern Hebrides, in certain parts of Argyleshire, on the eastern seaboard generally, and in Orkney, in all of which the small holdings are, as a rule, of greater dimensions, are more graduated, and are associated in some degree with small farms not inaccessible to the crofting class.

In the presence of a declaration so distinct as that which is conveyed in the foregoing sentences, it is difficult to imagine that any candid controversialist should affirm that the Report is fitted to convey to the minds of ordinary readers an impression that economical conditions explicitly identified with the western coast and islands are common to all the Highlands. The whole of Caithness, the whole

of Orkney, the whole of the eastern seaboard, the immense interior areas of Ross and Inverness, with some exceptions, the Southern Hebrides, certain parts of Argyleshire and part of Sutherland, are all placed by the Report upon a different footing from that western territory which forms at once the capital domain of the crofters, and contains the volcanic centre of their agitation. The Duke of Argyll does not indeed impute to the Commissioners either the liability to conceive or the intention to propagate an illusion such as that to which I have referred. The character, position, studies, experience, and employments of the Commissioners render such a hypothesis impossible. But the apprehension expressed by the Duke that they may by the terms of their Report become the unwitting authors of a similar misconception is equally baseless. The Commissioners have uttered no 'Picture of the Highlands' which renders it necessary for the Duke to frame his 'Corrected Picture.' I do not say that the picture drawn by the Duke is incorrect, unnecessary, or unprofitable for other reasons. What I allege is simply this, that it is not a counter-statement or correction provoked by anything that the Commission has submitted to the public.

I now pass from the general to a particular issue. The Duke of Argyll is justly solicitous for the credit of the Highlands as a whole, and is particularly jealous of the honour of his own county. He considers that the language used by the Commissioners in regard to the repartition of tenancies in the Central and Eastern Highlands, and in the county of Argyll, is inaccurate and incommensurate to the facts of the case. By reference to Parliamentary returns and the valuation rolls, he demonstrates that in Inverness-shire there is an abundant provision of moderate tenancies between 300*l.* and 30*l.* in annual rental, while a greater number still range from 30*l.* to 10*l.*, holdings distinctly accessible to the crofting class; in regard to Argyleshire, it is shown that there are tenancies of graduated values descending from 500*l.* to 50*l.* rental, representing in the aggregate about 1,500 'possessions,' of which a very large proportion are available for enterprising tenants starting from a humbler level. If the language of the Report is cautious and guarded in treating incidentally of the areas referred to, which are distinctly excluded from the field of its main argument, it must be remembered that the interior parts of Inverness are the scene of immense consolidations and clearances, both for the purposes of farm and forest, while it would have been unjustifiable if the Report had made an unreserved admission that the abuse of subdivision and consolidation is unfelt in any part of Argyleshire. The Duke of Argyll has himself called the attention of the Commissioners to the fact that, in Morvern and Mull, the lands disposed of by the Argyll family to new proprietors in the beginning of the present century have been cleared of their inhabitants, and that in Lismore unjustifiable consolidations had been effected before the island was

purchased by himself. Similar examples in other islands were submitted to the attention of the Commissioners. In Coll the small tenants have been removed from the larger share of the surface, and have been crowded upon a single property occupying a limited part. In Ulva the people have vanished altogether. No doubt other instances of clearance and consolidation might be elicited by inquiry. An excessive sub-division of holdings is revealed by the statistics furnished by the Duke himself; of 3,300 crofters inscribed on the valuation roll of the county of Argyre, not more than one hundred and fifty belong to the 'comfortable class, which ranges between 20*l.* and 50*l.* of rent.' The condition of the 3,150 uncomfortable crofters is not explained. Of the number of the landless cottars, labourers and fishermen, no account is supplied, but we are informed that the island of Tiree alone contains about three hundred families in the condition of squatters paying no rent, whose condition in unfavourable seasons is a source of commiseration and anxiety.¹ We cannot suppose that Tiree is a solitary example. In the county of Inverness, by the Duke's own showing, out of 7,000 tenancies of land 5,111 are below the 10*l.* line. In the presence of such facts, I submit that the Commissioners were justified in referring to the repartition of land outside of the boundaries of their selected area in terms of qualified commendation. I recognise, however, that if I had had before me the statistics of occupancy in Argyleshire at the time the Report was written, I should have made a broader admission of the favourable conditions which prevail. The Report states that small farms and graduated tenancies exist in 'certain' parts of the county. It would be more just to say that they exist in considerable numbers in most parts of the county; but with Argyleshire to the south of Ardnamurchan, as I said before, the Report does not pretend to deal.

Having thus repudiated the reproach of misrepresentation addressed to the Report of the Commission, I now proceed to consider briefly the objection of culpable omission—the allegation that the Report disseminates and accredits a partial and prejudicial view of the condition of the Highland people in regard to the tenure of land, because it does not offer a statement of the repartition of tenancies in the Highlands compared with the distribution of farming areas in other parts of the country. Here I must take a decided objection to the opinion entertained by the Duke. It formed no part of the business of the Commissioners to frame a statement of the kind suggested. Their prescribed mission was to inquire into the condition of the crofters and cottars of the Highlands and Islands, and their implied duty was to suggest remedies for any evils which they might recognise in that quarter. But to frame a treatise on land tenure in its comparative aspects would have been beyond their province, and incompatible with their character. What the Commissioners could

¹ See *Letter to the Chairman of the Royal Commission*, p. 42.

not do in a harmonious official Report the Duke of Argyll may justly attempt in an independent essay, and while I disavow the obligation which he desires to fix upon the body over which I recently presided, I am quite ready to follow him upon the ground which he opens for free individual discussion.

In framing his comparison between the agricultural conditions of the Highlands and the Lowlands, and especially between the Northern and the Southern Highlands, the Duke of Argyll proceeds upon the general proposition that the Lowlands have in former times passed through the same economical transformation which has affected the Highlands at a more recent period, and he records, substantially, the following conclusions. First, with reference to depopulation, that the desolation of the Southern Highlands by the removal of the people is even greater than in the north; and secondly, with reference to the statistics of occupancy, that there is in the Southern Highlands a total absence of possessions strictly of the crofting class, while the small class of farms which constitute a step between the labourer and the capitalist farmer has been almost obliterated, leaving the consolidation of the land in large farming areas more absolute and complete than in the great bulk of the northern and western counties.

The positions thus taken up by the Duke of Argyll are in their general outline correct, and contain nothing that is inconsistent with the statements of the Crofters' Commission; indeed, they are recognised by the Report itself.² If I demur to them at all it is in consequence of errors of detail into which the Duke has been betrayed by an unguarded impetuosity, and on account of the absolute unqualified character of his conclusions, which are subject to local exceptions and reservations.

The Duke of Argyll has called attention to the fact that many of the conditions affecting land and people which exist, or recently existed, in the Western Highlands were common to the rest of Scotland in former ages, and that evidence of them may still be clearly discerned in the Border districts. No one has these truths more deeply impressed upon his heart than I have. Along the Scottish Marches there were certainly in old times tacksmen, sub-tenants, and townships; common pastures, domestic industries, feudal services, labour rents, rents in kind, and all the features of rural life which in the Highlands and Islands survived to a later date and are not yet in all respects extinct. These conditions have been dissolved partly by the arbitrary decision of landlords, chiefly, I hope, by the inexorable influences of natural social change. In one shape or another they have been swept away by the resistless tide of time, and have gone down into the great deep of the past, where for many they are covered with oblivion as if they had never been. The names of places, the records of estates, the parish registers, the testimony of the turf itself conspire

² *Report*, p. 109.

to prove that peasant communities flourished and decayed where now solitude and silence are only broken by the curlew and the sheep. An immense vacancy and melancholy brood over much of the Border Land. How and when the depopulation of the country was effected has not been sufficiently studied and explained. No doubt the first blow must have been struck by the Union of the Crowns. Buccleuch for two generations may have carried off many of his idle retainers, and many recruits from other clans, to the wars of Holland. It is surmised that others went with the Protestant settlers to Ireland under James the First. Many of the Border people may have been consumed in the great rebellion. Before the end of the seventeenth century the system of pastoral farming was generally introduced, but there were many more small farms than there are now, and more small proprietors settled on their estates. What evictions, what migrations there were then no man can tell. There may have been much suffering, but the people passed away unnoticed and unmourned. The process of extinction was probably very gradual. In the whole circle of Border poetry, as far as I am aware, there is no dirge for a departing race; no plaintive strain ascends from the Teviot or the Tweed which repeats the sentiment of 'Lochaber no more.' The Duke of Argyll paints 'the vistas and the sweeps of desolate moorland' with which we are familiar with a pencil only too powerful, and too faithful to the pathetic reality. When he exchanges the canvas for the census tables, and illustrates the spectacle of Border depopulation by reference to particular examples, his hand becomes less happy. Adopting the tactics of aggression, he carries the war into the parishes of Ettrick and Yarrow, 'with which the chairman of the Crofter Commission is connected,' and in which, it may be inferred, he is subject to moral responsibilities. In these places the Duke recognises, not without an appearance of elation, the scene of 'enormous depopulation in the most recent times.' This statement is founded on the following figures. The census of Ettrick in 1831 gives a population of 530. The census for 1881 gives a population of 397, involving a diminution of rather more than 25 per cent. in fifty years. The census of Yarrow in 1851 gives a population of 1,294; the census of 1881 gives a population of 611, involving a diminution of more than 50 per cent. in thirty years, 'equal,' it is remarked, 'to the depopulation in the parish of Bracadale in Skye, on which Lord Napier dwells in his Report as a typical example of depopulation in the Highlands.' Let us examine these assertions more closely than the Duke has cared to do. The population of Ettrick in 1831 is set down as 530, which seems to have been augmented by the presence of a party of twenty-five labourers from without employed on county road works. The census report mentions the circumstance.³ The normal population of the parish was, we may

³ *Population of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 1030. Had these people belonged to the parish they would probably not have been referred to specifically in the Census Report.

assume, about 500. In 1881 the population stood at 397, involving a loss of very little more than 20 per cent. in half a century. This considerable falling off in the number of the people may be chiefly accounted for in the following manner. In the early years of the present century an unusual amount of employment was afforded in Ettrick by works incidental to the establishment for the first time of a proprietary residence in the parish, and also by the development of the public road system. A certain number of labourers' families were attracted to the place. As the sources of support were gradually withdrawn the people fell away. Some families became slowly extinguished, others emigrated to America and Australia. A reduction in the population of a pastoral parish in fifty years by 20 per cent. can hardly be cited as a case of enormous depopulation, and it is no doubt the case of Yarrow which in the eyes of the Duke of Argyll justifies the application of these severe expressions, and prompts the charitable inquiry, 'Has there been a clearance?' With reference to Yarrow the Duke has been misled. Here it is not the population but the parish which has been halved. Subsequent to the census of 1851 Yarrow was subdivided. A new parish called Kirkhope was taken out of it, and the alteration is recorded in the Census Report of 1861. The old historical parish of Yarrow accordingly appears in the later returns in very straitened proportions. Comparing the whole area occupied by Yarrow parish in 1851, within the county of Selkirk, with the same area now divided between the two parishes, we find the following results. In 1851, population 1,294, inhabited houses 223. In 1881, population 1,158, inhabited houses 218. There is thus a diminution of population in thirty years of 136, or between 10 and 11 per cent. This decline may be referred to some consolidation of farming areas and a reduction of land under crop. However this may be, the 'enormous depopulation' disappears, and Bracadale of Skye has not found its match in Yarrow of Selkirk. The mistake committed may seem a natural and venial one, yet I cannot entirely suppress my surprise that the extreme improbability of the statement so confidently recorded did not awaken the suspicions of an acute observer, especially when I consider the amount of local and social knowledge at his command. Had such desolation really fallen upon the 'Dowie Dens of Yarrow,' would the fact have remained so long suppressed? The district is, as the Duke of Argyll remarks, one of the classic scenes of the Scottish Muse. It lies on a public highway, traversed every summer by hundreds of persons in quest of health, or sport, or scenery, or song. Could it have been reserved for a Campbell to discern to-day that the flame was quenched in the 'Farmer's ingle,' and that the walls of the shepherd's cottage were levelled with the moor? Would the eyes of Russel of the *Scotsman* have been sealed, who lived hard by the margin of the stream? Would the Border news-

papers have been dumb? and if political vigilance had been at fault, what of the Border poets, the proper guardians of the visionary vale? Would Professor Veitch and Andrew Lang have deserted the domain touched with ideal hues for all people and all time by the fancy of Wordsworth and of Scott? Would not some new minstrel have announced in more indignant accents that 'The Flowers of the Forest were a' wede away'? Granted, however, that traveller, press, and poet had all been smitten with insensibility and silence, and that the Duke of Argyll was designed by a wayward destiny to reveal the wrong, when the forbidden word 'clearance' started to his pen might he not have paused before the memory of the late Duke of Buccleuch?⁴

The reflections which I have to offer on the statements of the Duke of Argyll, relative to the statistics of occupancy, are much the same in spirit as those concerning depopulation. I accept his general proposition; I demur to his particular instances. Had the Duke simply affirmed and proved by comparisons, fairly selected at large, that the repartition of tenancies in the Highlands, despite the immense areas in deer forests and sheep walks, is more congenial to the interests of the poor than the Lowland system, regarded as a whole, and especially more favourable to humble industry than the food factories of the Lothians, he would have encountered no denial on my part, but a hearty assent. As he has set the matter before the public I am constrained to protest. In doing so I feel the greatest reluctance in alluding to details which are almost personal to myself and therefore insignificant to others. But this is not my fault. It is not by my choice that a comparison between two divisions of the kingdom is converted into a contrast between the parish of Ettrick and the parish of Inverary. The Duke has committed to print in this Review the following sentence. 'In contrast with this parish of the Southern Highlands, which is the residence of Lord Napier, let us look at the statistics of occupancy in the parish of the Western Highlands in which I now write.' I cannot admit that it is equitable to institute a parallel between two localities which nature and history have rendered so dissimilar. Let us take a rapid prospect of Ettrick and Inverary. Ettrick occupies the highest recesses of an inland valley in the very centre of the country. The whole surface lies at a considerable altitude. There is not an acre in the parish less than 650 feet above the sea level. The hills run out to 2,000. The land susceptible of tillage is confined to a narrow strip of flat 'haugh' beside the stream, and to a few sloping fields above it on either side. I do not believe that out of 43,968 acres, forming the total superficies, more than 300 were ever at one time under the plough and spade. The traces of ancient cultivation are exceptionally rare. A 'clachan' did certainly once exist, and, to borrow the vigorous image

⁴ The Duke of Buccleuch is proprietor of more than half of the old parish of Yarrow.

of a Highland 'witness,' the smoke of that hamlet now ascends through a single chimney.⁵ The cottages were gathered at the foot of a Border 'peel,' which I presume to have been a lodging for the steward of the monks of Melrose, for in the middle ages much of the 'Waste of Ettrick,' as it is often termed in old writings, was a dependency of the great monastery. At the time of the Reformation most of the lands were already occupied by Buccleuch and his clansmen. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century the staple, if not the only industry has been rearing sheep, though more horned cattle and horses were formerly kept than now. Ancient leases are recorded which prove the fact. How little land was ever cultivated may be inferred from a doggerel couplet in old Satchell's *Metrical History of the Scotts*, printed in 1688:—

If heather tops had been meal of the best
Then Buccleuch's mill had had a noble grist.

This wilderness after the fall of the feudal system on the Borders was never the residence of a proprietor above the station of a 'Bonnet Laird,' farming his own land, till my father came there in 1816. During the long period of two hundred years Ettrick lay out in the cold. In this forsaken twilight state it is not surprising that the interests of the people were insufficiently guarded by the smaller proprietors. They were absentees and had themselves a hard fight for existence. Some have disappeared, others survive precariously, with one foot on the land and the other on the service of the State. The outcome of all is correctly stated by the Duke of Argyll. The small tenants have melted away. Their possessions have been massed together, and no holding exists of that intermediate size to which the thrifty labourer or shepherd could commonly aspire.⁶ Now let us turn to Inverary.

The parish of Inverary, possessing approximately the same area as Ettrick, rises from the shores of a sheltered salt-water loch, with many gradations and varieties of level to a high elevation. The land, happily diversified with arable and wild pasture, notwithstanding a moist climate and indifferent soil, is well adapted to the conditions of small tenancy, while the agricultural welfare of the population is

⁵ *Report*, Appendix A., p. 451. In an interesting paper by Mr. A. Carmichael, on the Long Island.

⁶ Ettrick and Yarrow having been placed by the Duke of Argyll in the same category, it may be right to notice the fact that the old parish of Yarrow is not devoid of small tenancies: thirty-three such exist on the Buccleuch estate, with an aggregate rental of 329*l.*, extending from rentals of 3*l.* to 23*l.*, giving an average of nearly 10*l.* The houses are held mostly on lease for ninety-nine years, the land and common pasture from year to year. These holdings are the same in number now as in 1802. The total number of holdings of land in the old parish of Yarrow is ninety-two, of these thirty-nine are above 100*l.* of annual rental, and fifty-three below 100*l.* The latter are of all sizes, from 2*l.* or 3*l.* to 86*l.* The average is a little above 15*l.* The aggregate rental of holdings below 100*l.* is 812*l.*

backed and supported by the safest and most lucrative herring-fishery in Scotland. The landless poor have, in addition to the resources of the sea, the employments associated with the residence of a proprietor of the first class. For 500 years Inverary has been a principal seat of the greatest family in the Highlands, and, for more than a century, substantially their undivided possession; of a family which, till the middle of the last century, wielded almost sovereign power, which, has manifested a beneficent attachment to their hereditary possession, and which, after many tragical vicissitudes of fortune, attained a well-founded security and the highest employments of Government in times when office may have been attended with profit as well as honour. Is it wonderful that under such exceptional conditions Inverary has become a model parish, that it displays the signs of wisely ordered and graduated prosperity of which the present proprietor is justly proud? I am not surprised to learn that farms of all sizes have been provided for tenants of all means, and that even 'the class of crofters is well and substantially represented with at least three typical townships, which have been carefully nursed, whilst they have wholly vanished in Ettrick.' I frankly admit that the people of Inverary have enjoyed the better destiny, and I cordially hope that they may be long cherished by the same agency and with the same success.⁷

What I affirm is that Ettrick and Inverary should never have been compared at all. The disparities of physical character and social development are too great. To find an equitable parallel for Ettrick in the Highlands, we should go to some sequestered glen in the central wilds of Perthshire, to the higher basins of the Earn, the Lyon, or the Garry, or, further north, to the Findhorn or the Nairn. In these deep inland solitudes, or such as these, conditions of tenancy might easily be discovered analogous to those of Ettrick, but with less uniformity, for the desolation of the forest would perhaps there be added to the desolation of the farm.

I think, however, that it would not be impossible to provide the Duke of Argyll with a subject in the Southern Highlands which would, in some respects, supply a more legitimate scene of comparison with his own favoured possession. Suppose that the Duke in his progress through the 'Waste of Ettrick' had passed over its western watershed by the haunted heights of Bodsbeck, had descended into Moffat Water, and had followed that valley till it loses itself in Annandale; there he might have reposed himself in the land of the Johnstones. The lairds of Johnstone of old are now represented by the Hope Johnstones seated at Raehills, but the family had its an-

⁷ Still the people of Inverary go away. Landward parish, population 1851, 1,650; Population 1881, 760. Diminution in thirty years nearly 29 per cent., far more than in Ettrick and Yarrow. Population of Burgh parish greatly increased—if I read the Census tables rightly.

cient Border strength at the Tower of Lochwood, of which James the Sixth remarked 'that the man who built that house was a thief in his heart.' The forsaken fastness has long been exchanged for a pleasant dwelling, but it still forms the traditional centre of an estate comprising more than 60,000 acres and upwards of 200 tenancies, with an aggregate rental of about 27,000*l*. Here a deliberate effort has been made to associate the labourers, rural mechanics, and village shopkeepers with the occupancy of land, and to preserve, though it be in insufficient number, holdings on a graduated scale from the lowest to the highest. The populous country-side presents a spectacle of decent and diffused prosperity, the result of benevolent design and patient management on the part of the late Mr. Hope Johnstone and his factor, Mr. Charles Stewart.

With all the local exceptions that might be adduced, the fact remains that both depopulation and consolidation prevail in a greater or less degree throughout the Lowlands, and not in the least measure in those districts which may be termed the Southern Highlands. In view of this incontestable fact, the Duke of Argyll in his impetuous way protests against the inconsistency of southern agitators, who 'gape and stare and rave' over rural phenomena in the northern and western counties, which they contemplate unmoved at their own doors. The apparent partiality of this proceeding no doubt arises from a circumstance which the Duke has not brought into distinct prominence. The question of restitution is dead in the Lowlands, but is living in the Highlands. In the Lowlands natural causes or arbitrary wills have done their work. They have made a solitude and called it improvement. The land lies there in the shapes and areas formed by the controlling forces of the past; the superfluous people have sought a better fortune in Canada or Australia. Those who remain have settled employments as wage-earners, and look in their native country for nothing else. In the Highlands and Islands, or at least in those parts of them where the crofters' question is a burning question, the two factors in the quarrel stand face to face; on the one side is the vacant land, on the other side the craving multitude. The social question is still unsolved, and the cry goes up that it may be solved by restoring the people to their former seats. In saying that the question has been determined in the Lowlands and Southern Highlands, I do not mean to imply that nothing can be done to improve the repartition of tenancies. I would not advocate the renewal of crofters' cultivation where there are no comminuted holdings or overcrowded townships side by side with vacant pastoral farms, and where the land has been laid out with great expenditure in broad agricultural areas, with all the furniture and equipments suitable to a scientific farming system; but, on the other hand, it would surely be a grievous error for proprietors to surrender themselves, and the great human and national interests committed

to their charge, to the undirected action of so-called natural agencies or tendencies.

The Duke of Argyll in a judicious sentence remarks that there 'exists a rational desire to try whether changes, natural and inevitable in themselves, may not be so guided and modified in their operation as to avoid, at least, some of the evils by which they have been accompanied.' It is true that he would seem to circumscribe the exercise of this faculty to the Highlands, and to the future, for he says that 'in the Lowlands there seems to be little or no prospect of return.' Here I would venture to interpose. I hope that it is not only possible to 'guide' and 'modify' but also to correct. It would be rash to admit that the repartition of tenancies and the character of cultivation are mainly the work of natural causes. Natural causes must have a large share in moulding the conditions of tenancy and husbandry in communities in which the protective system and the bounty system are alike discarded, but in all countries personal determinations, legal prescriptions, political interest, and social custom will assert their power. In Great Britain all these causes are operative, on the continent of Europe the second kind predominate, in America the last has the greatest sway.

In many parts of Scotland much might be done towards the re-instatement of the rural population by the gradual and prudent subdivision of farming areas, and by the prohibition of non-residency in the farming class. In effecting such a retrogressive movement as that to which I refer, a large expenditure would be required on the part of the proprietor for dwellings and farm-buildings, but examples of similar sacrifices are familiar on many estates, and they would be made on all if a sense of security in the exercise of proprietary rights were restored. Operations which would be comparatively easy in the case of pastoral holdings, or mixed holdings of mountain and of plain, would be attended with greater difficulty and outlay in the Lothians, but the gradual disintegration of overgrown farming areas might be practicable even there.

It is not my intention to follow the Duke of Argyll into all the objections comprehended in his article, but it is indispensable to notice in general terms three points on which he has laid peculiar weight. I mean (1) the view which the Report has taken of the social quality or position of the crofter; (2) the nature of the crofters' evidence; (3) the alleged want of vigour or decision which the Duke of Argyll discovers in the character of the Report and the recommendations of its authors.

The Commissioners in dealing with the claims of the crofters have placed them in the light of tenants. The Duke of Argyll contends that they may more properly be regarded as labourers. We have treated them as occupiers of land with insufficient holdings; he considers them as working-people with good allotments. The defi-

nitions of a crofter and a cottar, adopted by the Commissioners, will be found at page 3 of the Report. From those definitions I am not prepared to depart. The crofter is in comparatively few cases an occupier, deriving his whole subsistence from the produce of the holding, either in the form of direct consumption or by the results of sale. In many cases he supplements the produce of his land by the wages of labour; the wages of labour may indeed often be the larger part, and yet on a broad view it seems to me more equitable to look upon the crofter as a tenant, and for the following reasons.

The crofter is descended from a tenant. There is no dispute regarding his origin. He issues, as a rule, from the sub-tenants, holding under tacksmen in the old days. The Duke of Argyll says the sub-tenants were labourers. I, on the contrary, with great respect for his authority, unhesitatingly regard them as occupiers of land. The sub-tenant in a Highland clan was a member of a township, cultivating the township arable on the run-rig system by the primitive rules of the country, and possessing his share in the common pasture. He lived entirely on the crop he raised, on the stock he bred, on the fish he caught. He made his own clothes, his own house, and the implements of his industry. Money wages he knew little or nothing of. Even wages paid in kind were rare in his class. There was another sort of farm labourers who were provided for in that way. The crofter paid his rent, or completed his rent, by services, rural and feudal, with the spade, the creel, the sickle, and the sword.

The crofter is not only descended from an occupier of land, but, even in his diminished state, he retains many traces of his earlier condition which distinguish him from a labourer with an allotment, as a labourer is commonly understood. The crofter in almost every case practises grain cultivation and possesses live stock, cattle and sheep, and sometimes horses. He builds his own house, or inherits it from his father, and he transmits it to his son.

The crofter not only preserves some material characteristics of the farmer's calling, but he clings to the traditions of the state from which he has been half removed. He considers himself to be an occupier of land, and from that belief he will not lightly depart. The same persuasion is instinctively held by those under whom his lot is cast. The Convention of Highland Proprietors at Inverness contemplate the grant of leases and enlarged holdings to the crofter—concessions appropriate to the condition of a tenant, not to that of a mere wage-earner.

When the crofter is a labourer he is not a labourer in the ordinary sense. There is something peculiar and exceptional in the forms of labour which he practises. When a fisherman he is often a shareholder and a trader. When he is a rural labourer he migrates for work; he saves his wages and spends them on the croft and for the croft. The field, the humble homestead, the common hill form the permanent centre of his life.

It is idle to suppose that all the crofters and their offspring can in this country be supplied with tenancies of land. Some must become absorbed in the wage-earning class, and they will always by their moral and physical qualities form valuable recruits for our industrial centres; yet it is difficult to contemplate such a change of condition without some natural regret, and those who love the crofting tenant would rather see him a freeholder in Canada than the minion of a machine in Birmingham or Glasgow.⁸

Turning to the question of the evidence taken before the Commission, the Duke of Argyll can scarcely find expressions sufficiently severe for a great part of the testimony attached to the Report having reference to persons and classes. In his eyes the Commission was in this respect 'little better than a great Shop for Scandal, in which every private spite could be indulged without immediate exposure, every unfounded conception of the past could be embodied in a narrative, and every myth could be represented as an historical truth.' I am certainly startled by reprobation so unqualified, and when the Duke justifies his sweeping condemnations by reference to the terms of the Report itself, I must observe that those terms are far more discriminating than his own.

The evidence of the crofters was not free from traces of contrivance, passion, and vindictiveness, and it was more largely marked by errors of memory and errors of interpretation; it must, therefore, be received with reservations and abatements. In the main, however, the crofting witness was not an uncandid or malicious witness. I retain a vivid recollection of the mental posture in which many an 'Angus' or 'Donald' was summoned to the bar. He would come up with a 'dour' aspect, sullen and on his guard, usually furnished with some written tale, in which his fellow-labourers had deposited with insufficient scrutiny and excusable resentment the story of their ancient or recent wrongs. But when the lesson was discharged, and Angus or Donald found himself comfortably seated in his familiar kirk, under the eyes of his minister and neighbours, in the presence of six gentlemen, all but one of his own race, some speaking his own language, some bearing names known to every Highlander, all earnestly desirous to place themselves in contact with his inner thoughts and actual condition, it was pleasant to observe how soon the armour of suspicion would melt away: his rugged visage would relax into good humour, and he would respond to his interrogator with shrewdness, sincerity, courtesy, and a picturesque animation imperfectly rendered in transmission from the Gaelic to the Saxon tongue. These features were indeed most conspicuous in the demeanour of the older people, but they were not deficient in the young. Meanwhile the utterances of the witness were reflected with intelligent and intense but silent

⁸ See excellent remarks on this subject in Lord Selkirk's *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland*, 1805.

sympathy in the countenances of the auditory. You felt that a faithful portrait of the people was being painted by themselves. Had the Duke of Argyll taken a personal part in these conferences between the Commissioners and the peasantry, had he witnessed the shifting physiognomy, the humours and the pathos of the humble drama, and felt this 'touch of nature' with a genuine form of humanity, however clouded by the passions of the hour, he would have written with less intolerance and scorn of the crofters' evidence. And when we reflect that these remote and often illiterate men were contending for the first time on a public scene for all that is deepest and dearest to them in life, how slender do their offences against morality, reason, and good taste, appear when set beside the stratagems and mendacities of a party demonstration at Birmingham, or the revengeful diatribes of many a debate in the House of Commons! It must be sincerely lamented that the honour of the dead and the feelings of the living were sometimes wounded by ignorant and prejudiced testimony. Such imputations and misconceptions were repelled either before the Commission, or where that was not possible, in the public press. In many cases they would not have been seriously believed even had they remained uncontradicted. They will soon be confounded in the common grave of a Blue Book appendix. To sum up: my personal judgment of the crofters' evidence in regard to persons and classes is contained in the Report. That evidence is false in detail and degree; it is true in colour and in kind. It is not truth, but it is akin to truth.

It has been contended that the inquiry should have been conducted by a body possessing a more judicial constitution than that which belonged to the Crofters' Commission, a body proceeding with all the powers of sworn deposition and cross-examination. The Duke of Argyll seems to lend his countenance to this opinion. I do not share it. If a dry judicial character had been given to the investigation; if you had had a judge on the bench, with counsel for the proprietor and counsel for the crofter; if all the resources of professional inquisition and mercenary recrimination had been called out, you might have realised a nett result showing more indisputable facts, but the antagonism of classes would have been envenomed in the process, and the picture of the whole situation would have been less comprehensive and natural. One of the purposes which the Commission was intended to serve, or, at least, one of the aims for which it was directed, would have been lost, I mean the purpose of conciliation. There was a spirit of bitter animosity in the population, which it was expedient to allay, until materials could be collected and time found for remedial legislation. That the Commission was successful in this respect cannot be affirmed. Acts of violence or aggression, examples of resistance to the claims of the landlord and the execution of the law, have occurred in the period which has

since elapsed, incidents which have prompted the adoption of vigorous precautionary measures on the part of Government; but still I am under the impression that the spirit in which the inquiry was conducted and the agency employed may have had a tranquillising influence. I cannot believe that a sheriff depute, an eminent advocate from Edinburgh, or even a judge of the Court of Session, would have been as good a peacemaker as Mackenzie or Lochiel. Indeed, one of the pleasing features of the inquiry was the trusting expression with which the Highland witness would occasionally turn to these gentlemen, endeared to the poor by hereditary associations and personal benevolence. In that touching attitude, in which familiarity and respect were curiously blended, you saw that the patriarchal sentiment was not then extinguished in the crofter's heart.

There is a quality in public men which the Duke of Argyll denounces with the most strenuous severity, the quality of pliancy. His famous invective will not soon be forgotten, in which he likened the leaders of the Liberal party to jelly-fishes, swept in beautiful but helpless procession to and fro by the racing transparent tides of his native shores. The jelly-fish has passed into the political vocabulary of the period. He now endeavours to fasten a culinary comparison upon the Report of the Crofters' Commission. It resembles the 'grand old national dish' of our country, a sheep's head, over which the Scottish epicure pronounced the laudatory appreciation that 'there's a deal o' fine confused feeding upon 't.' Following up the savoury similitude the Duke observes that in the Report 'there is some gristle, but not much; some pure muscle, but not much of that either;' and he adds that 'there is a wonderful abundance of tissues, chiefly adipose and gelatinous.' In a subsequent passage he affirms that the Report leaves us in 'a maze of intellectual confusions and of practical contradictions.' I repudiate the validity of these strictures. The Duke has confounded the temper and the style of the Report with its substance. The Report adopts no absolute theories, it affirms no decided partialities or aversions, it does not find all the right on one side and all the wrong on the other; it endeavours to exhibit to either party the better aspect of its opponent, and thus to prepare both for adjustment and mutual help hereafter. In the deliverance of a mixed body you cannot expect to discover the firm touch and unhesitating conclusions of a single independent mind. There must be a sacrifice of vigorous enunciation, and even the partial suppression of personal convictions. The softness of the Report is, however, in the judgments which it passes, its solidity is in the suggestions which it presents. In the latter respect there are many definite proposals which may be practicable or impracticable, but which are certainly not obnoxious to the reproach of timidity or indistinctness. I proceed to illustrate my position by a compendious

recapitulation of the principal remedial projects included in the Report under the several heads into which it is divided.

1. *Land*.—Recognition of the crofter's township. Provisions for its protection, improvement, and compulsory enlargement; for the voluntary formation of new townships and small holdings with State aid; for the division of common, the consolidation of holdings, the prevention of sub-division and squatting. Proposals for the institution of improving leases, for compensation for improvements, for the commutation of labour rents and services, for the purchase of the fee simple by the occupier, with the co-operation of Government; for the regulation of eviction and the recovery of rent, for the protection and encouragement of the separate crofter unconnected with a township.

2. *Fisheries and Communications*.—Proposals for the formation of harbours, piers, and landing-places, for the acquisition and sale of sites by Government for the habitations of fishermen, for the supply of boats and fishing-gear, for the extension of postal and telegraphic communications, for the development of roads and steam traffic, for the construction of a new railway with a terminus on the western coast by State agency or assistance, for the protection and improvement of the lobster and herring fisheries.

3. *Education*.—Proposals for the encouragement of regular attendance in elementary schools, for increased State aid in the case of exorbitant school-rates, for the cancelment of excessive debts incurred for school-buildings in poor districts, for the increase of the educational staff and the employment of female agency, for the institution of secondary schools and the encouragement of higher education, for the adoption and cultivation of the Gaelic language as an instrument in teaching English, for the preservation of Gaelic music and poetry.

4. *Justice*.—Suggestions for the more convenient administration of justice, for the improvement of the position of the sheriff substitute, for the enforcement of a knowledge of the Gaelic language among judicial officers, for the prevention of an excessive concentration of local offices in a single person, for the restriction of procurators fiscal and sheriff clerks to the proper duties of their respective employments.

5. *Deer Forests and Game*.—Provisions enforcing the erection of deer-fences round crofters' lands, granting to the crofter the right to kill deer on his holding, on the basis of the Ground Game Act, prohibiting the afforestation of crofters' lands; alternative proposals for the restriction of future deer forests to lands at a high altitude above the sea, or to lands not adapted to cultivation and small tenancy; suggestions for the creation of plantations and improvements in connection with future deer forests; and for the protection of small tenants against the ravages of ground and flying game.

6. *Emigration*.—Proposals for the institution of a Scottish agency for emigration, by whose intervention the transport, employment and settlement of selected families might be conducted, either

under engagements with private employers of labour in the several colonies or with the colonial governments; proposals for the purchase of the stock belonging to the crofting emigrant by the proprietor, and for the consolidation of the vacated holding under a specified value with existing holdings of the same class.

With remedial suggestions before him so numerous, practical, and detailed as those referred to in the preceding rapid and imperfect abstract, it is difficult to conceive how the Duke of Argyll can treat the Report of the Commission as a mere piece of pleasant but perplexing reading, deficient in cohesion and in materials for constructive use. I am more apprehensive that it may be imputed to the Report that it errs by the multiplication of minute provisions adopted on imperfect discussion. In reply to this objection, should it be made, I submit that I have been throughout sensible that the remedial suggestions of the Report are in details necessarily of a tentative character. They are not advanced with presumption, but in the hope that they may serve as a groundwork upon which the proprietor may reflect and the legislator labour with advantage. This much, however, may be fairly claimed; a careful comparison of these suggestions step by step with the evidence adduced will show that not one has been rashly adopted, but that each rests upon some motive or feature of alleged expediency.

The specific recommendations of the Commission are not dealt with in the article by the Duke of Argyll, upon which this is a commentary. In his subsequent speech in the House of Lords, the Duke brought them under review in a more categorical form; yet on that occasion his adverse contentions were, to my gratification, so much mingled with admissions or assent that I experience much difficulty in joining issue with him on particular matters of dispute. As, however, the recognition of the 'Highland township' was in some measure singled out for unfavourable notice, and as this proposal has been received with surprise and incredulity in other quarters, it is to this capital point alone that I shall now refer.

The recognition of the township is simply the suggestion of an agency for the purpose of attaining two practical objects—the extension and improvement of crofters' holdings.

The single point on which witnesses before the Commission of all classes and opinions heartily concurred was this, that the holdings of the crofters were too small. It was more than concurrence; it was a unanimous opinion pressed with earnestness and sometimes with fervour, based upon the conviction that the bad effects of the contraction of tenancies were manifested by a wide-spread deterioration in the productiveness of the soil, by a partial depreciation in the quality of the food, clothing, and lodging of the people, by the rupture or suspension of family ties and duties,⁹ and by the diffusion

⁹ This is only intended to apply to cases in which the parent or chief bread-winner of the family is obliged to leave home in quest of work.

of general dissatisfaction, deepened, no doubt, by the spectacle of increasing areas of land sterilised for the purposes of sport. The coincidence of statements upon this question had a powerful effect upon the minds of the Commissioners, and it was my intention to impress it on the attention of my readers by quotations from the evidence, but I find myself at once prevented and dispensed from doing so by want of space, and by the general recognition of the evil complained of, which has recently been evinced. This recognition has found conspicuous expression in the declarations of the Marquis of Stafford and the Duke of Argyll himself, and has been formally ratified by the first resolution of the Congress of Highland Proprietors at Inverness.

The necessity of expansion being now assumed, the question arises in what form can it be procured with the greatest facility and the least charge.

The Commissioners, by a majority, with a view to the satisfaction of the people and the more certain and speedy realisation of a reform so necessary and so ardently desired, decided that a limited faculty of expansion ought to be conferred on the crofters as a right, which they should be enabled to enforce against the landlord, failing a voluntary adjustment between the parties concerned.

Assuming, again, the expediency of compulsory expansion, we are brought face to face with the question of the method and the means to be employed.

Could compulsory expansion be effected by individual dealing between the proprietor and the crofter? To all appearance it could not. The expansion of individual holdings could be effected in two ways; by the emigration or the migration of occupiers, and the consolidation of the vacant holdings with the holdings of the same class selected for preservation. Both methods are legitimate and useful, and accordingly, provisions contemplating emigration and migration are incorporated in the Report in their proper place. But neither could be made obligatory. You cannot compel a proprietor to export his people, and you cannot compel the people to go. There is scarcely a landlord in the Highlands who could afford to grant substantial relief to an over-crowded estate, by defraying the expense of regulated family emigration and settlement abroad. The Government could do it, but unhappily the Government is almost pledged against State-aided emigration. But granted a proprietor of competent fortune and benevolence, and granted a Government prepared to face the task, in the present age the consent of the people has to be obtained, and of the people in sufficient numbers. Emigration may still prove a valuable resource, we trust it will: but it must remain on all sides a strictly voluntary agency. Migration offers almost equal difficulties. A proprietor would be justified in giving his tenant the option of going, with obvious advantage, to another portion

of the estate, leaving his holding to benefit a neighbour, or of removing from the estate altogether; but the expenditure involved would be excessive, and the disturbance of existing farming areas might be prejudicial. New roads, new houses, new fences, new drainage would all have to be undertaken; new localities of an eligible character would have to be selected, necessitating the removal of families to distant places, perhaps the disorganisation of tenancies formed with expenditure and care. Migration may prove to be an advantageous and effective expedient; it may be available for some proprietors, who have independent pecuniary resources and appropriate vacant areas, without external aid, while others might employ it with the Government assistance contemplated by the Report, but in no case could this method with justice be rendered obligatory on the proprietor.

There remains a third expedient which sets aside the individual and substitutes the community, I mean the expansion of the township on its own marches, the enlargement of the common pasture. This method involves a benefit to all the occupiers, imposes no expenditure for buildings, either on proprietor or tenant, involves no considerable outlay on roads, fences, drains, or other works, causes less disturbance of other agricultural areas, and makes in many places a grateful restitution to the people of lands withdrawn from their occupancy almost within the memory of living men.

The extension of the common pasture of the township when exacted as a right, involves, however, the recognition of the township as a rural area. Expansion demands security. It must indeed be preceded by security. It would be idle to grant the right to enlargement without the right of conservation. There would be no use in adding to the common pasture on one side if you could abridge it on the other. The whole township area must be formally constituted and guarded from future diminution, except with the consent of the occupiers. But the recognition of the township is recommended by another consideration. You must set up some agency by which the expansion of the common pasture can be claimed and put in force. This power could not be conveniently exercised by individuals acting separately. It is a power onerous to the proprietor, and important to all the parties concerned in the common pasture. The only proper agency for such a function that I can conceive is the township itself, acting by virtue of the resolution of a large majority and by a representative duly authorised. We are logically conducted to the recognition of the township, if the right of compulsory expansion is conferred at all, but we are led to the same decision by the necessity for improvements.

Nowhere in Scotland is the condition of agricultural and pastoral industry so pitiable as in the crofting holdings of the extreme north and west, nowhere is the development of organised effort

and individual activity so loudly called for. These necessities are not displayed in the evidence laid before the Commission with the same force as the claim to expansion. Living testimony was not requisite. The face of the country is a witness to the fact. But as many do not see a crofter's hamlet of the poorer sort in the Hebrides (except it may be on the walls of the Academy), it is incumbent upon me to fix on the mind of my readers, with a few rapid strokes, the lineaments of the scene. Imagine then a rough mountain covered with heath and stones, sloping towards a brook or the sea. Near the bottom of the declivity, where the descent assumes a gentler gradient, a score or so of thatched hovels are ranged in a rude line at unequal distances. Before the doors, common to the human and bestial inhabitants, the manure and ashes are cast out into open pits; here and there a walled space about the size of an ordinary room protects a few stunted kale plants from the blast. In front of the dwellings and behind them lie narrow fields covered with crops of dwarf oats and potatoes, interspersed with rocks and divided by strips of fallow. In many quarters there are heaps and lines of stones extricated from the ground by the deliberate toil of successive generations, the forgotten but accessible materials for enclosure. No attempt to form an orderly garden or fenced field, no artificial grass, no root crops for the winter consumption of the stock. High above the houses a winding turf dyke divides the arable from the mountain pasture, with many a 'slap' through which the nimble cattle burst in upon the tillage. At intervals the figure of a labourer leaning on his crooked spade, or some tattered woman carrying a 'creel' of peats, or drawing a harrow. It all combines to form a spectacle of sordid confusion which fills the heart of the southern economist with the deepest depression, especially when witnessed under the influence of a ragged sky and driving gale. Yet even here heaven distributes the elements of the picturesque, and a mournful harmony reigns between the neglects of nature and the neglects of man. Under the mantle of desolation, features, it is true, of a more cheering character are concealed. The Report of the Commission did not fail to notice that compared with the working-people of the city and the south, even the poorest crofters have in ordinary seasons sources of superior welfare.¹⁰ The Duke of Argyll in his article in this Review remarked upon an imaginary omission with some asperity, which he has since had the courtesy to withdraw.

The Highlanders possess the salubrity of the mountain and the sea, more variety of diet, a larger amount of milk and fish, a share of personal property, cows and sheep, the implements of spinning, weaving, fishing, and husbandry; the interest which belongs to an alternation of employments and the practice of traffic. It is only just to add that no people are in mental and moral endowments so much above their physical surroundings. From a hut which would form an

¹⁰ *Report*, p. 109.

appropriate abode for a Fuegian savage, there will often come forth a gentle decent mother, a father who has notions of theology and politics, or who in the absence of book-learning has still the manners and the feelings of a gentleman. These compensations in the condition and character of the crofters justify the hope that they may be lifted above the slough of material degradation in which they are too often plunged. They are worthy of a better destiny and could be supplied with impulses and instruments to attain it.

The first improvements which the crofter requires to start him up the path of industrial elevation are simple, but they are improvements which the individual occupier cannot design, execute, use, and maintain without the co-operation of his proprietor and his neighbour. A rough road for wheel traffic from the township to the public highway, the peat moss and the shore; a substantial sheltering fence between the township arable and the common pasture on the hill; a march fence of lighter construction between the hill pasture and the adjacent farm; an outfall drain of general utility for sanitary or agricultural objects; a channel for water supply to the village; some rude form of slip, or quay, or boat-shelter on the beach. Such are the kind of works of common concern to the whole community which I comprehend under the title of Township Improvements. They are beyond the sphere of individual effort. But they could be planned by the factor and the township-constable, and executed and paid for by the co-operative labour and united resources of both parties. Each, under proper restrictions, should be empowered to compel the assistance of the other. By the terms of the Report the initiation of undertakings of this nature has been for the most part left to the township as against the landlord, but I have personally no objection to grant the proprietor a larger share of originating power with a view to the common good. In the arrangements which such works involve, it is obviously desirable that the proprietor should deal not with the occupiers separately, but with the authorised representative of the township as a whole, by whom the repartition of co-operative labour or of pecuniary liability would be best adjusted. I believe, indeed, that the recognition of the township for the purposes of improvement would eventually be followed by a considerable evolution of municipal activity, and that the traditional stagnation of these diminutive communities would be broken up. Township expansion and improvements, it is scarcely necessary to say, would form only a preliminary step to the introduction of good husbandry on the separate holdings, but it is an indispensable step. It forms the proper basis on which the superstructure of occupiers' improvements should be raised. The latter are contemplated by the project of improving leases, which forms a separate subject in the Report.

Having thus explained the motives which prompted the proposal to recognise the crofters' township and to furnish it with certain

prerogatives, I now go on to consider the principal objections which have been urged against the scheme from different antagonistic standpoints. These may be considered under the following heads :—

1. That the power of compulsory expansion appropriated to the township would be destructive to other kinds of property.

2. That the faculty of claiming township improvements would be unjustly oppressive to the proprietor.

3. That the recognition of the township would 'stereotype' a bad form of tenure.

4. That the recognition of the township gives no security to the individual occupier.

In sanctioning a claim on the part of the township to enlargement, the majority of the Commissioners were by no means animated by the desire to reduce the area of large tenancies to such an extent as to sterilise the outlay of which they have been the object, or to render the system of industry impossible of which they are the scene. The existence of large farming areas in the Highlands, of reasonable dimensions and in due proportion, is, when the tenants are resident, a benefit to the country, offering, as it does, guarantees for the production of a high class of crop and stock, for the erection of superior buildings, for the presence in secluded localities of men of education and intelligence, for the payment of regular and substantial rents, for the employment of labour and for the diffusion of good examples among the smaller order of occupiers. Accordingly the Commissioners have in their Report suggested provisions to protect the farming areas against excessive reduction; on the one side by defining the degree of restriction to which they should be liable, and on the other by fixing the measure in which the township should be entitled to compulsory expansion. These provisions demonstrate the intention of the authors of the Report, which is to raise the crofts to a moderate standard and to reduce the farms to sizes which would secure a system of resident and working tenancy. If the faculty of reduction as against the farm be considered too stringent, the suggestions of the Commission are open to modification, the principle of compulsory claim to expansion being preserved.

In regard to township improvements, I do not consider that the claims of the township, as defined by the Report, to co-operation and outlay on the part of the proprietor, are unduly rigorous. The intention of the Commissioners was to restrict the statutory claims of the township to proprietary aid greatly within the bounds of those demands which the individual large farmer, when a resident, is in the habit of making on the landlord. Let us compare the two cases. The lessee of a large arable and pasture farm exacts and receives from the landlord outlay for the following objects: dwelling-house, farm offices, farm servants' cottages, farm roads, march fences, field

fences, arterial, subsoil, and surface drainage. To these objects he contributes in various degrees by co-operative labour. In the case of the township, which here represents the individual farmer, the Report does not propose any claim for buildings of any sort, field fences, or subsoil or surface drains, while the prescribed extent of co-operation on the part of the township is much larger than that which is commonly granted in the case of the farmer. It may be objected that when outlay for improvements is made on a farm in the course of a current lease, an increase of rent is given representing interest on the sum expended, and that in all cases the arrangement is a free covenant between the contracting parties, while in the case of the township no interest is stipulated for, and the outlay is imposed on the landlord in conjunction with the tenant. The difference is more theoretical than practical. In these days the increased rental payable by the farmer for improvements is often absorbed by remissions, or if not it vanishes altogether at the expiration of the lease, while the freedom of contract between the two parties is more apparent than real, for the proprietor is now virtually at the mercy of the tenant. Although in the case of the township the proprietor is constrained to perform certain duties, they are moderate and equitable, and he is constrained to do nothing unless his people help him. It is idle to speak of the Highland crofters as free agents, competent to shape their own fortunes, uncounselled and unaided. The farmer is often a free agent, a capitalist, a stranger, who brings his money, his intelligence, and his labour voluntarily to a selected market; the crofter is as much the accident of nature and of time as the heath and rocks upon his mountain, or as the seaweed that drifts upon his shore. The man who inherits a Highland estate inherits the people and the obligations attached to them; the man who purchases a Highland estate purchases the people, subject to like conditions. Should the claim of the township to exact improvements be admitted, the danger is not that the proprietor would be compelled to do too much, but that he would not be asked to do enough.

When it is alleged that the recognition of the township 'stereotypes' or perpetuates a bad form of tenure, the argument implies either that the proposals of the Report countenance a return to the 'run-rig' system of arable cultivation, which means a redistribution of the soil at stated intervals among the township occupiers, or it implies that the system of common pasture is a bad form of tenure, or both these inferences. No one who reads the Report can entertain the first hypothesis for a moment. The Report assumes from first to last that the repartition of the township arable ground into permanent separate lots is the basis of all improvement; it contains specific provisions for the creation of durable divisions between the holdings and for long improving leases accessible to individual tenants. As far as arable cultivation is concerned, the suggestions of the Report aim

at the effacement of the last traces of communal tenure, which still exist in many places in the form of the common use of the arable area as grazing ground when the crop is secured. But the Report does not affirm, and I do not myself believe, that the use of wild mountain areas as common pasture is a bad tenure in relation to the very peculiar conditions of land and people on the western coast, in the Hebrides, and on the Long Island. In these regions the quality of the pasture is so poor that an immense superficies must be appropriated to a township, in order to secure to the several occupiers a substantial proportion of live stock. To divide the common pasture by fences into separate parcels, appropriated for summer or for winter use, would be absolutely impracticable, both in respect to expense and to the irregularities of the ground with which you have to deal. If the occupiers are to have any pasture it must be common hill pasture, and if they are to have no pasture they must cease to exist as occupiers of land, for the pastoral element is the progressive one in the crofters' living, the grain crop being little more than auxiliary to the support of cattle.

The last objection which I have to confront is one which proceeds from the crofters' side. The recognition, expansion, and improvement of the township, it is said, do not give any security to the individual occupier. The land is guarded for the people while they are there, but the people could be driven from the land one after another till all the crofts were merged in a single holding. The security of the township ought to be supplemented by the security of the croft. This objection is logically valid, and it opens a large question. Is it or is it not expedient in the interest of the crofters and of the country at large to give an absolute unconditional fixity of tenure to all the small occupiers of land in their present holdings? For my part I cannot think that it is. I believe that such a measure would have many fatal results. It would fix the people to the soil, discourage enterprise, industry, emigration, migration, and the consolidation of small holdings, facilitate subdivision and squatting, and deprive the proprietor of the exercise of all authority and of many incentives to beneficence. Unconditional fixity of tenure could hardly be granted without official rents and the faculty of selling the improvements and goodwill of the tenancy in the open market, innovations which would aggravate the evils enumerated above. Under these impressions the Commissioners have recommended security of tenure in a modified form, which has an ancient statutory sanction, and which is conformable to the custom of the country, in the shape of an 'improving lease,' under which competent occupiers would have a right to claim the tenure of the holding for thirty years at a valuation-rent, with obligations to improve, and with compensation for improvements. If, however, the contingency of the clearance of the township must be contemplated by legislation, it might be practically prevented by

prohibiting the creation of tenancies in townships above a specified annual value.

I have discharged my duty in the preceding pages by repelling, to the best of my ability, certain imputations cast upon the Crofters' Commission by the Duke of Argyll, by exposing misconceptions into which he has fallen in the ardour of his attack, and by placing in a clearer light the motives and objects of one of the leading proposals in the Report. I would, however, far rather win the support of the Duke than resist his aggression, not only because he is a dangerous adversary, but because by personal gifts, inherited station and political position, he has a peculiar faculty of usefulness in this emergency. He speaks with authority to the whole proprietary body. By tradition and conviction a Whig, he is an able exponent of that political philosophy which is native to Scotland, and which still possesses a positive though waning ascendancy among the higher class of Scottish Liberals. He unquestionably defends the rights of property with an eloquence and force which every Scottish Conservative can applaud, and which no Scottish Conservative can emulate. In a recent speech in the House of Lords he descended from the austere summits of economical doctrine, and placed himself publicly in contact with the wants and wishes of that humble class of his countrymen to whom his family owe as much of their historical greatness as is separable from intellectual distinction. On the occasion to which I refer, the Duke seemed to recommend an adjustment of rents by some impartial method of revision. He admitted the necessity for an enlargement of the common pasture of the poorer tenants, and professed his readiness to grant leases on terms more liberal than those defined in the Report as the basis of an official covenant. It is true that these overtures to the crofting class were presented rather in the way of voluntary action on the part of the proprietor than of statutory claim on the part of the tenant, yet such declarations constitute an advance upon any views enunciated by the Duke heretofore, as far as I remember, for we have been more familiar with him in an attitude of combat than of conciliation. It is surely not too much to hope that the Duke may be able now to embody his designs in a concrete form, to give them greater extension, to associate them with legislative provisions, and to recommend them to those over whom he cannot fail to exert a salutary power. If any one should discover in such a course of action a want of 'gristle' or a want of 'pure muscle,' a derogation from the stiffness in which he gloried and a condescension to the flexibility which he blamed; if it should even be alleged that the Duke of Argyll was after all only the specious presentment of rigidity, 'un roseau peint en fer,' as the diplomatists at St. James's used to say of a former Secretary of State, he might regard such detractors with legitimate contempt, for by a timely compliance he would be rendering a material service to his order and his fellow-countrymen.

To the suggestions of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to the mediation of Lochiel, we owe it that a meeting has been held of landowners in the North of Scotland for the purpose of promoting a friendly adjustment of the claims of the crofters. In this movement the Duke of Argyll has been, it is reported, an influential adviser, though he did not take part in the discussions at Inverness. It is, perhaps, better so, for he reserves a greater liberty of subsequent Parliamentary action. The concerted resolutions of the Highland proprietors are conceived in a generous spirit, and they are all consistent with true policy and the wishes of the people. In my judgment they are defective in the following respects: they contain no absolute security for the preservation of the existing crofting areas, no provisions for township improvements, no restriction on the future formation of deer forests, and no suggestions for the embodiment of the conclusions adopted in a statutory form. Nevertheless, an overture has been made which is honourable to its authors, and which in other hands may become productive of beneficial results. A larger measure of concession could not, perhaps, have been secured in connection with unanimous assent.

NAPIER AND ETRICK.

GEORGE ELIOT'S 'LIFE.'¹

If it is true that the most interesting of George Eliot's characters is her own, it may be said also that the most interesting of her books is her Life. Mr. Cross has made known what is in fact the last work of the great Englishwoman. He possesses that art of concealing the artist, which is still the rarest quality of biographers, and, apart from a few necessary pages, gives nothing but letters, journals, and fragmentary memoirs written partly with a dim vision of publicity. The volumes will be read less for the notes of travel, the emphatic tenderness of the letters to friends often on a lower plane, and the tonic aphorisms devised for their encouragement, than for the light they shed on the history of a wonderful intellect. The usual attractions of biography are wanting here. We see the heroine, not reflected from other minds, but nearly as she saw herself and cared to be known. Her own skilled hand has drawn her likeness. In books variously attributable to a High Church curate and to a disciple of Comte the underlying unity of purpose was not apparent. For valid reasons they invite interpretation as much as *Faust* or the *Paradiso*. The drift and sequence of ideas, no longer obscured by irony, no longer veiled under literary precautions or overlaid with the dense drapery of style, is revealed beyond the risk of error now that the author has become her own interpreter.

The Life, while it illustrates the novels, explains what they do not indicate, the influences which produced the novelist. George Eliot was no spontaneous genius, singing unbidden with unpremeditated art. Her talents ripened successively and slowly. No literary reputation of this century has risen so high after having begun so late. The even maturity of her powers, original and acquired, lasted only thirteen years, and the native imagination was fading when observation and reflection were in the fulness of their prime. Mr. Cross's first volume describes the severe discipline of life and thought, the trials and efforts by which her greatness was laboriously achieved.

Marian Evans spent the first thirty years of her life in a rural shire, and received her earliest and most enduring impressions in a

¹ *George Eliot's Life as related in her Letters and Journals*, arranged and edited by her husband, J. W. Cross. In three volumes. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1883.

region of social stability, among inert forces, away from the changing scenes that attend the making of history. Isolation, the recurring note of her existence, set in early, for her urgent craving for love and praise was repelled by the relations around her, and her childhood was unhappy. We are assured that she was affectionate, proud, and sensitive in the highest degree; and the words are significant, because they bear the concurrent testimony of her brother and her husband.

The early letters, written with the ceremonious propriety of Miss Seward, give no sign of more than common understanding. She was just out of her teens when she wrote the following words:—

Men and women are but children of a larger growth; they are still imitative beings. We cannot (at least those who ever read to any purpose at all), we cannot, I say, help being modified by the ideas that pass through our minds. We hardly wish to lay claim to such elasticity as retains no impress.—How deplorably and unaccountably evanescent are our frames of mind, as various as the forms and lines of the summer clouds! A single word is sometimes enough to give an entirely new mould to our thoughts; at least I find myself so constituted, and therefore to me it is pre-eminently important to be anchored within the veil, so that outward things may be unable to send me adrift.—Society is a wide nursery of plants, where the hundreds decompose to nourish the future ten, after giving collateral benefits to their contemporaries destined for a fairer garden.—The prevalence of misery and want in this boasted nation of prosperity and glory is appalling, and really seems to call us away from mental luxury. Oh, to be doing some little toward the regeneration of this growing travelling creation!

Beneath the pale surface of these sentences, and of one touching 'that joyous birdlike enjoyment of things which, though perishable as to their actual existence, will be embalmed to eternity in the precious spices of gratitude,' there are germs of sentiments to which the writer clung through the coming years. But the contrast with her developed character is stronger than the resemblance. She is struck at this time with compassion at the spectacle presented by people who go on marrying and giving in marriage. Music seems to her an unholy rite. On a visit to London she buys a Josephus, but refuses to go to the play with her brother. Even Shakespeare is dangerous. She lamented that novels had been supplied to her early, teaching her to live by herself in the midst of an imaginary world; and she had been disturbed at reading in *Devereux* that religion is not a requisite to moral excellence. She concluded that history is better than fiction; and her growing energy, her accuracy, her power of mastering hard books, seemed to promise a rival to Clinton or Long. The first literary enterprise in which she was engaged was a chart of ecclesiastical history, intended to include an application of the Apocalyptic prophecies; 'which would merely require a few figures.' The sense of humour was still dormant. The taste for material erudition was soon lost, and turned to bitterness. In her books George Eliot has twice exhibited the vanity of pointless learning, and she looked back

gratefully upon the agencies which rescued her from the devious and rugged ways by which history approaches truth.

Evangelical and Baptist teachers had imbued her with practical religion, and she enjoyed the writings proper to the school. In after years Sydney Smith's account of his occupations about this time must have seemed to her a burlesque of her own. 'I console myself with Doddridge's *Exposition* and *The Scholar Armed*, to say nothing of a very popular book, *The Dissenter Tripped up*.' She was intent on Doddridge, Wilberforce, and Milner, admired Hannah More, and commended *The Infidel Reclaimed*. Respect for the logic of Calvinism survived most of her theology, and it was attended originally by a corresponding aversion for what pertains to Rome. She reads the Oxford tracts, and unconsciously applying a noted saying of St. Thomas, detects the Satanic canker amidst so much learning and devotion.

This seriousness is the most constant element which early education supplied to her after career. She knew, not from hearsay or habit, but from the impress of inward experience, what is meant by conversion, grace, and prayer. Her change was not from external conformity to avowed indifference, but from earnest piety to explicit negation, and the knowledge of many secrets of a devout life accompanied her through all vicissitudes. Writers of equal celebrity and partly analogous career, such as Strauss and Renan, have made the same claim, somewhat confounding theological training with religious insight, and deliberate conviction or devotional feeling with faith. But George Eliot continued to draw the best of her knowledge from her own spiritual memories, not from a library of local divinity, and she treated religion neither with learned analysis nor with a gracious and flexible curiosity, but with a certain grave sympathy and gratitude. Her acquaintance with books had been restricted by the taste or scruples of teachers who could not estimate the true proportions or needs of her mind, and the defect was not remedied by contact with any intelligent divine. Such instruction as she obtained has supported thousands faithfully in the trials of life, but for an inquisitive and ambitious spirit, gifted with exceptional capacity for acquiring knowledge, it was no adequate protection under the wear and tear of study.

In the summer of 1841 the thought quickens, the style improves, and a new interest is awakened in disputed questions. She already aspired after that reconciliation of Locke with Kant which was to be the special boast of one of her most distinguished friends, and she was impressed by Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity*, allowing some drawback for his treatment of the Fathers. At this point, while still a trusted member of the Church, Miss Evans was introduced at Coventry to a family of busy and strenuous freethinkers.

The first visit to their house was early in November 1841, after

which she speaks of being absorbed in momentous studies, and on the 13th of the same month she writes to her most intimate friend, 'Think! is there any conceivable alteration in me that could prevent your coming to me at Christmas?' The obstacle announced in these words was a vital alteration in her religious principles. The revolution was sudden, but it was complete. For a time she continued to speak of eternal hope and a beneficent Creator; in deference to her father she even consented, uneasily, to go to church. But from that momentous November until her death it would appear that no misgiving favourable to Christianity ever penetrated her mind, or shook for an instant its settled unbelief. There was no wavering and no regret. And when George Eliot had become a consummate expert in the pathology of conscience, she abstained from displaying the tortures of doubt and the struggles of expiring faith.

The history of a soul is never fully told even for edification. We learn that Miss Evans was initiated in the mysteries of scepticism at her first encounter with cultivated society; and her early convictions, artlessly propped upon Young and Hannah More, yielded to the combined influence. Her new friend was the wife of Mr. Bray, who had written *The Philosophy of Necessity*, and sister to Mr. Hennell, the author of *An Enquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity*. The formal country school-girl, whose wondering companions called her 'Little Mamma,' who gathered them for prayer, who knew how to organise and to invigorate district work, and had dismissed her own brother for his High Church propensity, was fascinated and transformed by these surroundings. She pronounced Mrs. Bray the most religious person she knew, and Mr. Hennell a perfect model of manly excellence. She read his *Enquiry* twice through, and found it more interesting than any book she had seen. It represented in its day the antepenultimate stage of Biblical study; and Strauss, swathing his German criticism in politer Latin, said that it was written *Britannis, Britannice*. Mr. Hennell's reading of Gospel history was not the outcome of untried method or hypothesis, and those whom he convinced were tempted to conclude that arguments so specious and acceptable to themselves ought in fairness to satisfy others. They impressed Miss Evans, and at the critical moment she met with some unfavourable specimen of the Christian advocate. 'These dear orthodox people talk so simply sometimes that one cannot help fancying them satirists of their own doctrines and fears.' Endowed with many virtues which go to constitute the ideal of the Christian character, with self-knowledge, unflinching sincerity, and an ardent devotion to the good of others, she became impatient of minds that could not keep pace with her own, and learnt during a portion of her life to reckon prejudice, fallacious reasoning, and wilful blindness among the properties of orthodoxy.

Strauss himself never made so important a proselyte. He provoked a reaction which nearly balanced his direct influence, and the *Leben Jesu* had already become, like the *Génie du Christianisme* and the *Sermon on the National Apostasy*, the signal of a religious revival. Between Hennell's *Enquiry* and George Eliot's answer there is no proportion. His views need not have implied condemnation of all foreign and American Churches. She was more thorough in her rejection of the Gospels, and she at once rejected far more than the Gospels. For some years her mind travelled in search of rest, and, like most students of German thought before the middle of the century, she paid a passing tribute to pantheism. But from Jonathan Edwards to Spinoza she went over at one step. The abrupt transition may be accounted for by the probable action of Kant, who had not then become a buttress of Christianity. Out of ten Englishmen, if there were ten, who read him in 1841, nine got no further than the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and knew him as the dreaded assailant of popular evidences. When George Eliot stood before his statue at Berlin she was seized with a burst of gratitude, but she hardly became familiar with his later works.

Mr. Bray was a phrenologist who remained faithful to the cause after it had been blighted by Dr. Carpenter; and he soon found out that, if there is truth in phrenology, Miss Evans must be a portent. Mrs. Bray and her sister, the Cara and Sara of the biography, relieved the sadness and the solitude of her life at home and comforted her in fits of nervous depression, in her fretful introspection, in her despair of ever winning affection or doing work worth living for. She associated with their friends, used their library, and surveyed the world through their windows. Greek and German and the depths of unconscious energy within carried her presently beyond their sphere, and she followed her own path in literature. A time came when the correspondence between them fell under constraint. But for ten eventful years, in which her mind was forming and settling upon fixed lines, this family group was able to encourage and to limit her progress, and the letters to Miss Hennell, written under the stress of transition, describe her first attempts to steer without the accustomed stars:—

Of course I must desire the ultimate downfall of error, for no error is innocuous; but this assuredly will occur without my proselytising aid. I cannot rank among my principles of action a fear of vengeance eternal, gratitude for predestined salvation, or a revelation of future glories as a reward.—The mind that feels its value will get large draughts from some source if denied it in the most commonly chosen way.—Where is not this same ego? The martyr at the stake seeks its gratification as much as the court sycophant, the difference lying in the comparative dignity and beauty of the two egos. People absurdly talk of self-denial. Why, there is none in virtue to a being of moral excellence.—There can be few who more truly feel than I that this is a world of bliss and beauty; that is, that bliss and beauty are the end, the tendency of creation, and evils are its shadows.—When the soul is

just liberated from the wretched giant's bed of dogmas on which it has been racked and stretched ever since it began to think, there is a feeling of exultation and strong hope. We think we shall run well when we have the full use of our limbs and the bracing air of independence, and we believe that we shall soon obtain something positive which will not only more than compensate us for what we have renounced, but will be so well worth offering to others that we may venture to proselytise as fast as our zeal for truth may prompt us. But a year or two of reflection, and the experience of our own miserable weakness, which will ill afford to part even with the crutch of superstition, must, I think, effect a change. Speculative truth begins to appear but a shadow of individual minds; agreement between intellects seems unattainable, and we turn to the truth of feeling as the only universal bond of union. We find that the intellectual errors which we once fancied were a mere incrustation have grown into the living body, and that we cannot, in the majority of cases, wrench them away without destroying vitality. We begin to find that, with individuals as with nations, the only safe revolution is one arising out of the wants which their own progress has generated. It is the quackery of infidelity to suppose that it has a nostrum for all mankind.

So much of George Eliot's permanent characteristics had taken root independently of Rousseau, Spinoza, Feuerbach, Goethe, Comte, or Spencer, and before the dynasty of thinkers began to reign in her mind. Mrs. Cross would have recognised herself in these confessions of 1843. The acute crisis was over: a long period of gradual and consistent growth ensued.

Miss Evans translated the *Leben Jesu* from the fourth edition, in which Strauss betrayed the feeling roused by the violence of the conflict, and withdrew the concessions which his ablest opponents had wrung from him. It was not a labour of love to the translator. In her judgment the problem was exhausted. She had her own more radical solution, which the author did not reach for twenty years, and she shared neither his contentious fervour, his asperity, nor his irresolution. The task was accomplished under a sense of growing repulsion. One of her friends even says that she gathered strength to write on the Crucifixion by gazing on the crucifix, and we may infer from this remark that some confusion of thought prevailed at Coventry.

When she visited Germany in 1854, the first person she met, at Cologne, was Strauss. A miniature revolution had driven him from the career for which he was bred, and he was leading an indeterminate existence, without an occupation fitted for his powers and without a home. Cologne irritated him by want of literature, and by the cathedral which a Protestant government was proceeding to complete, while those to whom it belonged had been content that it should stand for centuries a monument of profuse and miscalculating zeal. Theology made him sick, and fame did not console him, for he was tired of being called the author of his book, and was not yet reconciled to popularity among classes that could neither substitute precept for dogma nor ideas for facts. The meeting left no agreeable impression. In the life of George Eliot Strauss is an episode, not an epoch. She did not take him up to satisfy doubts or to complete an appointed

course. These studies were carried no further, and she was not curious regarding the future of the famous school whose influence extended from Newman and Ritschl to Renan and Keim. But there is no writer on whom she bestowed so large a share of the incessant labour of her life. Two years spent in uncongenial contact with such a mind were an effectual lesson to a woman of twenty-six, unused to strict prosaic method and averse from the material drudgery of research. She could learn from Strauss to distrust the royal road of cleverness and wit, to neglect no tedious detail, to write so that what is written shall withstand hostile scrutiny.

Five studious years followed, which strengthened the solid qualities of her mind. There had been much docility in complying with the nearest teaching and taking the line of least resistance. There was some risk of falling into worn channels, as men do who keep the colours of school and college, who read for agreement, and privately believe in some sage of Highgate or Westminster, Chelsea or Concord, as chance determines. George Eliot set herself earnestly to get out of the current, to be emancipated from the forces about her, and to secure the largest area of choice for guidance and instruction.

I say it now, and I say it once for all, that I am influenced in my own conduct at the present time by far higher considerations, and by a nobler idea of duty, than I ever was while I held the evangelical beliefs.—It seems as if my affections were quietly sinking down to temperate, and I every day seem more and more to value thought rather than feeling. I do not think this is man's best estate.—Now I am set free from the irritating worn-out integument. I am entering on a new period of my life, which makes me look back on the past as something incredibly poor and contemptible. I am beginning to lose respect for the petty acumen that sees difficulties. I love the souls that rush along to their goal with a full stream of sentiment, that have too much of the positive to be harassed by the perpetual negatives, which after all are but the disease of the soul, to be expelled by fortifying the principle of vitality.—The only ardent hope I have for my future life is to have given to me some woman's duty, some possibility of devoting myself where I may see a daily result of pure calm blessedness in the life of another.

After losing her father and spending several months at Geneva she settled down to a literary career in London. At Geneva she is still remembered with affection. Her days were spent obscurely, in the hard work which was her refuge from loneliness, from despondency, from the absence of a woman's joys and cares. She kept the secret of her authorship, and avoided aggressive speech; but those whom she trusted knew her as a pantheist and a stubborn disputant. She is described as talking well but showily, like one overfed on the French of the days when Quinet and Mickiewicz were eminent. France and the emotional philosophers had their time. She became, and to some extent remained, a devoted advocate of Jean Jacques and George Sand, and she startled Emerson by her taste for the *Confessions*.

Half of the books mentioned at this period are in verse. She

knew how to distil working ideas from the obscurest poems; and her decorated prose, artificial with the strain to avoid commonplace, charged with excessive meaning, and resembling the style of no other writer, was formed on the English poets. She preferred Milton, Shelley, Wordsworth, and the early dramatists, specially excluding Marlowe. No one was fitter by intellectual affinity to penetrate the secret of Shakespeare; but the influence of Goethe was deeper, and perhaps near the end the influence of Dante. Goethe's preponderance is explicable by Strauss's reason, that Sirius may be larger than the sun, but ripens no grapes for us. It is recorded that George Eliot thought Shakespeare unjust to women; and we may believe that a mind so carefully poised was repelled by his flagrant insularity, his leaning for obvious characters, his insensibility to the glories of Greece and the mystery of the Renaissance, his indifference to the deeper objects for which his generation contended. The preference for Dante, with all his passion, fanaticism, and poverty of logic, is a symptom of that swerving towards religious sentiment which, in spite of Comte, if not by virtue of Comte, marked the later years.

Beyond the pleasures of literature arose the sterner demand for a certain rule of life in place of the rejected creeds. The sleepless sense that a new code of duty and motive needed to be restored in the midst of the void left by lost sanctions and banished hopes never ceased to stimulate her faculties and to oppress her spirits. After the interrupted development and the breach with the entire past, only her own energy could avail in the pursuit that imparted unity to her remaining life. It was the problem of her age to reconcile the practical ethics of unbelief and of belief, to save virtue and happiness when dogmas and authorities decay. To solve it she swept the realm of knowledge and stored up that large and serious erudition which sustains all her work, and in reality far exceeded what appears on the surface of the novels or in the record of daily reading. For an attentive observer there are many surprises like that of the mathematician who came to give her lessons and found that she was already in the differential calculus. It is her supreme characteristic in literature that her original genius rested on so broad a foundation of other people's thoughts; and it would be hard to find in her maturer life any parallel to Mr. Spencer's historic inacquaintance with Comte, or to the stranger ignorance of Mr. Spencer's own existence avowed in 1881 by Michelet, the legendary mantle-bearer of Hegel.

George Eliot always read with a purpose before her, and there was no waste and little raw material in her learning. But her acquirements were mainly those of a person who had taught herself, and might not have satisfied University tests. The Latin is dubious in *Romola* and the Italian in *Mr. Gilfil's Love Story*. The Princess of Eboli, who is supposed in the *Life* to have been a beauty, wore a patch over her eye. A questionable date is assigned to the

Platonic anniversary in *Romola*, and the affair of the Appeal is misunderstood. There is a persistent error regarding the age of Pico; and Savonarola, instead of proclaiming that he went straight to heaven, gave his evidence the other way. These and all other mistakes which the patience of readers has detected are immeasurably trivial compared to those which occur in the most famous historical novels, such as *Ivanhoe* and *John Inglesant*.

Caution and vigilance in guarding even the vestige of inaccuracy are apparent in other ways than the trip to Gainsborough and the consultation with Mr. Harrison on the legal obscurities of *Felix Holt*. Ladislav's fatal allusion to German scholarship, which shattered Dorothea's belief in her husband, was an audacious hyperbole. Comparative mythology was as backward in Germany as elsewhere, besides which the *Aglaophamus* was written in Latin and the *Symbolik* was already appearing in French. But George Eliot takes care to warn us that Ladislav did not know what he was talking about, and that Casaubon scorned to learn from a German even writing in Latin. Macchiavelli, in *Romola*, blows hot and cold on the Frate, but the inconsistency is faithfully taken from his writings. While the enthusiasts prevailed he went easily with the tide; but after he had been ruined and tortured for the Republic, and had become the officious expounder of Borgian theory to Medicean experts, he spoke as became him of the man who had the blood feud with Borgia and Medicis. The discovery of a single epithet, of a single letter (*versuto* for *versato*), has determined his real opinion since George Eliot wrote. The supreme test of the solidity of her work is the character of Savonarola. She possibly under-estimates the infusion of artifice in the prophecies, but no historian has held more firmly the not very evident answer to the question how a man who denounced the Pope as fiercely as Luther, who was excommunicated and consigned to death by Rome, should nevertheless have left such a reputation behind him that, within eleven years of his execution, Julius the Second declared him a true martyr and was willing to canonise him, that Paul the Third suspected any man who should venture to accuse him, that he was honoured among the saints in the liturgy of his Order. The answer is that Savonarola assailed the intruder, not the institution. He was no reformer of the prerogative, and would have committed full powers to a pontiff of his choice. He upheld the Papal authority against the usurper of the Papacy. Three false popes were once upon a time removed to make way for Clement the Third, for the same reason for which Savonarola deemed Alexander an illegitimate pretender, who ought to be made to yield his place to a better man.

The essential articles of George Eliot's creed were the fruit of so much preceding study that she impresses us less than some other writers by originality in the common sense of invention. She was

anxious to make it known that her abiding opinions were formed before she settled in London. Mr. Spencer confirms the claim, and it is proved by her first paper in the *Westminster Review*. The doctrine that neither contrition nor sacrifice can appease Nemesis, or avert the consequences of our wrongdoing from ourselves and others, filled a very large space indeed in her scheme of life and literature. From the bare diagram of *Brother Jacob* to the profound and finished picture of *Middlemarch*, retribution is the constant theme and motive for her art. It helped to determine her religious attitude, for it is only partly true that want of evidence was her only objection to Christianity. She was firmly persuaded that the postponement of the reckoning blunts the edge of remorse, and that repentance, which ought to be submission to just punishment, proved by the test of confession, means more commonly the endeavour to elude it. She thought that the world would be indefinitely better and happier if men could be made to feel that there is no escape from the inexorable law that we reap what we have sown. When she began to write, this doctrine was of importance as a neutral space, as an altar of the Unknown God, from which she was able to preach her own beliefs without controversy or exposure. For whilst it is the basis of morals under the scientific reign, it is a stimulant and a consolation to many Christians, for whom the line 'The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small,' expresses an ancient observation sanctioned by religion, whereas the words once spoken at Salerno, 'Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio,' are the last cry of a baffled and despairing fanatic.

This fundamental principle, that the wages of sin are paid in ready money, was borne in upon her by all her early environment. Bray had written a book in its defence, and the strength of Dawson's moral teaching was largely ascribed to the firmness with which he held it. Combe had said that obedience to each natural law has its peculiar reward, and disobedience its appropriate punishment; and Emerson stated his theory of Compensation in these terms: 'The specific stripes may follow late upon the offence, but they follow, because they accompany it. Crime and punishment grow out of one stem. We cannot do wrong without suffering wrong.' The same law, that evil ensues of necessity from evil deeds, is the pivot of Spinoza's ethics, and it was the belief of Strauss. George Eliot accepted it, and made it bright with the splendour of genius. Other portions of her system, such as altruism and the reign of the dead, exhibit her power of anticipating and of keeping abreast with the quicker movements of the age. In this she plainly followed, and she followed the lead of those who happened to be near.

She belongs to that family of illustrious thinkers whose progress has been made by the ingenious use of existing materials and respect for those who have gone before. Mr. Herbert Spencer owes seminal

ideas to Baer, Professor Bain to Johannes Müller, Helmholtz to Young, Darwin to Malthus, Malthus to Euler, Milne Edwards to Adam Smith, Bentham to Hutcheson. Newton has the demerit of having been preceded in his greatest discovery by three contemporaries, and Helmholtz by five. One of Laplace's theories was in s'Gravesande before him, and the other in Kant. Comte, if Mill had not given him a release from the study of Germans, might have found his law of the three stages anticipated by Fries in 1819. The *Westminster Review* adopted a new and characteristic motto when she joined it. There is another maxim of the same writer, which she would have been willing to make her own: 'Alles Gescheidte ist schon gedacht worden; man muss nur versuchen es noch einmal zu denken.' Goethe's new commentators track the derivation of his sentences, as we in England know how much Latin and Italian poetry was boiled down in Gray's *Elegy*, and from which lines of Coleridge Byron got the address to the ocean. George Eliot's laborious preparation and vast reading have filled her books with reminiscences more or less definite. The suggestion that she borrowed the material of plots from George Sand, Freytag, Heyse, Kraszewski, Disraeli, or Mrs. Gaskell, amounts to nothing; but the quack medicine which is employed to make the Treby Congregation ridiculous is inherited from *Faust*. The resemblance of ideas is often no more than agreement. The politics of Felix Holt may be found in Guizot—'C'est de l'état intérieur de l'homme que dépend l'état visible de la société.' A Belgian statesman has said, 'Plus on apporte d'éléments personnels, spontanés, humains, dans les institutions, moins elles sont appelées à régler la marche de la société.' Probably George Eliot had read neither the one nor the other, though she may have met with the same thoughts constantly. But she had read *Delphine*, and the conclusion of *Delphine* is the conclusion of the story of Gwendolen. 'On peut encore faire servir au bonheur des autres une vie qui ne nous promet à nous-mêmes que des chagrins, et cette espérance vous la ferait supporter.' The passage on the roadside crucifix in *Adam Bede* ends thus: 'No wonder man's religion has sorrow in it: no wonder he needs a suffering God!' The sentence reads like a quotation from Chateaubriand, but it is the quintessence of Feuerbach. In the same chapter of *Deronda* the lament of Francesca is quoted with repeated emphasis, and the moon is entangled among trees and houses. The figure occurs in the poem which Musset wrote against those very verses of Dante. A motto before the fifty-seventh chapter of *Daniel Deronda* comes very near the preface to *Piseco*. Several candidates have felt that Mr. Brooke has purloined their speeches at the hustings. One of his good sayings points to France. 'I want that sort of thing—not ideas, you know, but a way of putting them.' The speechless deputy in the comedy says, 'Ce n'est jamais les idées qui me manquent, c'est le style.'

When she left Warwickshire, where Mr. Froude and Miss Martineau had been her friends and Emerson had shone for a moment, she was not dazzled by what she found in London. The discriminating judgment, the sense of proportion were undisturbed by reverence or enthusiasm for the celebrities of the day. The tone towards Macaulay and Mill is generally cold, and she shrinks from avowing the extent of her dislike for Carlyle. Dickens behaved well towards his lofty rival, but she feels his defects as keenly as his merits; and she is barely just to Darwin and Lecky. A long ground swell followed her breach with Miss Martineau. The admiration expressed for Mr. Ruskin—the Ruskin of 1858—is flavoured with the opposite feeling; and the opposite feeling towards Buckle is not flavoured with admiration; for her artistic temper revolts against the abstraction of the average man and the yoke of statistics, with its attendant reliance on the efficacy of laws. George Eliot highly esteemed both the Newmans. She wished to be within hearing of the pulpit at Edgbaston. The *Apologia* breathed much life into her, and she points out the beauty of one passage; but it is the writer's farewell to friends and no part of his argument. The early vituperation of Disraeli, of his Judaism and the doctrine of race, is a landmark to measure the long procession of her views. In *Deronda* days she judged Lord Beaconsfield more benignly, relishing his disdain for the popular voice and his literary finish beyond the effective qualities of his rival.

Promptness in opening her mind to new influence, and ardour of gratitude and respect had changed into a quiet resolve to keep cool and resist ascendancy. There was nobody among her acquaintances to whom she owed such obligations as she acknowledges to Mr. Herbert Spencer. Although she underrated his constructive talent, and did not overrate his emotional gifts, she foresaw very early the position he afterwards attained. He made the sunshine of her desolate life in London; they met every day; and the two minds, strangely unlike each other, worked in a like direction. The friendship with Lewes made slower progress.

George Eliot retired from the management of the Review without having found her vocation or struck a vein of ore. She employed herself in translating Spinoza and Feuerbach. The *Essence of Christianity* had been published more than twelve years, and expressed neither a prevailing phase of philosophy nor the last views of the author. More than any other work it had contributed to the downfall of metaphysics, and it contained an ingenious theory of the rise and growth of religion and of the relation of the soul to God, while denying the existence of either. Feuerbach repudiated Christianity so decisively that Strauss was distanced and stranded for thirty years; and it would have been difficult to introduce to the British public any work of the same kind written with as much ability. It met no demand and was received with cold reserve. A letter of

December 1874 shows that Feuerbach's theogony survived in her system longer than his scoffing and destructive spirit. He learnt towards the end of his life that a prominent American politician had been converted from Christianity by his book in the translation of Marian Evans. The news would not have gratified the translator. The book appeared in July 1854, and immediately after she accepted Lewes, who was completing the *Life of Goethe*, and they started for Weimar and Berlin.

Mr. Cross has judged it unnecessary to explain a step which is sufficiently intelligible from the whole tenour of George Eliot's life. The sanctions of religion were indifferent to her after rejecting its doctrines; and she meant to disregard not the moral obligation of marriage, but the social law of England. Neither the law which assigns the conditions of valid marriage, nor that which denied the remedy of divorce, was of absolute and universal authority. Both were unknown in some countries and inapplicable to certain cases; and she deemed that they were no more inwardly binding upon everybody than the royal edicts upon a Huguenot or the penal laws upon a Catholic.

George Eliot can neither be defended on the plea that every man must be tried by canons he assents to, nor censured on the plea that virtue consists in constant submission to variable opinion. The first would absolve fanatics and the other would supersede conscience. It is equally certain that she acted in conformity with that which, in 1854, she esteemed right, and in contradiction to that which was the dominant and enduring spirit of her own work. She did not feel that she was detracting from her authority by an act which gave countenance to the thesis that associates rigid ethics with rigid dogma, for she claimed no authority and did not dream of setting an example. The idea of her genius had not dawned. That she possessed boundless possibilities of doing good to men, and of touching hearts that no divine and no philosopher could reach, was still, at thirty-five, a secret to herself. At first she was astonished that anybody who was not superstitious could find fault with her. To deny herself to old friends, to earn with her pen an income for her whose place she took, to pass among strangers by a name which was not her due, all this did not seem too high a price for the happiness of a home. She urged with pathetic gravity that she knew what she was losing. She did not know it. Ostensibly she was resigning a small group of friends and an obscure position in literature. What she really sacrificed was liberty of speech, the foremost rank among the women of her time, and a tomb in Westminster Abbey.

Mr. Cross is loyal to the memory of Lewes, and affords no support to the conjecture that she longed to be extricated from a position which had become intolerable, or ever awoke to the discovery that she had sacrificed herself to an illusion. With a history open to

unfriendly telling there were topics difficult to touch upon and views to which she could not well do justice. She endeavoured, when she became an author, to avert celebrity, to conceal her identity, even to disguise her purpose, and to assume an attitude which was not her own. So essential did secrecy seem to success that the revelation compelled by the report that George Eliot was some one else was felt as a serious injury. There was some cause for diffidence, for toleration, and for a veil of irony. But so far was the difficulty of her position from depressing the moral standard that it served in one respect to raise it. Feuerbach thought it affectation to turn away from immodest scenes, and asserted that enjoyment is a duty. Strauss sneered at the text which laid down the law of Christian chastity. The *Westminster Review* praised a wife who had procured a mistress for her husband. Rousseau thought Sophie all the better for her sin. With these writers George Eliot had been associated. Her admiration for Rousseau, for Shelley, for *Jacques*, the most ignominious of George Sand's stories, her description of the indissolubility of marriage as a diabolical law, indicate that her opinions did not always keep the elevated level of her early religion and her later philosophy. But in her novels the tone is extremely high. It is true that the pure mind of *Romola* had been fed on the *Decamerone*; but it is also true that Boccaccio, and not Dante, was the favourite classic of the Florentines of the Renaissance. Gwendolen, having been degraded by marriage without love, is rescued and purified by love without marriage; but we are not suffered to forget for a moment that the marriage was criminal and the love was pure. George Eliot determined to write nothing from which it might be inferred that she was pleading for herself. She was scrupulous that no private motive should affect the fidelity of art. To write books, as *Corinne* and *Delphine* were written, in the interest of the writer, would have seemed to her degradation, and she never puts forward her own ideal of character.

Marriage was not the only chapter of social ethics touched by the Feuerbach phase, and it was not the gravest. Mazzini belonged to Lewes's circle; and Mazzini was currently suspected of complicity in practices which were distinctly criminal, practices for which the law prescribes its last and simplest penalty. George Eliot wavered a good deal between her interest in his cause and her distrust of his methods, but she would never have felt it a stigma to be on amicable terms with him. Elizabeth and Mary, James and William, lie under the same ban of imputed murder, and the friends of the republican conspirator had no reason to apprehend the censure of those who admired the heroes of Catholic and Protestant monarchy.

Those who remember George Henry Lewes in his prosperity, when he was the most amusing talker in the town, so well content with his labours as to regret nothing he had written and

running over with mirth and good humour until he could bear contradiction, excuse folly, and even tolerate religion, saw what George Eliot had made him. She knew him first under less genial aspects. Disaster had settled on his domestic life; he had set his hand to too many things to excel in any, and the mark of failure and frustrated effort was upon him. Varnhagen said in 1850 that Lewes's restless endeavours were repulsive, and that he would end badly if he did not mend his ways. His first books did not recommend him; but there were signs in *Ranthorpe* of large, indiscriminating knowledge, and he was, with Mill, the earliest propounder of Positivism in England. He was introduced to George Eliot when his fortunes were almost desperate, and two years passed before she discerned that he was not the flippant man he seemed. She helped him to attain a prominent if not quite an important place among men of letters. For twenty years his *Life of Goethe* held its position even in Germany; and the vacant record of incoherent error which he called a History of Philosophy is still read with pleasure. Passing with the drift from the discarded illusions of metaphysics to physiology, and in intelligent pursuance of Comte's leading idea, he conceived the noble design of a History of Science, which, by displaying the discovery and application of scientific methods, would have fitly crowned the Positive Philosophy.

Lewes helped to dispel the gloom and despondency of George Eliot's spirits, and stood manfully between her and all the cares he did not cause. His literary skill must have done her untold service, although the recorded instances of his intervention are contestable, and although his practice of keeping her aloof from all criticism but his own must have profited her comfort more than her art. She deferred to his judgment, but she knew that she could rely on his praise. He admired her essays, her novels, and at last her poetry. He was not quick in detecting her sovereign ability, and must bear the reproach that he undervalued his prize, and never knew until it was too late that she was worthy of better things than the position to which he consigned her. During the years in which she rose to fame she lived in seclusion, with no society but that of Lewes, preferring the country to London, the Continent to England, and Germany to France. In this perfect isolation the man through whose ministry almost alone she kept touch with the wider world exerted much influence. He encouraged her in contempt for metaphysics, in the study of biology, in her taste for French and especially German writers, and in her panoramic largeness of view. The point at which their ways parted and his action ceased most decidedly was religion. She had kept up her early love of the Scriptures, and she contracted a great liking for the solemn services of the Catholic churches. Lewes saw no harm in these tastes, and he even bought her a Bible. But he did not like to hear of it. He was a boisterous iconoclast, with little confidence in disinterested belief and a positive

aversion for Christianity. Even Bach, he said, was too Protestant for him. George Eliot's interest in the religious life was therefore kept up under resistance to adverse pressure.

If Lewes did not debase her standard of rectitude, he enlarged her tolerance of error. Having elected to be subject for life to a man still encumbered with his youth, she became indulgent towards sentiments she disapproved and appreciated the reason and the strength of opinions repugnant to her. Lewes had detached her from the former associations, and she did not accept his views. Step by step, for good or evil, the process of her life had brought her to a supreme point of solitude and neutrality, that would have been chilling and fatal to a feebler mind, but gave her the privilege of almost unexampled independence and mental integrity. Her secluded life had important literary consequences. It estranged her from general society and from religious people.

The breach with zealous Churchmen was not new, but it was now irreparable. She knew their ways from the old books and early recollections; but in the active religious work and movement of her time she shows no more concern than in Plato or Leibniz. There is no trace of solicitude about Christian Socialism, although Parson Lot's Letter furnished forth a speech for Felix Holt. Neither Lamennais nor Gioberti is mentioned, although three volumes are occupied with the protomartyr of Liberal Catholicism. The literature of ethics and psychology, so far as it touched religion, dropped out of her sight, and she renounced intercourse with half the talent in the world. The most eminent of the men who pursued like problems in her lifetime, among the most eminent who have thought about them at any time, were Vinet and Rothe. Both were admirable in their lives, and still more in the presence of death; and neither of them could be taxed with thralldom to the formulas of preceding divines. George Eliot disregards their existence. At Heidelberg she passes before Rothe's house without alluding to his name. Although she knew and highly valued M. Scherer, she did not remember that he was the friend of Vinet, or that the history of his opinions is as remarkable as anything to be found in the *Apologia* or told in her own biography.

There are marks of a wound inflicted by Warwickshire pride, which would not heal. She knew how to construct an unseen creature from scanty materials, but the divination is more true, the touch more sure in dealing with classes that subsist for profit than with the class that subsists for pleasure. Having met some friends of Cavour on the Lake of Geneva, she declares that there is nothing but their language and their geniality and politeness to distinguish them from the best English families. The lawyer who on the opening day of the Rugeley trial pronounced Palmer a dead man, 'John Campbell was so infernally polite,' used an argument of which the author of *Romola* would have admitted the force. Long retirement prepared

her to suspect a snare in conventional gentility, as if company manners concealed a defect of genuine humanity and served to keep classes apart. She would not have assented to the definition of a gentleman that he is one who will bear pain rather than inflict it. This is the angle at which a faint echo of Carlyle strikes the ear. She pursues with implacable vengeance the easy and agreeable Tito. Her chosen hero goes bare-necked and treads on corns. She will not see that Harold Transome is a brute, and salves over his inconsiderate rudeness by asserting, in parabasis, his generosity and goodness of heart. Garth, who might have sent in his resignation by post, prefers an interview which compels a cruel explanation. No rumours preserved in a family of land agents could justify the picture of Grandcourt; but his odiousness is requisite in order to contrast the wife's momentary flash of guilty delectation when he goes overboard with the ensuing expiation. The same discordant note appears in Gwendolen's impatience under the burden of gratitude. One of Charles Reade's characters exclaims, 'Vulgar people are ashamed to be grateful, but you are a born lady,' and an Academician, expounding the same text, has written, 'Avant d'obliger un homme, assurez-vous bien d'abord que cet homme n'est pas un imbécile.' The point is almost too subtle for argument, but it is one of the few marks of limitation in George Eliot's field of vision.

Between *Felix Holt* and *Middlemarch* her range expanded and she judged less austere.

We have made some new friendships that cheer us with the sense of new admiration of actual living beings whom we know in the flesh, and who are kindly disposed towards us.—Every one of my best blessings, my one perfect love and the sympathy shown towards me for the sake of my works, and the personal regard of a few friends, have become much intensified in these latter days.—I have entirely lost my personal melancholy. I often, of course, have melancholy thoughts about the destinies of my fellow-creatures, but I am never in that mood of sadness which used to be my frequent visitant even in the midst of external happiness.

Reverence for her genius, for the rare elevation of her teaching, bore down the inevitable reluctance to adjust the rule to an exception. Among the first of her new friends were the ladies of Mr. Cross's family, and they were welcomed with fervent gratitude. When George Eliot came to live near Regent's Park her house was crowded with the most remarkable society in London. Poets and philosophers united to honour her who had been great both in poetry and philosophy, and the aristocracy of letters gathered round the gentle lady who, without being memorable by what she said, was justly esteemed the most illustrious figure that has arisen in literature since Goethe died. There might be seen a famous scholar sitting for Casaubon, and two younger men—one with good features, solid white hands, and a cambric pocket-handkerchief; the second with wavy bright hair and a habit of shaking his head backwards, who evoked other memories of the same Midland Microcosm—while Tennyson read his own last poem, or Liebreich sang Schumann's *Two Grenadiers*,

and Lewes himself, with eloquent fingers and catching laugh, described Mazzini's amazement at his first dinner in London, or the lament of the Berlin professor over the sunset of England since Mr. Gladstone had put an Essay-and-Reviewer on the throne of Phillpotts.

The visit to Germany opened out wider horizons. To chat with Varnhagen von Ense, to explore his archives, and admire the miniature of Rahel was a function awaiting literary visitors at Berlin, and Lewes, who had reached Weimar in time to see the Teutonic Boswell, Eckermann, had much to say to the man whom the profane Heine called the vicar of Goethe on earth. The chief interpreter of German thought to the travellers was Gruppe, a scholar of many accomplishments, who has since ended extravagantly, but who had vast knowledge of poetry, a keen sense of the exhausted vitality of speculation, and who in the history of cosmology had measured swords with Böckh. George Eliot spent her time in study, seeing little of the intellectual society of the place and disliking what she saw. She continued to know Germany mainly as it was at the date of initiation in 1855. Even Feuerbach and Strauss remained embalmed in the attitudes of 1841. The æsthetic age, whose veterans still lingered about Dresden and Berlin, was always more present to her mind than the predominant generation between the parliament of Frankfort and the proclamation of Versailles, the Germany of Helmholtz and Mommsen, Jhering and Fischer, Virchow and Rümelin, Roscher and Treitschke. The only master of this stronger and less artistic school who fixed her attention is Riehl, an author worthy of such a commentator, but not faithful to the methods by which his people succeed.

She saw *Nathan der Weise*, not in vain: 'Our hearts swelled and the tears came into our eyes as we listened to the noble words of dear Lessing, whose great spirit lives immortally in this crowning work of his.' Twenty years later she explained the design of *Deronda* by the reasons given in the preface to the *Juden*. The altered attitude towards the Jews, which gradually prepared her last novel, began at this time; and she must have heard Humboldt's saying that Judaism is more easily reconcilable with science than other religions. The *Hamburgische Briefe* lay open before her at the *table d'hôte*; she pronounces the *Laokoon* the most un-German of German books, and notices nothing between Berlin and Cologne but 'the immortal old town of Wolfenbüttel.' If Lessing was the favourite, Goethe was the master. Life at Weimar, with the sublime tradition, closed for George Eliot the season of storm and strain. Although she never practised art for its own sake, or submitted to the canon that poetry is aimless song, Goethe's gospel of inviolate serenity was soothing to a spirit disabled by excess of sensibility, and taught her to be less passionately affected either by sympathy or sorrow. The contrast is great between the agonising tones of the earlier life and the self-restraint and composure that succeeded. The conversion was not immediate. A scene is recorded at Berlin which recalls the time

when Miss Evans was too clever to succeed at Coventry, and the crude smartness of the Westminster articles (toned in the reprint²), the resentment and even misery caused by the impostor Liggins were below the dignity of so noble a mind. But the change in the later years is unmistakable. Even the genial warmth of affection for persons was tempered by an impartial estimate of their characters and a disinterested neutrality towards their undertakings. A system that denies the hopes and memories which make pain and sadness shrink cannot be rich in consolation; yet she strove not to overdo the tragedy of human life. The pathos of Mrs. Browning is less profound, the pathos of the *Misérables* is less genuine, but they excite more intense emotion. Happiness and success contributed to that majestic calm which is the proper prize of intelligent immersion in Goethe.

George Eliot came back conscious of much affinity with the Germans, and impressed by their methodical energy and massive power. The lack of literary point and grace provoked her; she yawned even over Schiller and Goethe; and the relief she derived from Heine accentuated the favourable estimate of his character in the essay on German wit. She was nowhere so well and so happy; but she described the North as a region of unmannerly pedants, and preferred the cheerful ease and cogent hospitality of the South. International culture had disengaged her patriotism from prejudice, and she felt less for the country between the four seas than for the scenery, the character, and the dialect of the Trent valley.

The Italian journey reveals that weakness of the historic faculty which is a pervading element in her life. Her psychology was extracted from fortuitous experience, from observations made on common people in private life, under the sway of thoughtless habit and inherited stupidity, not from the heroic subjects, the large questions and proportions of history. Italy was little more to her than a vast museum, and Rome, with all the monuments and institutions which link the old world with the new, interested her less than the galleries of Florence. She surveys the grand array of tombs in St. Peter's, and remarks nothing but some peasants feeling the teeth of Canova's lion.

Travel supplied the later books with the materials which came at first from home. The *Spanish Gypsy* was derived from a Venetian picture. The celestial frescoes in Savonarola's home at San Marco sug-

² Some secrets of style reveal themselves to anybody who compares the articles in the Review with the text which she afterwards prepared, and there are many touches and omissions significant of the vast change her mind had undergone. The last essay, which supposes that Young came into the world without a wig, and calls George the First 'that royal hog,' was composed at the same time as the first novel; and the contrast shows with what effort and constraint the *Scenes* were written. The perfection of language was not reached at once. A single paragraph of the *Mill on the Floss* contains the terms 'phiz,' 'masculinity,' 'that same Nature.' There is a slight mannerism in the formula 'which has been observed;' and the perilous word 'mutnal' is sometimes misapplied. One of her favourite expressions is usual with Comte, and we used to hear another at school in 'that central plain, watered at one extremity by the Avon, at the other by the Trent.'

gested the argument of *Romola*. A Dresden Titian haunted her for years. It became the portrait of her latest hero, whose supposed resemblance to our Lord gives intensity to the contrast between a Jew who sacrificed his people for religion, and a Christian who goes back to Judaism, renouncing his religion in obedience to the hereditary claim of race. When she was writing *Adam Bede* at Munich, a Moldavian Jew came with introductions to her friends, intent on the same vague errand of national redemption upon which Deronda disappears from sight. Liszt, whom they had known at Weimar, became Klesmer; and a young lady over whom George Eliot wept in the gambling rooms at Homburg, and who remembers the meeting, served as the model of Gwendolen.

After many years characterised by mental independence and resistance to control, George Eliot inclined to that system which is popular among men who 'yield homage only to eternal laws.' The influence of Comte began early and grew with the successive study of his works, until the revolutionary fervour of 1848 was transformed into the self-suppression of the *Spanish Gypsy*, and the scorn for Liberality and Utilitarianism which appears in *Felix Holt*. It was the second Comte, the dogmatising and emotional author of the *Politique Positive*, that she revered; and she has not a word for the arch-rebel Littré. Positivists deem that she never thoroughly conformed. But she renounced much of her unattached impartial freedom for an attitude of doctrinal observance, and submitted her mind to discipline, if not to authority. She continued to analyse and to illustrate with an increasing fertility and accuracy; but she was in the clasp of the dead hand, and the leading ideas recur with constant sameness. That the yoke was ever shaken does not appear. We learn from the *Life* that she never became a party politician, and refused to admit that political differences are, what religious differences are not, founded on an ultimate diversity of moral principles.

Comte, who was averse to popular Protestantism, who excluded the Reformers from his Calendar, and acknowledged the provisional services rendered to the mediæval phase of the progress of society by the Church, encouraged the growing favour which she showed to Catholicism. The *Imitation*, which is the most perfectly normal expression of Catholic thought, as it bears the least qualifying impress of time and place, and which Comte never wearied of reading and recommending, prepared the sympathy. It had been in her hands when she translated Spinoza, and afterwards when she wrote the *Mill on the Floss*. No thought occurs more often in her writings than that of the persecuted Jews; but she spares the persecutors. *Romola* suggests that Catholic life and history is guided by visions; but the stroke is aimed at other religions as well. The man who, for the pure love of holiness, became a brother of the order of Torquemada, led up to the central problem of Catholicism, how private virtue and public crime could issue from the same root. Comte has extolled De Maistre,

the advocate of the Inquisition ; and when, in her next work, George Eliot approaches the subject, it was done with reserve, and without advancement of learning. * Although she preferred the Protestant Establishment to Sectarianism, Catholicism to Protestantism, and Judaism to Christianity, the margin of liking was narrow, and she was content to say that the highest lot is to have definite beliefs.

George Eliot's work was done before Lewes died. A year and a half after his death she married Mr. Cross, and went abroad for the last time. Her husband's illness at Venice was a severe shock to her ; but when she came back to her home, released from the constraint of so many years, a new life began. She was able to indulge her own tastes, choosing retirement, reading the Bible and the *Divina Commedia*, and hearing the Cardinal at Kensington. There was no return to literary composition. The crowding thought had out-grown her control—'E sulle eterne pagine Cadde la stanca man.'

Before the summer was over her health gave way. In one of the last letters, written in an interval of recovered strength, she says that she has been cared for with something better than angelic tenderness. 'I do not think I shall have many returns of November, but there is every prospect that such as remain to me will be as happy as they can be made by the devoted tenderness which watches over me.' During this afterglow of tranquil happiness, George Eliot suddenly fell ill and passed away, silent and unconscious of her approaching end. There has been no deathbed to which the last words of Faust are so appropriate :—

Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen :
Verweile doch ! Du bist so schön !
Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdentagen
Nicht in Aeonen untergehn !
Im Vorgefühl von solchem hohen Glück
Geniess' ich jetzt den höchsten Augenblick.

George Eliot did not believe in the finality of her system, and, near the close of her life, she became uneasy as to the future of her fame. True to the law that the highest merit escapes reward, she had fixed her hope on unborn generations, and she feared to make sure of their gratitude. Though very conscious of power and no longer prone to self-disparagement, she grew less satisfied with the execution of her designs, and when comparing the idea before her with her work in the past, her mind misgave her. She was disconcerted by ignorant applause, and she had not yet poured her full soul. Having seen the four most eloquent French writers of the century outlive their works, and disprove the axiom that style confers immortality, she might well doubt whether writings inspired by distinct views and dedicated to a cause could survive by artistic qualities alone. If the mist that shrouded her horizon should ever rise over definite visions of accepted truth, her doctrine might embarrass her renown. She never attained to the popular pre-eminence

of Goethe, or even of Victor Hugo. The name of George Eliot was nearly unknown in France; she had lost ground in America; and at home her triumph did not pass unchallenged, when men like Beaconsfield, Ruskin, Arnold, Swinburne denied her claims. Lewes himself doubted the final estimate, for he announced with some excitement that she had been compared to Wordsworth, and that somebody thought the comparison inadequate. Men very far asunder—the two Scherers, Montégut, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Hutton, Professor Tyndall and Mr. Myers—have declared with singular unanimity that she possessed a union of qualities seldom, if ever, exceeded by man, and not likely to be seen again on earth; that her works are highwater-mark of feminine achievement; that she was as certainly the greatest genius among women known to history as Shakespeare among men. But George Eliot did not live to recognise, in the tribute of admiring friends, the judgment of history.

She has said of herself that her function is that of the æsthetic, not the doctrinal teacher—the rousing of the nobler emotions which make mankind desire the social right, not the prescribing of special measures. The supreme purpose of all her work is ethical. Literary talent did not manifest itself until she was thirty-seven. In her later books the wit and the descriptive power diminish visibly, and the bare didactic granite shows through the cultivated surface. She began as an essayist, and ended as she had begun, having employed meanwhile the channel of fiction to enforce that which, propounded as philosophy, failed to convince. If the doctrine, separate from the art, had no vitality, the art without the doctrine had no significance. There will be more perfect novels and truer systems. But she has little rivalry to apprehend until philosophy inspires finer novels, or novelists teach nobler lessons of duty to the masses of men. If ever science or religion reigns alone over an undivided empire, the books of George Eliot might lose their central and unique importance, but as the emblem of a generation distracted between the intense need of believing and the difficulty of belief, they will live to the last syllable of recorded time. Proceeding from a system which had neglected Morals, she became the pioneer in that movement which has produced the *Data of Ethics* and the *Phänomenologie*. Her teaching was the highest within the resources to which Atheism is restricted, as the teaching of the *Fioretti* is the highest within the Christian limits. In spite of all that is omitted, and of specific differences regarding the solemn questions of Conscience, Humility, and Death, there are few works in literature whose influence is so ennobling; and there were people divided from her in politics and religion by the widest chasm that exists on earth, who felt at her death what was said of the Greek whom she had most deeply studied—*σκότον εἶναι τεθηγκότος*.

THE ETON TUTORIAL SYSTEM.

THE Eton master who has made a confessional of this Review can scarcely be said to appear before his confessors in the special attitude of humility which we are wont to attribute to penitent sinners on such occasions. What he, *qua* Mr. Salt, the Eton master, has confessed, is not exactly obvious; it might, indeed, appear to some that he has made a mistake in spelling, and that it would be no more than the fair exercise of the privilege of a commentator, anxious to reconcile the title with the text of the paper, to substitute 'Professions' for 'Confessions' in the former. As the self-constituted albeit perfectly qualified exponent of the Eton system, he has, no doubt, confessed a great deal too much to be agreeable to everybody, and has evidently deemed the subject of his confessions or professions far more important than the question which may suggest itself to some minds, whether a junior lieutenant is justified in thus promulgating his ideas as to the best mode of navigating the ship. But whatever may be the difference of opinion respecting Mr. Salt's views, or the manner in which they have been given to the public, there can at least be no doubt as to their thoroughness; the spirit of this remarkable essay is manifestly genuine, its language is bold and unequivocal; either it commends itself to the warm approval of old Etonians and well-wishers to the school, or else it merits their stern condemnation. I propose briefly to state why, in my judgment, it deserves, not the condemnation, but the best thanks of all who wish well to Eton.

And now, first, a word for the present writer; *first*, because whenever aught of egotism has to be written, the sooner it is despatched and done with, the better for all concerned. My excuse for venturing to offer any ideas of my own to the readers of this Review must be that I am able to lay claim to a position of impartiality which may help to place any expression of mine above suspicion of undue prejudice. Having 'done verses' when at Eton with some success on my own account, and I fear with too much success on account of others, and having been in a quiet way a votary of the classics ever since, I am not likely to err in the anti-classical direction, nor is a predilection for classical pursuits anywhere inconsistent with the advocacy of other branches of learning; I am further well known by

my friends to be very far from unfriendly to distinction out of school, *i.e.* in athletics, at which, by the way, it is quite unnecessary to sneer when talking of education; there ~~is~~ is a time and a place for distinction of either kind. I may add, while wholly repudiating all connection with the *coterie* described by Mr. Salt on page 182, of "parents . . . imbued with all the prejudices of the place who frequently visit their old school . . . and thus pose as representatives of the parental class" (I have no knowledge or idea to whom the writer alludes), that I have through the medium of three sons in succession, and by constant visits to Eton, as well as by the pleasure of acquaintance with successive head-masters, and several of the assistant masters, kept up my intimacy with the school as fully as is well possible, and may venture to believe that I know pretty well, broadly speaking, what Eton is, and what it is not, at the present day.

The 'tutorial system' is, as readers of Mr. Salt's paper need not be told, his main point of attack; the evil with which it is fraught has been portrayed by him in severe and scathing language, but language not one whit too severe, *me judice*, for the abnormal monstrosity, as I am fain to call it, against which he hurls the shafts of his invective. To my mind, the only puzzle is how, apart from the influence of early habit and the force of ingrained prejudice, this tutorial system can be treated as matter for argument at all. It must, at least, be very hard to argue in its favour *à priori*. No one in his right senses would, I presume, now propose such a system for a newly-established public school, aspiring to a share in the education of English gentlemen, or Englishmen of any class; indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that anyone so making such a proposal would run some risk of being taken not to be in full possession of those right senses. And if such is the case—if, as I feel assured, the most ardent supporter of the present system must admit, it is potentially and prospectively indefensible—what, in the name of common sense, remains to be said in its favour? Very much the same as could be said in favour of retaining the rotten boroughs in 1832. The prestige of long existence, the force of habit, the glamour of tradition—these are common to the one rottenness and to the other, as are also certain incidental advantages—although the only advantages to which Mr. Salt confesses are, as he has pointed out, by no means of the essence of the tutorial system now in vogue. It may be said that upon the whole the tutorial system has worked well. But has it worked well? What does working well mean? Does it mean that a comparatively small number of boys, with ability and inclination for work, have profited by the advice and assistance of their tutors, and thereby been enabled to excel, so to speak, in their own excellence; or does it mean that the average Eton boy has thereby in the long run been so instructed that it has been his own fault if he has not attained the average standard of liberal education? Tested by the

last construction, it would be a bold assertion, indeed, that the tutorial system has been found to work well. My own tutor was one of the cleverest men and best scholars that have ever appeared at a desk in Eton (a description of him under the sobriquet of, if I remember aright, the Rev. Vickers Rahab, from the pen of Mr. F. C. Burnand, may be found in *Macmillan's Magazine*, September 1873). He was a somewhat eccentric personage, and no doubt had his faults; but it is only justice to say that his tutorial duties, in the sense now under notice, were discharged with exemplary diligence. There are many living who must well remember that active figure, in tall hat and (frequently) dressing-gown, hurrying with nimble feet through the long passage which led to the pupil-room, with books and papers under his arm, to 'construing,' to 'private,' or to 'looking over,' as the case might be. And first a word, in passing, as to 'private,' which, as old Etonians need not be told, means extra work, wholly independent of the regular school-work, set by and prepared for the tutor, and for him alone; compulsory, I believe, as a part of the tutor's duty, but still without result or recognition outside the walls of his house. Whether 'private,' or to use the more orthodox phrase, 'private business,' is a speciality of Eton, I am not aware; but, be this as it may, I should be the last to say a word against it; and it is only fair that the tutorial system should at least be credited with what there is in it of real good—it being at the same time remembered that Mr. Salt's paper, upon the lines of which I am now writing, only purports to discuss that system in its relation to the school work; its abolition *pro tanto*, be it noted, would by no means involve the discontinuance of private business, as can easily be shown: but a word as to this hereafter. That 'private business' is an excellent institution in its way, can scarcely be matter for two opinions; indeed, we may safely go further and affirm that, taking the *curriculum* of Eton as it is, or as it is likely ever to be, 'private' or house work is an indispensable supplement to such *curriculum*. It not only provides useful employment for a certain portion of the somewhat superabundant leisure hours which the school work leaves on hand, but it may also serve, if judiciously administered, to give the boys at least an inkling of those books and branches of learning for which no provision is made in the normal, or, to use a military phrase, regulation work of the school. It was, for instance, in my day, whatever may be the case now, the only opportunity which most of us—*i.e.* all below the head-master's division—had of seeing a Greek play before going to the University. My tutor, who bestowed very great attention on 'private'—holding examinations and giving prizes periodically for proficiency therein—used, in addition to what took place in the pupil-room, to give us a kind of 'private' peculiar, as I believe, to himself and of his own invention, which consisted in reading modern history aloud *at prayers*.

I call to mind Robertson's *Charles the Fifth* as an example. The incongruity may appear somewhat startling, but it is unquestionable that had we not read that book, seated round the dining-room table, by way of prelude to saying our prayers, we should, most of us, in all probability not have read it at all at that time of life; if the fashion and circumstance were somewhat singular, we may at least be said to have scored. Then, as to 'construing.' At the appointed hour, each division in turn found itself assembled in the pupil-room for the purpose of construing the school lesson; the cleverest and most industrious boys were usually 'put on' to construe, the less ambitious meanwhile taking notes for their subsequent guidance in case of being 'called up' in school, the only restriction being that such notes had to be written on slips of paper and not on the books. Distinctly, 'construing' was not treated as an exercise; it was rather of the nature of a lecture conducted by the tutor and a staff of skilled assistants for the edification of the multitude; but in saying this, it is only fair to add that it could not well be otherwise—time did not admit of any prolongation of the process for didactic purposes; the lesson had to be got through, and the tutor was obliged to adopt the readiest means of getting through it. Of course I cannot speak as to other pupil-rooms, but I have no reason to suppose that my tutor's was materially different from the rest, or that the above description would not be of general application. And now I come to verses. Some of us, no doubt, I trust it may be said the majority of us, did our own verses. The present leader of the Conservative party in the Lords was then an inmate of the house, and I have no reason for doubting that he did his own. Another of our number, a well-known public man, equally distinguished although in a different line, not only did not do them, but took occasion, a year or two since, before a distinguished audience, playfully to parry the possible imputation of having wasted his time at Eton in doing verses, by boasting that during the whole of his Eton career he had got them done by other agency. Those who had the happy (or unhappy) knack of running off passable hexameters and pentameters, as a baker might turn out gingerbread nuts, were at all times greatly in request; it was, in fact, a regular race for their services when the appointed hour for 'showing up' drew near. I have some reason to believe that my tutor more than suspected what was going on, but that, earnest as he could be where work of real usefulness was concerned, he did not think it worth while to be severe where the task was, to the particular boy, a mere grind and the possible result *nil*, beyond satisfying school requirements. But by whomsoever composed, the verses were duly 'looked over' and corrected; this was not always done in the pupil-room; my impression is that the exercises—verse and prose—of the lower boys only were, as a rule, 'looked over' in the pupil-room, and that those of the fifth form were attended to in the study or else—

where, and returned to the writers without remark or comment; having been thus corrected, they were 'written over,' i.e. fair copied, and both copies 'shown up' to the master of the division, who in due course read through the fair copy, took a kind of bird's-eye view of the corrections, and then expressed his opinion of the performance (which performance, if of exceptional merit, would probably form a step in the ladder towards the distinction of being 'sent up for good' at the end of the 'half'). And now enough has, I think, been said to make it manifest that in the experience, at any rate, of the present writer, the only part of the tutorial system that has worked well is that which is independent of school work, and therefore for the purpose of the present discussion not essential. Nor, whatever may have been my tutor's peculiarities, have I, as already said, any reason to believe that his *régime* was, on the whole, an unfair specimen of the general practice at that time; while, from information derived from Etonians of the present generation, the system appears to have since undergone very little if any change in its outline, although one pupil-room may differ in detail from another. So far as the tutorial system has worked well, it has done so in spite of itself, rather than from any merit of its own. The very name of Eton goes for a good deal, and may serve to cover a multitude of faults:—

Sed te censeri laude tuorum,
Pontice, noluerim, sic ut nihil ipse futuræ
Laudis agas.

Eton cannot, must not, will not be content passively to take refuge in her prestige and traditions; her past, with all its failings, has been a glorious one—may she aspire to a still more glorious future!

And now, before saying a word as to that future, I must take leave to differ, *toto cælo*, from Mr. Salt in his sweeping denunciation of Latin verses by way of a school exercise, and I regret the somewhat scornful language which he has thought fit to apply to a pursuit for which apparently he does not happen to have any particular affection. Surely composition, in verse or in prose, is not only a legitimate but a necessary exercise in the acquirement of classical scholarship; and, if so, to exclude a boy with a turn for classical study from one of the most useful and agreeable methods of that study would seem to be almost as unkind and mischievous as it is in the view of many to impose the duty of verse-making on boys who have neither instinct nor inclination for such learning. That which I for one, and as I believe a host of others, object to, is, not verse-making as a useful practice in the right place, but verse-making as a quasi-penal task: the sword-exercise—as it were—of the scholar degraded to the level of the treadmill or shot-drill of the convict. There is, probably, no literary enjoyment more highly flavoured than the cultivation of classical study in mature life, when the toil and

drudgery of learning lessons are over. Of the capacity for enjoyment of this kind the late Lord Wellesley was a well-known example; the beautiful Latin verses which he wrote for his own epitaph, in view of being interred at Eton (where I as an Eton boy had the honour of assisting at his funeral), serve to tell us in no uncertain strain both of his attachment to classical lore for its own sake, and of his affection for the old school where his classical studies first began to ripen into scholarship of a very high order.¹ May the day be far distant when Eton shall cease to be alike the cradle of that scholarship, the foster-parent of that enjoyment!

With the above exception I find no cause to quarrel with the views propounded in Mr. Salt's 'Confessions,' or to disagree, in substance, with the suggestions which he has made. All that he has stated as to the enormous waste of tutor power involved in the present arrangements I most heartily endorse. But surely there is no need of testimony; is not the thing self-evident? "Two masters," as Mr. Salt happily puts it, "set to work to get a copy of verses from one boy; two masters to get a bit of Homer or Horace duly translated into English; every master who is also a tutor "distracted" in that "capacity by having to construe all the lessons and look over all the exercises that are set in *other* parts of the school." If this is not waste of power, what *is* waste? Mr. Salt, in view of greater efficiency in teaching, hints at the desirableness of increasing the number of masters, and he may be right, likely enough; but there is such a principle as 'waste not, want not.' Let us first of all give this principle a fair trial; before proceeding to augment our master power, let us know a little better than we can possibly know from the experience of the past what that master power really is; when we shall have ceased to waste and squander that which we possess, it will be time enough to ask for more. The maximum amount of labour for masters—the minimum for boys—such, I fear, must be acknowledged to have hitherto been the Eton system; without asking for the exact converse, it may at least be fairly expected that one aim of future reform will be to secure the maximum of benefit for the boys without imposing unnecessary toil on their instructors.

Mr. Salt complains, and not without reason, of the invidious distinction, as he considers it to be, between tutors and non-tutors, at present subsisting among the masters; this distinction has not

¹ Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis,
In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.
Magna sequi, et summæ mirari culmina famæ,
Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar
Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ
Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.
Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen
Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitarit honos,
Muneris, alma, tui est: altrix da terra sepulchrum,
Supremam lachrymam da, memoremque mei.

even the prestige of history or tradition to support it—it has, in fact, come about since my own schooldays. At that time there was a house for every master, and every master had a house; mathematics were only taught as extra work, the teachers only known—I had almost said tolerated—as extra masters. When mathematics came to be taught in school, the enfranchisement—so to speak—of the mathematical masters naturally followed; then the classical masters were increased in number; the result of all this being that there are now, as has been the case for some time past, several masters, both with and without boarding houses, who do not rank as tutors. Probably few will be found not to agree with Mr. Salt that it is “an advantage to a boy to have throughout all his school career one tutor, to whom he can always look for advice and assistance, and with whom he can establish closer ties of friendship than usually exist between master and boy.” By all means let the future be as the past in this matter; Eton without ‘my tutor’ would scarcely be Eton; it does not, however, follow that there need be any continuance of the seemingly invidious distinction aforesaid. Unlike the state of things which many of us remember, when several of the houses were kept by ‘dames’—in one or two instances by a male dame or ‘domine’—every boarding house, with one exception which cannot of course be permanent, is now held by a master of some kind; whatever he may be, he can without doubt be trusted to act the part of friend and mentor, as sketched by Mr. Salt in the above quoted words; and, to come back to ‘private business,’ that really valuable element of tutorial duty, he cannot fail to be fully qualified to give *some* kind of useful instruction, it does not much matter what kind, so long as it *is* useful, by way of supplement to the ordinary work of the school. The only difficulty which strikes me is this:—A boy may, reasonably and in perfect good faith, have from time to time occasion for advice, explanation, or other assistance, in preparing his school work; this in classics may not be obtainable to the best advantage from a mathematical master, and *vice versa*. Whether any arrangement is possible by which each boy in the house of a classical master would be told off for this purpose to a particular mathematical master, and the like in the opposite case, I am not prepared to surmise. But this is surely matter not incapable of arrangement; ‘where there is a will there is a way.’

What, then, is to be done? This is for the Eton authorities to settle; we outsiders can only whisper our hopes—I prefer not to add fears—at a respectful distance. Mr. Salt believes it to have been decided by the new head-master that ‘looking over’ in its most objectionable phase, in the sense, that is to say, of the tutor more or less re-writing the exercise, is to be done away with, a reform which, if it be so, will no doubt have been accomplished before these pages appear in print. So far, so good, but it is to be hoped that the reform

will go still farther. Whatever may be the tutorial system of the future, why should exercises continue to be looked over by two different masters, at any rate, above the fourth form? I draw the line here, because a boy, if he is to be taught or can be taught Latin composition at all, may fairly be assumed to have mastered syntax and prosody before leaving the fourth form, and ought not to leave it before he has done so. 'Construing,' which for the majority is simply a 'crib' in disguise, cannot surely long survive its old comrade; 'private business' has been already noticed; there remains only the twenty guineas fee, which, if the tutorial system is doomed, can scarcely stand as it is. At the same time, I have no notion that parents generally have any desire to curtail the sum total of the masters' emoluments; if that sum total be more usefully and more methodically apportioned than is now the case, there will be few to grudge the payment, especially if there should be an improvement in the shape of a somewhat more generous diet. There is probably not a medical man from John o' Groat's House to Land's End, professed vegetarians excepted, who would not say that a growing boy, in a state of active existence, ought to have meat for breakfast if possible; but, as a matter of fact, in all Eton houses of which I have had any knowledge, this item of diet, if required, has had to be provided at the expense of the boy, *i.e.* of the parent. Mr. Salt's remarks as to the uselessness of the mere increase of the hours of teaching, with perhaps a change in the detail and arrangement of work here and there, unless accompanied by a thorough remodelling of the *curriculum* on the give-and-take principle, are, to my mind, very much to the purpose. There can be no doubt that up to a certain point education must be more or less forced. A boy coming to Eton has, as a rule, passed two, three, or four years at one or other of the excellent preparatory schools which are to be found at Cheam, East Sheen, Hillingdon, Farnborough, Hoddesdon, Dover, Rottingdean, and elsewhere; it is the function of these schools to teach a boy the rudiments of every branch of a gentleman's education, and thus to prepare him for every possible study in his future career at the public school which may be selected for him. But it is surely the height of absurdity to assert that a boy must necessarily follow every kind of study that is thus in vogue at private schools until he is eighteen or nineteen years of age. Not only is it "impossible," as Mr. Salt says, "for boys to learn everything at once," but different boys, moreover, have different gifts of nature, different bents, different proclivities; one boy is born to be a mathematician, another has the genius of a classical scholar, a third may have neither the one bent nor the other, but has all the making of an accomplished linguist; how can it be wise or reasonable that the classical scholar, the mathematician, and the linguist should for some five or six of the best years of youthful life be subjected, for the purposes of education, to one and the same hard and fast *régime*? Let

us hope that the Eton authorities will, better late than never, come to see these things as the rest of the world sees, has seen, and most certainly will continue to see them, and that, by the institution of a modern side,² or by whatever method, freer scope will be afforded for the divergence of the various currents of intelligence into the channels for which nature has intended them, at the time of life which nature has prescribed for such divergence. The appointment of a new head-master presents at all times the best opportunity for a new departure, but beyond all question the opportunity now presented is one of no ordinary occurrence. I was one of those—and they were very many—who not only ardently desired that Mr. Warre—as he then was—might succeed to the head-mastership, but also believed that it would be simply calamitous if any other selection should be made. What we felt was that by virtue of his great popularity among both masters and boys, taken together with the qualities which we knew him to possess, he would be able to command an influence with either party, to which no other possible candidate could have the smallest pretension. I, for my part, am fully confident that the opinion thus formed will be justified in the result, that Dr. Warre's exceptional opportunities will be turned to advantage in the best and highest sense of the word, and that when some future Maxwell Lyte comes to re-write the history of Eton, his head-mastership will be an epoch to commemorate with grateful remembrance.

Just a word on one other point. Mr. Salt wants to know, "Why is not Greek dropped?" I for one devoutly hope that it never will be dropped, although its study may no doubt usefully be modified. To drop it altogether would be distinctly to lower the standard of liberal education. Not to speak of the priceless treasures to which its study gives access, a well-educated Englishman is, according to the existing standard, supposed to know something of the languages from which his own is derived, and ought not to be heard to ask what is the meaning of the 'pol' in Sebastopol (this is not imaginary), whether a catechumen has anything to do with a cat, or why a change of corporeal form is called a metamorphosis. To dub the study of Greek mischievous is, in my judgment, to take a narrow view, and one which is quite uncalled for. Greek must not, of course, stop the way,—must not take up more room than it is justly entitled to, but it does not follow that it must needs be turned out into the cold.

Time and space fail me to pursue this most interesting theme any further. The object of the little paper now concluding has been, not

² This sentence is left as it was written—during the holidays; it is, however, right to mention that Dr. Warre has since, as I learn, announced to the school that, having very fully considered the question of a modern side, he has come to the conclusion that it would be a mistake, for reasons in which, as recounted to me, there appears to be considerable force. But admitting this, it does not, as I conceive, at all follow that nothing can be done in that direction, or that there is no *via media* between a dual curriculum and absolute uniformity.

fully to discuss the problem of Eton teaching, but to contribute just a mite in support of the daring free-lance who, at whatever odds, has led the attack upon intrenchments, compared with which the masonry of a Vauban is as nine-inch brickwork, the earthworks of a Todleben as the walls of a mud-built cabin.

Some few years since a certain well-remembered *cause célèbre*, which had convulsed the world from Wagga-Wagga to Wapping, and turned not a few English heads crazy, was being tried at Westminster. "Are we," exclaimed the then Sir John Coleridge, indignant in his impatience of the monstrous fraud he was confronting, "are we to take leave of common sense because this is the Tichborne case?" Are we, it may now be demanded by those who regard the future of born and unborn English gentlemen, by those who would guide aright the highest and holiest instincts of human nature, by those who distrust all that is shallow and unreal, are we to take leave of common sense when we happen to be talking of Eton? Common sense surely points, if not to the extinction, at least to the radical reform of the tutorial system.

DARNLEY.

WHISPERING MACHINES.

THERE is this unique in the life of our century, that improvements are no longer left to scattered individuals unaided and suspected. We have union and co-operation. Invention is organised and working under the auspices of science, with the sanction of public sentiment and the bonuses of Government. Not only are the boldest projects proposed and discussed, but their realisation is deliberately and confidently undertaken. Instance, the projects of submarine and aerial navigation which are receiving support and encouragement from powerful governments. The press enters into this as into every other phase of our century's life, and contributes as a powerful factor, giving a liberal hearing to the wants of the community and to suggestions of reform, and assuring us, by its universal circulation, that no useful idea shall be lost or long delayed in its execution, as has too often occurred in the past. I wish to call attention to an idea of great importance, and to urge upon our inventors its immediate and serious consideration. The importance of the idea warrants this resort to the most universal means of making it known.

About two years ago Professor Nymanover, a Swede of Minnesota, United States, published an essay in which he suggested the invention of 'reading-machines,' or 'whispering-machines,' as they were variously called; and he further proposed the establishment of 'machine-libraries.' The idea was so new, and it went out dressed in such an odd medley of Swedish, German, and English, that it hugely tickled the fancy of the wits, and was buffeted about from one journal to another over the whole breadth of the United States. Some, however, as they read of the invention, longed that it might be realised. Some had such faith in the practical science of the day as to believe that it might shortly be realised; and the professor was congratulated on his happy suggestion.

Some details on the invention as originally proposed. The professor suggests that, either by the construction of a musical alphabet or by the application of the phonograph, books be printed upon cylinders of metal. These cylinders he would place in a small automaton, and, just as in the case of the music-box or the phonograph, the books could be produced as read *viva voce*. For con-

venience sake, he would place the machine in the hat, and have the sounds conveyed to the ear by wires.

Let us consider briefly some of the advantages of such an invention :—In the first place, it would satisfy some pressing wants of our times. It would be no small matter, for instance, to have myopia checked in its alarming increase. Reports from Germany tell us that the average of victims there has reached 26 per cent. in the gymnasiums and 50 per cent. in the highest classes; and that changes have been made in inks, black-boards, paper even, in the schools, and eye-calisthenics are insisted upon. But before the accumulating knowledge of the age and the necessity of evermore arduous study, such remedies are seen to be at best but of temporary benefit. The invention of the reading-machine will alone remove the cause and effect a radical cure. It will come as an inexpressible boon to our poor abused eyes. Our noblest sense-organ has been subjected to the most infamous drudgery for centuries, and the myopia disease in Germany is but a desperate protest from Nature against the outrage.

The enforced sedentary life of our student world has effects which we would like to deny in the physical deterioration of our intellectual classes. The invention of reading-machines, such as above described, would permit of the pursuit simultaneously of physical and of mental improvement. In one generation a very noticeable change would be effected. With full physical vigour, and a restored harmony between mind and body, our intellectual classes would in consequence have a greater fertility, and on their increasing numerical importance would follow the evolution of higher types of humanity.

Is it not further evident that the above evolution would receive powerful impulse from the infinite extension which this invention would give to the reading class? Education would no longer cease with his leaving school, as it does now perforce for the labouring man, the business man, and the clerk. Men have a longing desire to read more; but pressure of business and long hours of labour make it, for most of them, impossible. A painfully significant sight may be seen any day on London streets. Through dense jostling crowds, in jammed omnibuses, in dimly-lighted underground railway-carriages, you may see men of all conditions, with book in hand, trying to read, risking their eyesight to snatch something from the treasures of knowledge and inspiration. This widespread hunger would be satisfied, abundantly, fully satisfied by this wonderful little whispering-machine, this metal automatic book of the future. It would accompany men to the office, to the factory, to the bench, to the field, to the ditch, down into the mines, whispering into their ears greater thoughts and imaginations, strengthening, ennobling, and refining the mind. This good genius of humanity (for such we would have to call it) would be companion also to the housewife and the maid; and as the labouring man would be the better fitted for his duties, so the wife and the

maid would be the better fitted for theirs, and the problem of the higher education of woman would be triumphantly solved in the solving of the larger problem of the higher education of mankind.

Further, who could predict the advances of science under the increased intellectual vigour of men, and the greater length of time they would be able to devote to their labours! The value of the life of a man of science, as a factor in the world's progress, would be more than doubled. Inventors! practical scientists! give us what we ask, and before the increased powers and knowledge of coming generations other problems, which perplex you now and seem to you insoluble, will be solved with the greatest ease, and other and greater inventions and discoveries will be made of which we in our day scarcely dare to dream. Let me plead for the precedence which this invention should have before all others at present occupying the minds of the men of practical science.

The weary profitless learning of an unphonetic written language would at once be generally neglected, and would soon die a natural death, to be supplanted, if need were, by simple phonetic characters. In the case of our English language, with its chaotic orthography, there would be some precious years of our lives saved from being worse than wasted. The written language would remain in its natural position of subordination to the spoken language. Very soon the spoken language would attain a fixity and uniformity to which the written language has aspired in vain. Before the universal dissemination of a standard pronunciation, dialects and patois would disappear.

It would be no small commercial advantage to have the acquirement of foreign languages facilitated; for, wherever a book was, there the spoken language would be. But in this there would be the promise of something better. It would seem as if soon the boundaries of peoples would be confounded and estrangements give way to a mutual understanding; and again, but more hopefully, we might dream of a time when all nations would speak one tongue and unite together in a 'federation of the world.'

It is a perfectly safe statement that, as things now are, one half the power of literature is lost. No book is ever read as its author intended it should be read. Printing was a great invention; but it is manifestly unequal to the task of conserving the treasures genius entrusts to it. It is at best but a wicker-basket that serves very well to hold the pebbles and the coarse sand; but fine golden grains slip through and are lost, and the subtle fluid too, that once bathed the pebbles and coarse sand, and made them shine with a beauty we shall never see. The full realization of what the printed book was intended to do will be the glorious mission of the phonographic reading-machine. The written word has been made immortal; the genius of man will soon give immortal life to the spoken word. For the first time authors may be said to truly live in their works; and soon the

generations will mingle in closer communion; and the dead will speak to the living.

A cursory consideration of our present wants and of the numberless beneficial applications we could make of such an invention, will lead the thoughtful to insist that it shall not be laid aside till we are quite sure its realization is beyond our present powers. With the recent invention of the phonograph, the invention of the reading-machine is removed from the region of romance, and has a right to be looked upon now as one of the problems of practical science. The reading-machine is but an extension of the phonograph. To stop short at the phonograph would be much the same in its consequences as if the age of Faust and Gutenberg had remained content with its immovable types or the pen of the copyist. In the name, then, of human progress we plead, we demand that the claims of this invention be heard and attended to, that no means within our power be neglected to secure to our nineteenth century the blessings, or at least the honour, of this invention. We have the phonograph. There lies the machine, unfinished and useless, at best a toy to play with. Where is the good genius—have we not a Gutenberg in our day?—who will take the thing in hand and add a new power to the world?

It is to be earnestly hoped that discussion, and suggestions, and organization for definite effort will speedily follow the dissemination of this idea. The press will give generous valuable assistance, circulating and exchanging information and bringing inventors together. There must be union. Jealousy must be extinguished in a noble, unselfish ambition to ameliorate the race. We are sure, too, that governments, men in power, those who in the general interest are directing a part of the general funds to the aid of science, and to the liberal support of experiments in agriculture, military science, and aerial navigation, will thoroughly appreciate the importance of the undertaking, and come forward with their powerful aid.

To-day, on the eve of a grand revolution, we look forward and we see dimly the society of the future, that busy world soon to be trampling over our heads in all the happy progress of the twentieth and succeeding centuries, with grander powers and more daring ambitions than ours. We may not see all the environment in which the men of those times will live, the mechanical powers, the terrestrial conditions, the political and social relations; but we may foresee the men themselves, with their strong lithe bodies, their perfect symmetrical forms, such as we imagine the best of the Greeks to have been, but with this abysmal difference—that the representative man of the twentieth century will carry with him an infinitely profounder insight into the secret forces of nature, and an infinitely more comprehensive outlook over all her works.

R. BALMER.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF EUROPE.

I.

It is a matter worthy of consideration why the progress which is in our time so unexpectedly rapid in all which concerns the physical world, should be so slow, or rather so limited, in the sphere of morals. We might almost say that, like a line ascending in a spiral form, progress can in each historical period only be made within the given orbit in which the period itself revolves.

With respect to the two principal questions which interest mankind in its complex—that is, in its political and social—existence, the orbit in which the historical period preceding our own revolved, as far as politics are concerned, circled round what we may term the State, although this does not precisely correspond to our present conception of the word; and socially it revolved round an absolute system of proprietorship, together with the rights and duties which were to a varying extent attached to it, and which included a relative and practically obsolete exercise of charitable customs.

That which was called a State was not always a combination which had, in accordance with the modern conception, the public welfare as its sole and supreme object, but it generally depended on certain rights which had their origin in facts of extreme antiquity. These combinations were of two kinds. The most usual, which was indeed almost universal in Europe, was the monarchy, in which a given family governed and represented the interests of a more or less extensive number of peoples, which in virtue of ancient rights, of conquests, of treaties, or in any other way belonged to her. In a few rare instances these monarchies were elective, and the rulers, who were elected by a college, a caste, or in some other manner, found themselves in the same conditions as hereditary sovereigns. The least common, but not the least important and successful, form of government was that of the communities which governed themselves. But even this form relied for its existence on the same elements as the monarchies—that is, on rights, conquests, and treaties, or similar reasons—on which alone the political state of Europe was based up to the year 1815.

By this we mean that up to 1815 no right was recognised in

political life except that which derived its origin from some fact or facts which were supposed to constitute rights, such as successions, conquests, concessions, or gifts. Spain, in virtue of one or other of these titles, ruled the Low Countries and the kingdom of Naples, nor did it occur to anyone to discuss the fitness of this strange aggregation of different peoples, united in a single State. It would be tedious to cite all the instances of curious combinations to which the ancient European rights gave rise. Although they had a tendency to dissolve under the influence of recent times, yet the system was maintained up to 1815, the date of the last great treaty which was made on this basis, and of which the effect remained up to 1845.

Throughout this protracted period, of which the beginning is confounded with that of European civilisation, a certain progress did, however, take place in the conditions of European society, which advanced from the capitulations of Charles the Great to the English Great Charter, from arbitrary decrees to the statutes of the republic of Florence, and finally, to the legislative acts of Joseph the Second, in Austria, of Leopold in Tuscany, Charles the Third in the kingdom of Naples, and of all the contemporary governments which uttered their last word on such progress as was possible to politicians of that period, and which consisted in adapting as far as possible the inflexible exigencies of ancient rights to the necessities of modern facts, and in inducing those who governed by divine right to consider the interests of the people. But this was only up to a certain point, and the relative conditions of the governors and the governed did not cease to be the basis of European policy.

Speaking of these things at this day is like speaking of another world. A State which is not governed in the interests of those of whom it consists would be a tyranny. It is held to be an iniquity to hold a people subject to a rule which is independent of ethnographical, geographical, or economical considerations, and such a people would be considered justified in throwing off the yoke, if possible. A war undertaken to maintain a purely dynastic title would be regarded as an intolerable burden, to which no nation is bound to submit.

The arguments which are used to stigmatise and condemn the old system as unjust and out of date are naturally derived from its evils, dangers, and inconveniences. The people were subject to laws, taxation, and wars, for causes which did not concern them, and which for that very reason multiplied without control. The Thirty Years' War and the War of Succession cut down whole peoples, not for their own benefit, but in order to decide to whom they should belong. A permanent state of war appeared to be the inevitable result of the conflagration of all these rights, which were contested at the expense of the happiness of peoples. Meanwhile science had changed the basis of rights, and the famous principles of 1789, which

had their birth in the intoxication of the nascent revolution and were nourished by the blood of its maturer age, found their way into codes and constitutions. The old system, condemned both in theory and practice, was anathematised by the rising generation, which claimed to have discovered the secret of true policy, and the grand panacea for all the evils of humanity.

Nor was it otherwise with social questions. The conception that every man might do what he pleased with his own, and might transmit it to others both before and after his death, was more or less present in the constitution of all civil societies. But this system deprived of the enjoyments of life all those who were unable to acquire property for themselves, and to whom no one could or would transmit it. In one word, in this system there were no official dispositions for the poor, who nevertheless constitute the eternal problem of human society. In fact, money enough for the permanent and complete relief of the poor could not be found, nor the mode of useful legislation on this subject. But an appeal beneath the beneficent influence of Christianity was made to the most refined sentiments of humanity, and created duties which, however imperfectly fulfilled, were imperious, and relied on a divine sanction. In this way charity provided for the variable and indefinite needs which exist in all human societies, from the richest and most fortunate to the poorest and most unhappy, and did so with the buoyant and indefinite force inspired by sentiment, which contrasts strongly with similar laws and provisions enacted by the State.

The modern phase of thought does not venture openly to attack socially property, as politically it has attacked divine right, because it has not known what to substitute in its place. It was less difficult to sustain universal suffrage, which met with fewer obstacles in its translation into fact than communism or socialism. There has therefore been no direct attack on property, but for a long while circuitous means have been taken to undermine its rights. By the destruction of the feudal system, the bonds which connected property with the exercise of political power were burst asunder, and another blow was struck at its stability by the abolition of the rights of eldest sons, and of all the other privileges belonging to it, according to ancient usage. Later, legitimate successions and those of intestate persons have been regulated, and thus the disintegration has been gradually prepared. Finally, the laws of taxation for purposes of the State or of public welfare have further confiscated a large portion of private property. Hence it may be said that on great part of the Continent property of every kind—rural, urban, movable, or immovable—has become a merchandise, great part of which is administered by trustees for the benefit of the State, while the rest is subject to a number of laws, contracts, and combinations which cause it to pass from one person to another with the utmost rapidity, so that its enjoyment may be

extended to as large a number as possible, since the mode of distributing it to all has not yet been discovered.

Charity has been overthrown by the same blow. It has shared the unpopularity of her preachers, and it also, without being directly attacked, has been subjected, under different pretexts, to the destruction and conversion of a very large number of institutions founded under its banner, and discredit has been thrown on its practices and provisions, while the struggle for existence has been brutally substituted for charity. So much the worse for the man who cannot help himself out of a difficulty. The motto of our time is a species of *saute qui peut*, which begins in the transactions of the money market and leads some to the temple of fortune and others to the river or to the lunatic asylum.

We do not, however, assert that the inexhaustible source of human kindness with which God has mercifully endowed our nature does not still find means of doing good, and great good. Institutions, which are for the most part beneficent, abound on every side, and supply the place of the ancient foundations which have disappeared. But the conception and its mode of execution are different and do not correspond with the old usage. Everything is done according to rule in modern philanthropy. There are free municipal schools in which instruction is given to those who do or do not desire it. There are hospitals in which a definite number of patients afflicted by certain diseases are collected, and if the number is exceeded or the symptoms are not the same, they are left to die until a hospital is founded which is intended for such cases. If a man is in want of bread he receives a garment, because the institution which might help him only provides clothes; and if a whole family is dying of hunger they will receive a mattress if directed to an institution which only supplies beds. The liberal charity which is personal and intelligent, and which corresponds to the infinite variety and combinations of human necessities, lingers, thank God! in the hearts of the beneficent, but its form is discredited and its means are abridged. The great mass of the funds which were devoted to charity is now diverted into the official and semi-official channels of modern philanthropy. In my opinion, the relief which is now given does good without remedying the evil, since a dinner for to-day is always welcome, but it will not prevent a man from dying of hunger next week, or of cold if he has not wherewithal to cover himself; while a loaf or a cloak given at a propitious moment may save the life of a man or of a whole family. So it may be said that the place of charity has been taken by the struggle for existence, only modified by administrative philanthropy.

This second revolution was produced by the growing discredit which resulted from the evils and inconveniences which had their source in the ancient conception of property, and from those which

were attributed to the free and sentimental charity. Property, when in the hands of a few privileged classes, made few happy while the many were unhappy. Charity created miseries by encouraging idleness. Such were the principal arguments which overthrew the old system.

Thus political power of an exclusive and egotistic character, which was founded on divine right, was destroyed in order to constitute governments on a popular basis; labour was substituted for charity. It appeared to the philosophers who carried out this great revolution that nothing more was needed to inaugurate a new golden age in which the rivers would flow with milk, and ripe fruits would fall on every man's table. It is needless to add that peace and general satisfaction were to be the results of this profound and laborious revolution.

II.

The old order of things was, however, hardly demolished before two distinct and menacing questions were raised upon its ruins—Nationality and Socialism. Let us begin with the first.

Since the country (*patria*), in the limited sense of the word, had disappeared—that is, the political unity which was represented by the dynasty or flag or even simply a steeple, the early symbol of the old societies—the sentiment of association took its concrete form in a fresh combination, more in harmony with the democratic tendencies of our times. It assumed the widest possible basis—to constitute a society which should unite all common interests, and should be governed in conformity with these. It is, indeed, not surprising that men who speak the same language, inhabit the same zone, who are alike in their customs and dispositions, who are, in short, what is now called a nation, should present all these characteristics, and should therefore become the new political unit both of the present and the future, thus replacing the earlier units formed by heredity or conquests without respect to the interests of all the component elements.

Nothing in nature is produced at one stroke; and some races had already advanced towards nationality, and especially France, which had laboriously constituted herself into a nation, before the word was used in its political meaning. But the country to which it was allotted to assert loudly and explicitly this new form of political life was Italy in 1859. The formula of nationality as the basis of right was first proposed by her and obtained acceptance by international jurisprudence, and this basis had scarcely been established before it led to the overthrow of six thrones which boasted of different origins, among which was the most ancient and most venerable of all—the temporal power of the Popes. The experiment was favourably received, and

Germany lost no time in adopting it, since the old system had produced in that country the same conditions of divisions and of relative weakness which had occurred in Italy. The campaigns of 1866 and of 1870 served to contribute to the new theory the force which was necessary to convince European diplomacy.

Even those who most reluctantly accept modern ideas do not now speak of anything but nationality. It might be supposed that there had never been any other basis for politics, since this has in a very short time been so completely and universally accepted.

The production of these nationalities has, however, been accompanied by all the defects of the system which preceded them. They have brought with them all the rancours of ancient Europe. The rancours of Francis I. and of Charles V. have been transmuted into the deadly enmity which exists between French and Germans. The testament of Frederic II. has led to the programme of the German people, and the ambitious projects of Catherine II. have issued in the aspirations of the Slav race. So though the new era which began with nationality indicates a real progress in the internal constitution of the different States, and in the fundamental reasons for their several governments; still with respect to their international relations to universal justice and to general peace, in a word, with respect to the progress of the human race in morals, we find ourselves—to make use of the metaphor we employed at first—in a fresh spiral, equally limited in space, in which there is a relative progress, but it has only a slight influence on the general progress of humanity. And, to turn from abstract principles to the concrete limits of politics, the present state of things is not promising nor hopeful for the peace of Europe.

The first and most curious phenomenon which accompanied the affirmation of different nationalities as a guarantee of peace in Europe, has been compulsory service—a euphemism which implies that the whole male population of Europe is trained and educated for war; thus men are fashioned into as deadly instruments as were ever found in barbarous ages and during the warfare of the old system. Military education, both technical and gymnastic, is brought to such perfection that whole generations are trained like hounds for mortal conflict, and each man may on an average kill ten others in the course of a minute. Even in traversing Europe by the railway we may observe near the fortresses, and indeed in the great centres of population, arenas, gymnasia, drilling grounds, and young men clothed in the prescribed warlike uniform. This strange spectacle is unnoticed because it is concealed and confounded with the attractions of modern civilisation; but it must strike all who seek to penetrate its external phenomena: and certainly those who established the present civilisation did not anticipate such a result.

We must, however, leave the speculative side of the question to philosophers, since what concerns us in the interests of this same civilisation is to examine the practical results of the situation in Europe in its political aspect, with which we are at this moment occupied. Briefly, we wish to ascertain what is now the political situation of Europe, in consequence and in presence of the new basis on which European rights are established.

And primarily, since the application of these new rights, all nationalities, if they do not feel the present necessity, yet they have potentially a tendency to assimilate the elements which properly belong to them. And each forms a judgment of the situation in accordance with his standard and purpose.

Thus, for example, Russia, under the pretext of consisting for the most part of Slav peoples, begins to nourish in her bosom the ambition of uniting all the Slav races under the well-known name of Pan-Slavism. No matter that the Slavs of Poland and Bohemia differ widely from those of Russia proper in their language, religion, and habits, perhaps more widely than from those of another nationality. Panslavists extend to the race the privileges of the nation, and as it would be difficult to define logically where the one begins and the other ends, so among them, and especially among those who believe, perhaps rightly, that they speak in the name of Russia, the Slav nation consists of a third of Europe, reaching from the North Pole to the Adriatic. In order to unite it under Russian rule, it would be necessary to overthrow, or at any rate seriously to mutilate, the dominions of Turkey and of Austrian Hungary.

The demolition of the Turkish empire and the diminution of Austrian Hungary would be carried still further by the nationality of Greece, which requires for its proper development to absorb another portion of Turkey, and to deprive Austria of such access to the sea as the Slavs might leave to her.

The Italian nationality would also propose some modifications of the geography of Europe, less searching than the above, but not without their importance.

France and Spain are the countries which have least to ask in the way of expansion; the former because her territory was acquired before the enunciation of the principle was formulated, the latter because of her limited proportions, unless, following the interpretations of Russia, she should entertain the ambition, which up to this time is scarcely perceptible if it exists at all, of acquiring the whole Iberian peninsula.

If we continue our circuit of the continent we come to the two small nationalities of Flanders and Scandinavia. These two, although their populations are the least numerous, seem less sensible of the necessity of political reunion. It is certain that no one in Belgium and Holland has seriously formulated the idea of a fusion, nor yet

among the Scandinavians. These States enjoy a certain ease of circumstances and unusual prosperity, without being tormented by the demon of aggrandisement; they allow the claims of nationality to remain dormant in order that they may enjoy in prosperity and contentment what they have acquired by political shrewdness and indefatigable labour; but it may be said that in these conditions they stand alone in Europe.

The circuit we have made from the extreme north to the centre of Europe includes the most complete, successful, and indisputable instance of a compact and homogeneous nationality in that of Germany. Twenty-five years ago this was hardly regarded as an ethnographical or historical designation, and it was certainly not political, since the tendencies and interests of the different States of Germany were quite dissimilar, even when, as in many of the most important questions, they were not altogether opposed to each other. Now that the nationality has arisen, has grown and reached maturity, and in two memorable campaigns has swept all obstacles from its path, it would be as useless to try to arrest its development and divert it from its path as to try and make the Rhine flow back to its source.

The German nation must absorb a few more States in order to constitute itself into a political unity, but since the most important would shake to its foundations the Austro-Hungarian empire, this last annexation will be deferred as long as possible. The fraction of Germans which remains to be absorbed into the empire would only augment the number of its constituents by some millions, and its territory by some provinces; meanwhile in its present condition it fulfils the mission of a colony detached from the parent nation, impressed with the same characteristics, and adhering to the same interests, and thus constituting a weighty instrument for carrying out the national views throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire, which, amidst the conflict of the different nationalities of which it consists, is clearly and irresistibly impelled towards that which is the nearest, the most energetic, and the most powerful. This state of things is too favourable to Germany to allow her to hasten to exchange her independent colonies in Austria into faithful subjects of the German Emperor. There remain other tendencies to assimilation on the side of Russia and of Switzerland. The first are so problematical that they may be regarded as a pretext rather than a claim. The second have not, up to this time, acquired any appearance of probability, since Switzerland has had the privilege of constituting an artificial and political nationality out of such as are truly geographical and ethnographical, and has gallantly resisted any encroachment, so that on this side also any assimilation must be regarded as immature. We must not, however, forget the homogeneity of race, if Germany should be for any cause impelled to approach or to cross the Alps. In

such a case the effects of this homogeneity must make themselves felt.

These tendencies are not, however, all equally active, nor have they all the same intensity. Up to this time some of them are still latent, and give no sign of their existence, nor are they the only factors of the political state of Europe. Besides their tendency to become complete, nationalities have certain other tendencies, objects, and ends, which may be said to be peculiar to each of them, since they correspond with their special needs, relate to certain conditions, and are in conformity with the mission which each State has, or thinks it has, in the political concert of nations.

Since, therefore, we are considering the subject from the political point of view, as it now exists, we shall only regard those tendencies which actually demand satisfaction, and which, therefore, constitute an element and a factor of contemporary politics. The more important tendencies may be reduced to few, intense in character, and wielding mighty forces. The others may be considered as depending by those which are greater and stronger, only differing in degree of intensity and power. They generally take an intermediate place, and receive their satisfaction second-hand, according to their position on the right or wrong side in the great conflict of interests. They usually follow the fortune of the conquered or conquering leaders.

Russia, the dominant Slav race of the north, in addition to the desire of assimilation with her brethren, tends towards the sun, in order to exert an influence over the temperate zone, in which the most vital interests of Europe are at issue. This is the popular tradition which goes by the name of the testament of Peter the Great. Russia has persistently and indefatigably extended her conquests in the direction of the East. If this movement appears to be at present less decided, it is because her want of success in the last war and last treaty has reacted on the constitution of the empire, which is thus weakened and hindered in its efforts at expansion. But as soon as this impulse of internal dissatisfaction is subdued, her activity abroad will be renewed. The man or the government which is able to lead Russia back into her old course will solve the enigma by which she is now agitated.

She advances towards the east from two sides—the north and west. In the former direction she is impelled by the force of circumstances. The only element of order amid the nomadic and barbarous peoples which overspread the country extending from the sides of the Caucasus to the interior of Asia, the endless controversies about frontiers enable her to advance stealthily and insensibly, owing, as we have said, to the very nature of things. On the western side she makes her way deliberately, and in spite of all the obstacles opposed to her. There are of two kinds—the resistance of the Ottoman empire; and that of the European Powers, which are either interested in maintaining it

or desire to succeed to its territory. England stands first in the first category, Austria in the second, if, indeed, she is not alone in the desire to succeed to Turkey.

Russia would have overcome the first obstacle, in spite of the tenacity of the Ottoman policy and the bravery of the army, if it were not complicated by the second. The great and moribund empire of Turkey has still vitality enough to respond to the affectionate care of the more or less interested physicians who take charge of her.

But since 1870 the political attitude of Europe with respect to Turkey has completely changed. Each of the three Powers which with a somewhat elaborate disinterestedness assumed her defence in 1855 has modified its views. Italy, to whom it was hardly more than a pretext for inaugurating her political constitution, has attained her object and will no longer apply herself with the same tenacity of purpose to the maintenance of the Ottoman empire. France and England have abandoned their office of guardians, to assume the more profitable one of heirs—the one in Tunis, the other in Egypt. As for Russia, with which we are now occupied, her position is also different. Now that France has taken her share, she has no great interest in upholding the tottering giant against whom she has directed one of the most recent and most decisive blows; and, on the other hand, she is by no means interested in opposing the plans of Russia or in offending her, since she recognises in this Power the only hope of vengeance remaining to her in the present state of things.

England, on the other hand, who has taken her share of the succession, wishes, if possible, to prolong the existence of the dying man, especially since Russia is with more or less reason considered by a certain section of public opinion in England to menace her influence and even her possessions in the East, as well as in the West. The influences of Russia and England are so heterogeneous, one to the other, that whenever they come in contact, although it may be in the distant future, it must be a reciprocal source of danger. But now that England has secured Egypt, she has perhaps no longer the same intense interest in the preservation of the Turkish empire by which she was actuated in 1855.

From 1870 onwards, a new and very important actor appeared on the Oriental stage. Austria, repulsed by the different nationalities—by Italy in 1859, by Germany in 1866—for the very reason that she was the only European State which did not rely on nationality, that exclusive and jealous factor of modern politics, has been obliged to depend on one of those already in existence, and also to create for herself a scope and office which might justify her own existence. She has found these two objects fulfilled by the Oriental question.

Since the Hapsburg dynasty found itself placed on the confines of German nationality, and close to all the fractions of different

nationalities which the storms of past ages had thrown on the shores of the Danube on one side, and on the Balkan peninsula on the other, it quickly took the part of ruling all these different nationalities, which, owing to their insignificance, could not aspire to form a political unit, and therefore relied on the great German nationality which was behind them. But, as we have said, this did not suffice; another object was presented to them, dictated by the nature of things—that is, to substitute the Mohammedans in the supremacy of Eastern Europe, as they were incompatible with European civilisation, and at the same time to prevent this, which is commonly called the key of Europe, from falling into the hands of a really numerous nationality, which would on many accounts have excited the fears of all European interests.

Through this act, dictated, as we have said, by the necessities of things, Austria has found herself inextricably bound to Germany and opposed to Russia, with whom she contests the two objects most dear to the latter—the acquisition of the Catholic Slav races which Austria jealously cherishes in her bosom, and her progress towards the sun, or towards whatever obstructs her advance to the East. The indissoluble bonds which unite the policy of Germany with that of the Austro-Hungarian empire enable the former country to enjoy the inestimable advantage of exerting a powerful influence on Eastern diplomacy without, however, showing the hand which she neither could nor would withdraw.

Consequently, Russia finds in the German nationality upon her western frontier a much more serious and permanent barrier than that which was raised by the political combinations of 1855. Her development in the East is opposed, as well as the expansion of her influence in Europe, which is still more important. We see these two great nationalities fatally opposed to each other by their most vital necessities, and in the objects they most ardently desire. The wise and prudent combinations of the statesmen of these two great countries are applied to smooth difficulties and distract attention from these fatal conditions; and owing to the calm temperament of these nations, and to the discipline still maintained by their Governments, they have been successful up to a certain point. The ancient alliance of the three emperors has, however, already become that of two. On the one side there is a true and serious alliance established between the two houses of Germany and Austria; on the other, a close, warm, and probably sincere friendship between the houses of Germany and Russia. But none such can be firmly established between the three; and as for the two most numerous and powerful nationalities of Europe, they may (and the God of Peace will reward them for it) dissimulate, soften, temporise—do everything in their power to avert too rapid or too violent a collision of the important interests of their subjects, but they cannot change

the nature of things. The two great nationalities, Slav and German, are essentially rivals, both in geographical position and in their political aims.

These considerations naturally lead us to speak of the German nationality.

This nationality, like all those of recent origin, desires to feel itself secure. On the one side there is an instinctive fear of the possible conflagrations to which the influence of their powerful neighbour may give rise; on the other, it cannot lose sight of the strong antagonism between Germany and France which dates from 1870. It will for a long period be difficult to overcome this antagonism, since it is founded on the great frontier interests which have been contested on both sides. As long as France is deprived of her traditional frontier she will never feel herself secure, and if it were surrendered by Germany, she would lose all the fruits of her loss and bloodshed in 1870. Even if it were only a contest for influence and supremacy, it is not in the French nature to submit to defeat without feeling from time to time the desire for revenge. This impulse alone in so excitable a nation is enough to keep Germany watchful in this direction. Certainly such an occurrence is not at present either certain or threatening, but it is always possible that their two formidable neighbours may combine, and this would re-act also on the different nationalities which compose the Austro-Hungarian empire. It is this danger which keeps the German nation in an indefinite and indefinable state of uneasiness, to her own economical ruin, as well as to that of all the European States which are compelled to imitate her.

To this feeling of uneasiness must be referred the feverish activity of the Imperial *Cabinet*, who never ceases to make and unmake plans and combinations, dominated by the single idea which was cherished by the rival nationality of France from the time of Louis the Fourteenth to that of Thiers—namely, to keep all Europe in a divided state. This is not only in order to carry out the famous maxim, *Divide et impera*, but because among all the possible combinations, some might be, if not fatal, yet dangerous to the existence of Germany.

This possibly was foreseen in 1870, and it is known that lengthy negotiations secured the neutrality of Russia in that war. The concessions made to Russia in the East were part of the price of that neutrality, and chief among these was the revision of the Treaty of Paris.

It was readily believed that the opportunity of securing predominance in Europe, for which Germany had been so elaborately prepared, and which a chance unlikely to occur twice in the lifetime of peoples so liberally offered her, would not be let slip by the German Government. The war with France has been justly called a Punic

War, or a deadly strife for supremacy in Europe. And therefore the second Punic War was looked for in a period in which it should not be possible for Russia to intervene. According to the plan by which the Roman Horatius fought with his rivals one by one, it seemed that the dominion, if not of the world, at any rate of Europe, was secured to Germany.

This opinion was confirmed, inasmuch as the first question which arose after 1870 was the Eastern question. The part taken by Germany is well known, and certainly the peace was concluded at Berlin, where the Treaty of San Stefano, which had secured to Russia the price of her action, was cancelled. Russia issued from the struggle seriously shaken, nor has she yet recovered from the shock. The Russian nation, deluded in its most cherished expectations, has been given up to a state of discontent which it is not necessary to study in its forms but in its essence. The people are conscious of having been misdirected in their course, and are displeased with whoever has failed to interpret their wishes.

It seemed as if this might have been the moment for a second war with France, and especially since it was unlikely that Russia would forget, when her strength returned, the *auto da fé* made at Berlin of the Treaty of San Stefano. To this end all the manœuvres of the Berlin Cabinet seem to have tended, as if the powerful hand of the German Chancellor had only been exerted to effect its conclusion.

The mountain did not, however, bring forth a mouse but a *canard*, for such it must appear to our calmer judgment, in the unexpected rumour of a Franco-German alliance. We are not now in a position to examine the reasons of this abortive birth. It only concerns us to show that when the hypothesis of this solution was overthrown by the power so ably and opportunely exerted, the question was reproduced to the German nation in its integrity. Placed between and in collision with the interests of two great nationalities, the one consisting of nearly sixty and the other of forty million inhabitants, Germany was still uneasy and insecure. Her people are, however, strictly disciplined, trained for conflict, and of a naturally brave temperament, and all means have been used to develop this quality in them. We know that when men conscious of strength are uncomfortable or of evil humour they soon try to mend their condition, and that they expend their wrath on some thing or person until they have regained security and calmness. This constitutes one of the most serious questions now presented to Europe, and whence issues much of the uncertainty and dangers which menace its peace.

The Chancellor, with the ability and diplomatic genius which no one can dispute that he possesses, involves this phantasm in all sorts of wrappings, with the double aim of appeasing it and of

rendering it less alarming to Europe. He expends all the energy which was accumulated in the violent struggle in diplomatic combinations. Hence the friendly relations with Russia have continually become closer; hence the triple alliance again, the courteous treatment of Spain, the favourable recognition of the French occupation of Tunis, so acceptable to France, although received with dissatisfaction by Italy; hence also the English occupation of Egypt was not opposed by Germany from the first, while it was very displeasing to France. All this incessant activity of German diplomacy, which appeared to be ably directed, and very probably really was so directed, to procure the isolation of France, was on that account supposed to lead the way to a second Franco-German war. But at the present it should rather be regarded as a long succession of manœuvres and a complicated diplomatic strategy, which had lost sight of its immediate object and had for the time no other interests than those which the episodes of this grave question present to the curiosity of all Europe—a question of which the issue is so uncertain and indefinite that at the moment when the object in view appeared to be obtained in the complete isolation of France, we hear of a Franco-German alliance. Incredible as it may appear, this is the fact. The alliance is spoken of, and this is enough to show that everything is possible in the state of tension in which things are in Central Europe.

The sudden transition from a state of mortal war to that of an alliance might have been contemplated in the political exigencies of the times of Cardinal Richelieu—that is, when foreign politics were a kind of sacerdotalism, only transacted by Cabinets, on which public opinion exercised little or no influence. But it is difficult to believe, in the present state and exigencies of public opinion, and especially in France, that it would be easy or possible to stifle in a diplomatic combination, however able and useful, the memories of Metz and Sedan, the loss of the Rhine Provinces and the occupation of Paris. Such an opinion may be to some extent accepted by the victors, but not by those on whom the burden of the war of 1870 fell. We mean by this that when such combinations are contemplated and the attempt is made to carry them into effect, they will not change the actual state of things. The rivalry, incompatibility, and rancours produced by interests which are different and in many cases opposed to each other in two neighbouring and powerful nations, may be subdued for a while, but they must sooner or later revive until the question is substantially resolved by the triumph of one side or the other. It is precisely because she has been unwilling or unable to resolve it, that Germany remains in this condition of profound disquietude—a condition which has taken no certain and definite direction, but which is pregnant with possible dangers for the rest of Europe.

We have said that the movement has not yet taken a definite

direction, but not that its tendency does not begin to declare itself. While setting aside for a little and adjourning to a more or less distant future the question of its own safety, the German nation, in common with others, has certain objects in view beyond that of mere existence; it has natural aspirations which give a purpose to life. We have said that the Slav races of Russia are drawn towards the sun, and the Germans are as strongly attracted towards the sea.

The people of Germany are very poor, owing to the natural conditions of the soil and climate, poor also owing to compulsory military service, to which, however, they willingly submit for the sake of their national existence. If a strong people does not long tolerate an uneasy condition, neither can it tolerate poverty. One which is strong and poor is a dangerous neighbour to richer peoples. Now, from whatever side we cross the German frontier, we are struck by the prosperity and riches of the neighbouring nations, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or mercantile. The only advertisement posted up in every German village is the name of the company, battalion, and regiment to which it belongs, instead of the numerous advertisements which we find in similar villages of Belgium, France, and Holland, announcing transactions of trade, commerce, and manufactures. When we see the poor and humble villages which are thus classified, we might say that the German nation is merely encamped in the midst of Europe.

In the present conditions of Europe, and precisely on account of the nationalities to which the credit must be given, territorial acquisitions among neighbours and the subjection of one people to another have become hardly possible except in a few limited cases which cannot enter the mind of any statesman as having any large significance in the political future. Since European nations can no longer, as of old, obtain expansion at the expense of one another, they now seek for it in distant lands, amid lower civilisations and in societies which are less firmly constituted. This is done not only by conquest, but by colonisation and commercial establishments of every kind, which assure influence, and still more riches and prosperity to their founders. For this end, it is important that a nation should have easy access to the sea. The German nation is eminently continental and has only an inconsiderable extent of seaboard. Hence Germany has need of the sea, and this tendency attracts her equally towards the north and east of Europe. This has probably influenced her policy in the late Eastern war, and this subsidiary necessity is the complement of the more important need of securing her own safety which has been the object of the policy of the German Chancellor in its varying transitions. It agrees with the colonising tendencies which have come openly to a head within the last few months.

We have thus briefly indicated the tendencies of two among the principal nationalities. France comes next in importance, and since

she is in fact the most ancient, so that her customs and interests are firmly welded in spite of all her misfortunes, she need not greatly concern herself about the fact of her existence. It would be difficult to make any breach in the unity of France, since the traces of her ancient divisions no longer exist. Her external borders may be enlarged or restricted wherever the popular characteristics are less marked, or even ambiguous, so that their affections and interests may oscillate towards neighbourly nations. But the great nucleus of the people has no fear of being other than it is, and this is not now the source of agitation in France. It is precisely because she has long been secure in the enjoyment and free exercise of all her faculties as a nation that her tendencies are more clearly and explicitly displayed.

Unfortunately these tendencies are towards domination and empire as the scope and means of her prosperity. As soon as France was constituted into a nation, or from the Revolution onwards, her history is only a history of aggressions which nothing but superior force, from without and exhaustion within could arrest. The necessity of expansion by warlike means is so intense in the French nation that she is hardly subjected to foreign compulsion before there is an outbreak of internal disturbances. France, conquered in 1815, only remained quiet until she had recovered strength. The blood hardly begins to circulate in her veins when she either overthrows her Government or makes war on foreign Powers. The dilemma imposed like an incubus on all the rulers of France for the last hundred years issues in this—either war or revolution.

The present Government, instinctively conscious of this state of things, and not feeling strong enough to make war on its more powerful neighbours lest it should be ruined in its turn, has invented a diversion by transposing the problem—waging war in Asia and Africa, and carrying fire and flames into all parts of the world which could offer no resistance. The first idea of this policy must be ascribed to Louis Philippe, who owed the tranquillity of the early years of his reign to the conquest of Algeria. Other European nations have undertaken colonisation or conquest of distant lands with reference to their material prosperity, but conquest has been the primary object of France. Economic views take a secondary place, out of proportion with the scale of the enterprise, and are, indeed, rather a pretext. This constitutional restlessness of France, which is only arrested by force, has long constituted one of the gravest perils which threaten the peace of Europe.

Italy, as well as Germany, feels the need of security, and this common need has, since 1870, united the interests of the two countries. There are insuperable obstacles in the tendency natural to all nationalities to absorb unconsciously the congenial elements of other States. The only symptoms of this tendency have been displayed on

the side of Austria, which is not herself a nation, but those who so improvidently in any respect promoted it were also perhaps not aware that behind Austria stands Germany, and that Trieste on the Adriatic corresponds to that nation's tendency towards the sea. But as far as her own existence is concerned, Italy is irrevocably bound to all the combinations which may secure her, and is the irreconcilable enemy of all those who threaten her.

The path of Greece is equally barred by Austria and Russia, nor has she much hope of making way against these two great Powers, unless their antagonism can nourish such hopes.

We have reserved England to the last, because her political condition as it concerns her nationality is altogether distinct from those with which we have been hitherto occupied. If by nationality we mean homogeneous characteristics of race, a similarity in language, religion, and customs, the Anglo-Saxon nationality extends beyond the United Kingdom into both hemispheres. If, on the other hand, we regard the United Kingdom as an actual political unit, we find that it is composed of different races, in which are included the English, Scotch, and Irish, which have nothing in common with each other but their official language. And yet, while the English nation has for good reasons never posed, morally speaking, as the champion of nationalities, she presides over the most cultured, numerous, and energetic nationality in the world. But the Anglo-Saxon nationality does not need nor desire, and indeed is unable, to be a political unit. It may be said that the Anglo-Saxon race has passed through the historical period of a nationality without observing it. It has advanced beyond this period to attain to the ideal of a civilisation forming whole parts of the world, in which only one language is spoken, in which we find the same customs, interests, and religion, or, at any rate, the faculty of accepting, each man for himself, what seems good to him, without allowing this diversity to produce, either in theory or practice, a distinction which has any political efficacy.

In those parts of the world there are not five or six groups of men which look askance at each other with a hostile air, and which, because they speak a different language, have a different history and religion, believe themselves to be justified as a matter of duty and honour in exterminating each other two or three times in a century. Because a scrap of ground belongs to one set of people, does not that appear to be a sufficient reason to the others to maintain millions of armed men trained for their reciprocal destruction? Geographical degrees do not suffice to create different and conflicting interests which may justify them in mutual injuries, and in inflicting on one another the long series of small and great miseries which begin with protracted wars and fiscal duties and end in the imposition of quarantine.

This fact gives to the English people, which represents that

nationality in Europe, an exceptional power and authority. The English people may become decadent as an European Power, but as a nationality it will be unmenaced, since it does not represent a limited political unit, but the half of the world. If the German nationality should ever be baffled in the political combination made since 1870, she would lose her political importance in the world. But if Britain were attacked and conquered, the Anglo-Saxon nationality would still remain the greatest political power in the universe. Hence this nationality or race is exalted above all the narrow sentiments which underlie the policy of the different European States; but England herself as a State and political unit is jealous of the power which has in less than two centuries produced the miraculous development of the Anglo-Saxon race to its present extent; but if this jealousy is shown by the legitimate defence of a greatness achieved by what was, comparatively speaking, a handful of men from a remote island in the Atlantic, it does not express itself in the palpitations of a whole people struggling for their existence, which is the case with continental nations.

It follows from her exceptional circumstances that the aims of England in Europe are few, and different from those of other States, and that her policy has gradually become more disinterested in the contests which divide continental Europe. She has witnessed the supremacy of France, as she now witnesses the supremacy of Germany; she has watched the rise of Italy and the decline of the Mussulman empire, to which she formerly appeared so warmly attached, and it has not affected her political position. The political vicissitudes of this half of the century have disturbed the balance of all the States of Europe, while England has during the same half century pursued her unalterable course through all these changes, not only without adopting compulsory service, but also without adopting conscription, and with an army which a continental Power would scarcely consider sufficient for a grand review. One point, however, England holds it necessary for her honour and interests to maintain—namely, her maritime supremacy and the free action of her eminently commercial people, in order to carry on her mission of civilisation, which is at once noble and lucrative. She will strive for this object with her last penny and with the last drop of her blood, and it is on this side only that the English nation takes its place as a great factor in European politics. She will strive for this object with her accumulated materials of character, power, and wealth, and at all events she will for a long time strive with the success and efficacy which no one can deny that she possesses. But with this exception her points of contact with Europe are few, and there is little probability of friction since her object is remote. Instead of striving for her nationality in Europe, she carries on without a conflict the advance of civilisation throughout the world.

But she cannot, we have said, be indifferent to any attacks on her maritime supremacy, nor to the serious rivalry with her colonial policy displayed by the European States. For this reason, and with a recollection of all which the continental blockade cost her, she regards with displeasure the excessive preponderance of any one of the great European Powers. England consists of a belly and brain nourished by scattered members which include in their manifold organism all parts of the world. If any one member is severed or paralysed, the blow is felt in the centre. The inclination to found colonies aroused in different European nationalities, which is, indeed, the necessary consequence of their development, naturally interests England in the highest degree, nor can the cases be rare when these new aspirations must be checked by the appearance of the British flag.

We have now indicated all the perils and difficulties which threaten the peace of Europe under the present political conditions that come from the principles established with so much difficulty by philosophers who were actuated by humanitarian motives, and who inscribed on the banner which floated above the ancient citadel of their cherished theories, the magic word 'Fraternity.'

On their banner there was also inscribed 'Equality,' which would lead me to speak of socialism, if space allowed it: as in Europe the progress in social questions has not been more fortunate. And just as monarchy had hardly been called in question before it was face to face with the republic, so the rights of property have hardly been discussed before riches and poverty are confronted, and the whole problem of the distribution of wealth rises again like a phantom before society. But this article has already reached such a length that I must postpone to a future occasion the treatment of that important and extensive subject. What I have said, however, is quite enough to show that if in Europe the present state of opinion on these subjects should not be modified, national wars as well as civil wars could eventually carry us at least through a temporary period of barbarism.

Yet we do not believe that we should lose confidence in progress, and repudiate it in order to revert to the old state of things, nor yet that the principles and ideas of which we have spoken are not really progressive. Progress is a law of humanity which, if it were not, as it undoubtedly is, beneficial, must be fatal to it; and it is certainly a mark of progress that community of language, customs, and tendencies is regarded as a reason for political union rather than certain arbitrary or fortuitous combinations of successions, treaties, conquests, and the like. Above all, it is well to have substituted the right of good government for that which is merely arbitrary. We must again regard as progressive some of the modifications introduced in the laws relating to property. I say some of them, since it was perhaps dangerous to shake prematurely the foundations of the systems by

which it has been ordered up to this time, when those which are to replace them are still imperfect and untried.

But a long process of moral discipline is required, which may by instruction modify the ideas about the two great modern conceptions of politics and society.

Besides, and in the meantime as a compensation, our gentler customs, a real progress in the education of sentiments and general culture, greatly neutralise the effect of this violent state of things. After the Russian has made a long tirade on the future of the Slav race, he sets out for the Rhine or Paris, and forgets the mystical and obscure visions of Holy Russia in the genuine pleasures of civilisation. When the German lays aside his deadly arms in order to re-enter civic life, his prejudices against the Latin race often fade before the amenity of a Frenchman and the glorious sun of Italy. Undoubtedly the multiplicity, the facility and gentleness of intercourse produced by modern civilisation, are of great efficacy in paralysing the effects of national antagonism and of social hatreds, but our watchfulness must not therefore relax. But, notwithstanding all these considerations, we persist in believing that until European opinion is modified on these important subjects, European policy must always take account of them, constantly on the watch lest she should be surprised by wars and unforeseen catastrophes, which would compromise the long and laborious work of her refined civilisation.

As long as nationalities are compelled to be rivals, it is necessary to find some compensation for this rivalry. The ancient system of the balance and equilibrium of power, which has seemed to be old and disused armour, was perhaps never more opportune than now. If a general confederation after the American manner seems visionary, as opposed to the actual state of things in Europe, it might be practical and efficacious to substitute this system of equilibrium for partial alliance, and to establish the political balance of Europe in a normal position. But it is necessary that this work should be effected in time, before the preponderance of different Powers should become more marked, and especially before the ambitions and greed which are now upon the surface should strike deeply into the basis of international policy. A well-planned system of approximating those elements which are in any sense homogeneous or guided by common interests would tend to secure peace and strengthen governments, and would at the same time keep in check the social discontent which is nourished by political dissensions, gathers strength from the uncertainty and weakness of our present institutions, and triumphs in our misfortunes.

Here we must break off on the brink of conclusions and remedies. A few words will not suffice to sum up the moral of this long dissertation, nor was it our intention to do so either in few words or many. The question is too large for solution in the pages of a Review.

It simply appeared to be an opportune moment for pointing out the singular situation created by the progress of modern ideas, and to indicate the dangers involved in it.

We do not wish to exaggerate these dangers, and have ourselves pointed out that modern civilisation also includes their correctives, and that they do not imply the end of all things, nor that another flood of Deucalion is needed to renovate the human race from its very beginnings.

But precisely because European civilisation is so elaborate and complex, it would be an error to suppose that catastrophic causes are needed in order seriously to affect the conditions of our comparative civility. Feudal and tyrannical wars took place in barren lands, amid rude castles and squalid villages; those which are national and social must be fought out amidst gardens and the monuments of art and manufacture. The last wars recorded by history had Lombardy and Champagne as their theatre, or were fought in the streets of Paris. Any of the tendencies indicated by us in the foregoing considerations which should terminate in a conflict would take place under analogous conditions and in the same degree of civilisation which, while it might mitigate the modes of warfare, must make its effects more grievous. And the same ambition to possess distant countries which are more or less civilised may also be equally full of danger to commerce, international relations, the peace of Europe, and the interests of civilisation.

The privileged rules of the policy of the old world imposed upon themselves a limit to excessive power, and used the saying, *Noblesse oblige*. A new motto might be proposed to the builders and destroyers of Governments in our day, which would be equally noble and might be more fertile of results—*Progrès oblige*.

F. NOBILI-VITELLESCHI.

THE ACTOR'S CALLING.

A REPLY.

Is the fact that several persons known to fame have recently come forward to ventilate their opinions on the actor's calling, regarded morally, socially, and artistically, likely to be conducive to the welfare of the stage or not? Mrs. Kendal, in her much-criticised oration at Birmingham, touched upon one side of the theme. Mr. Burnand, in a paper which roused the susceptibilities of many, expatiated upon another. Mr. Hollingshead, Mr. Toole, and sundry anonymous writers have spoken their minds; the former with commendable candour. To apply the caustic of public opinion to cancerous evils, hitherto hidden from, though perhaps surmised by, the world at large, is surely brave, and should prove beneficial. It is well to know the truth. Forewarned is forearmed. But then *the other side of the truth* should be stated fairly. *Audi alteram partem*. A great deal that is foolish, a great deal that is not worth the consideration of serious thinkers, has been imported into this discussion; but I venture to think that something remains to be said to readjust the balance of public opinion.

The reply to the question I have propounded in the first sentence of this paper I believe to be, that if the actor's or actress's calling in England at the present time be impartially considered, the result, both as encouragement and as deterrent, can only be beneficial to the true interests of the Drama.

The author of an essay on 'Actors,' in a volume entitled *Obiter Dicta*, which attracted some attention lately, brings every fact from ancient and modern history which can strengthen his argument, to prove that the stage is an unworthy career for any man of high endowment and lofty aspiration. The Greeks cannot be brought into court, for the estimation in which they held the stage is too well known. But the Roman's contempt for the calling of actor; Cæsar's degrading an illustrious citizen by obliging him to appear on the theatre; obsolete English enactments against vagabond players; Shakespeare's reiterated lament in his Sonnets that he is constrained to be an actor (whereby we may feel sure that he was a poor one): all this, and much more is urged in support of the author's views. And to what does it all amount? What does it signify to us in 1885 in what light the stage was regarded a thousand years since, or a hundred, or even fifty? Our outlook over human affairs is enlarged;

our prejudices, our sympathies, our necessities from day to day are undergoing a vital change. The author beats the air when he advances what under a wholly different condition of things has been thought and said of the profession. Apply the test to any other, and see if it holds good. Think of the parson at the beginning of the last century, as he is held up to ridicule and contempt in the pages of contemporary literature, and compare him with the clergy of the present day. And the Church has hardly undergone a more radical change than the Stage. To the only facts of importance to us this author resolutely shuts his eyes. The number of our theatres has more than doubled in the last five-and-twenty years; consequently it is clear that the taste for dramatic performances in this country is on the increase. Great and good men recognise more and more that the theatre may be fully as potent a factor for morality as the pulpit. Certain men and women are born into this world with a capacity for representation, and (possibly) with no other. Why is that talent to be folded in a napkin and buried? Is the power of conception, the ability to move to laughter or to tears, to be condemned as 'unworthy'? Are not 'mobility of feature and compass of voice,' which the author treats with contempt, as valuable in the actor's profession as accuracy of eye and dexterity of hand in the painter's? But acting is an evanescent art, we are reminded, which leaves no record, no trace beyond one generation. The same, in one sense, may be said of oratory; for the speech that has stirred a multitude often seems but poor stuff when the heat of conflict is past, and we read it coldly and critically. At all events, as we do not endow ourselves, it is idle to inquire the relative value of these gifts. My contention is that most human beings have a more pronounced ability in one direction than in any other. When that direction is towards acting, it cannot be 'unworthy' to pursue the path that Nature indicates—if the feet be active, and the ambition be not ignoble.

With curious infelicity the author of this essay illustrates, as he conceives, the 'unworthiness' of the actor's art, by citing the prescription of a doctor that his dyspeptic patient should go to the theatre and laugh heartily. If dyspepsia is to be cured by imbibing draughts of merriment from the fountain of Mr. Toole's genial humour, he can only be regarded as a great public benefactor.

Again, wishing to prove that the greatest actors are often deficient in critical judgment and literary taste, an unfortunate theory of Salvini's is quoted. That distinguished tragedian, in a paper upon *Macbeth*, has expressed his opinion that the sleep-walking scene was meant to be given to the guilty thane, and not to his wife; and that the influence of the leading actress of the theatre probably caused this substitution to be made! This instance of obtuseness of perception in a great artist, combined with entire ignorance of the conditions of the stage in Shakespeare's time could be matched by many others; notably in the case of Rachel. But what does it

prove? Only, as I have said above, that one supreme gift may be, and probably will be, unaccompanied by others.

I see no reason to regret that Mr. Burnand has warned a number of foolish young persons, bitten by the Tarantula which impels to a mad and hopeless dance upon the stage, that by so doing they will suffer, *primâ facie*, in the world's estimation. The young man with 'a taste for theatricals,' who is too idle to have passed any examination, and who thinks that to repeat half a dozen words nightly is an easy method of earning a guinea or two a week, should be discouraged from pursuing this pathway to ignoble sloth.

Mr. Burnand's statement that the Stage is not regarded generally as a profession, in the same light as the Bar, the Army, the Navy, or the Church, is so self-evident that it would hardly seem to have required such elaborate exposition. As the French express it, *c'est prêcher un converti*. We all of us know perfectly well that a player of no repute, coming into an ordinary country neighbourhood—with the usual admixture of ingredients in its composition—would not be visited at first as a member of either of the afore-named professions would probably be. But let me ask whether there are no other honourable callings against which class-prejudices have long existed—prejudices, which though happily mitigated, and doomed ere long to disappear entirely, still obtain in sufficient force to impede the ready admission of their followers into most small societies? Does it not demand signal merit, or individual attraction in some form, to relax the unwritten law which excludes the village surgeon or the country attorney from the circle of the opulent soap-boiler in the neighbouring park?

We cannot all be opulent soap-boilers: let us possess our souls in patience, and use such brains as we have in that state of life whereunto we are called. And here we get to the gist of the matter, as it appears to me. Without an absolute conviction that this is the one thing to which nature meant him to devote his energies and capacities—that he *can* do this, and nothing else with the same enthusiasm and self-approval—let no man run counter to the wishes of his friends, by embracing a profession which, Mr. Burnand assures us, all classes regard with similar mistrust. If his qualifications are only 'a Grecian nose, a well-cut mouth, a nicely-curled moustache, a pair of soft eyes, small hands and feet, hair carefully brushed'—and the possession of 'five feet eight, and an unexceptionable tailor,' which satisfy Mr. Hollingshead's requirements, and render 'brains of no consequence,' in his estimation—then he had better follow any honest calling which will not minister to his vanity, rather than degrade that of an actor. No more harmful industry for a human being already contemptible by his negative qualities can be conceived. And that the stage, even in its highest walks, is open to this danger, is shown in such a journal as *Macready's*, where we see the struggles and the shortcomings of a high-minded man in a career

which subsists from night to night on the stimulant of personal applause.

To one who desires to be an actor in anything beyond the name, a strong head to resist the noxious fumes that rise from the footlights, and that strenuous endeavour *to do the very best*, which often stands in lieu of higher artistic faculty, are essential if he is to accomplish any worthy work, and create a name for himself in a field which only commands respect when the labourers are arduous and conscientious. And this applies equally to every class from which actors may be recruited : to the young patrician from Eton or Oxford, and to him who has been born and brought up, so to speak, upon the boards. In my opinion, for man or woman to go upon the stage without other qualification than that of good looks is dangerous and degrading to the possessor ; and in proportion as we desire to raise the tone of the stage shall we condemn such an ignoble career.

But when some measure of ability is combined with strength of character and ambition of the best kind, why should not the stage be as laudable as it is a lucrative means of employment to the youth of both sexes ? I take the young man or woman in the upper or upper-middle class of life desirous of earning an independence. I leave out of consideration the 'genius' whom Mr. Burnand excepts from his general condemnation of those who step out of their own sphere to adopt a course of life in which he can see nothing but danger to all who are not 'to the manner born.' Genius is so rare in every art that if none but its inspired children became musicians, or painters, or architects, how would our orchestras be filled, our dwellings and our churches built, and many a home made glad by decoration which is purely imitative ? A great deal of excellent and useful work throughout the world is the result of a limited capacity, a careful training, and infinite pains. Can we not point to a large number of actors who have earned an honourable position for themselves, not to speak of more solid profit, without a spark of that fire which we term 'genius' ? Their inclination and a certain power of imitation, it may be, led to their adopting the profession for which they were best fitted, and the result has justified their decision. If their lives are beyond reproach, and their names are familiar to the public as filling recognised positions, they will be received in any liberal society desirous of sweeping away the prejudice by which a whole class has been made to suffer for the sins of some of its members. That such liberality is more general than formerly ; that a sharper distinction is drawn, in thinking of the stage, between those who help to support and those who degrade and deform it, no candid person will refuse to admit.

Nor do I see how it could be otherwise with the breaking down of so many social barriers and the problem of ever-increasing difficulty : How are the youth of both sexes in England to earn a living ? Admitting that most parents are reluctant to see their children adopt

the profession of the stage, we all know that a considerable number of the well-born and well-educated have, as a matter of fact, become actors within the last few years. That they have done so ill-advisedly in many cases; and that without industry, without enthusiasm (in the highest sense), without even physical training, these 'walking gentlemen' would have done better sitting behind desks in the city, I am the last to deny. Still the fact remains; and this fact must insensibly affect the estimation in which the calling is held by the ordinary Philistine.

With our enormous female population and the greater emancipation from conventional trammels, which a closer intercourse with America has helped to produce, a wider range of employment has opened out for ladies of intelligence and independence. Why should the stage, which demands more special qualifications than many of these occupations, be the only one shut to those who possess characters and capacities that fit them for the career? Why should its perils be necessarily more imminent than those which attend the life-school and the Bohemian intercourse of artist-life? The female doctor, the hospital nurse, the district visitor—there is no calling to which admirable women devote themselves, and which philanthropy commends, that is not exposed to misapprehension and danger. Their safeguard lies in the strong shield of purity and truth and devotion to their cause, which wards off the shafts that would assail them. And so it has been, so it may be, on the stage. An actress devoted heart and soul to HER cause, a girl with a high standard of right, electing the clean and noble walks, and not the filthy alleys of theatrical life, can keep herself as unsullied from the mud as in any other position. True, she is exposed to the scrutiny and criticism of the public: so is the singer on the platform. She meets persons she cannot approve; she hears more evil than she did at home: so will any girl who has to fight her own way unprotected through the great battle of the world. If she be not strong enough for this, let her slink into the first haven she can reach, and not attempt to face the buffeting waves. The sensitive, the indolent, and the vain will do well to direct their steps into fields that do not demand the force and elevation of character which every woman needs who has a goal in view, the path to which is not all strewn with roses.

Mr. Burnand's warning, which takes no note of the individual aims and tendencies of the girls whom he wishes to dissuade from this career, is justified in its general application only if it be limited to those theatres where personal charms, very liberally displayed, are the main ingredient to success. But of such places of entertainment, and of the young women who earn their livelihood there, I do not desire to speak. *Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda, e passa.* It would be an insult to consider the one as 'the stage,' or the other as 'actresses.' Mr. Hollingshead has defined with cynical frankness

the objects of both ; and it is clearly unjust to build any theory of the immorality of the dramatic profession upon premises of such restricted area.

But, happily, there is a wider and healthier field of theatrical work ; and I feel very sure that there is a number of well-educated, high-principled girls, with an aptitude for representation, who run no greater risks here than they do in any other arena where prudence and vigilance are needed ; and I protest against the dictum that would restrict the labourers in this field to those who come 'of a hard-working professional theatrical family.' I maintain that the parts of gentlewomen on the stage can never be filled by those whose intonation, accent, and manners do not fit them for high comedy. It is no question of birth, still less is it one of wealth, except inasmuch as money will procure the best education. It is a question of natural aptitude to adopt the tone of that which surrounds us. The quicker a child is the more readily will it catch the cockney accent, and the vulgarities of enunciation which militate, too often, against a satisfactory representation of Shakespeare, Sheridan, or of any modern drawing-room comedy. I readily admit that these drawbacks are sometimes overcome in those who have not had the benefit of a careful training and refined associations in early life ; but the exceptions are rare. It demands cleverness of no common kind to be able to assume habitually a tone and a demeanour other than those which have been natural to us from early youth. I appeal to all whose ears are sensitive, and whose critical faculty is not blinded by beauty or attractiveness, whether they have not often said to themselves, 'This girl has both imagination and sensibility ; but she lacks the refinement which can only come with education : she is not a perfect lady.' This may seem a hard saying ; but it is, none the less, true. Phoebe and Awdrey belong to a different category from that of Rosalind and Celia. Yet is there not room for each ? The lists are now open to all : and it is to prevent their being closed by prejudice against any that I write.

Those who have at heart the real welfare of the stage in England—those who would fain see it take a position somewhat analogous to that held among the Greeks—will do nothing to repel enthusiastic young worshippers who bring cultivated gifts and all the fervour of youth to serve at this altar. If the reviving taste for the poetical drama is to be fostered, it must be by the educated and refined of both sexes being encouraged to devote their talents to the cause. The tendency of Mr. Burnand's article is distinctly to discourage such. Though there is truth in much that he says, it is not the whole truth ; and I believe by the omission of that which I have here endeavoured briefly to put forward in vindication of the stage, he has produced an effect not only derogatory and unjust to the profession at large, but hurtful to the true interests of the Drama.

HAMILTON AIDÉ.

FINLAND: A RISING NATIONALITY.

NATIONAL questions are not in vogue now in Europe. After having so much exercised the generation of '48, they seem to be now in neglect. The poor results of a movement which caused so many illusions; the new problems that are coming to the front—the social problem taking the precedence of all; the prominence recently given to the ideas of unification and centralisation above those of territorial independence and federalism, by the sudden growth of a powerful military State in middle Europe,—all these have helped to repel into the background those questions of national independence which seemed to constitute the very essence of the history of Europe during the first half of our century. Faith in national programmes, formerly so firm, has been much shaken by the events of the last few years. Italian unity has not improved the lot of the lower classes of the Peninsula, and they have now to bear the burden of a State endeavouring to conquer a place among the great Powers. The formerly oppressed Hungary is oppressing in her turn the Slavonic populations under her rule. The last Polish insurrection was crushed rather by the agrarian measures of the Russian Government than by its armies and scaffolds; and the heroic uprisings of the small nationalities of the Balkan Peninsula have merely made them tools in the hands of the diplomacy of their powerful neighbours. Moreover, the nationalist movements which are still in progress in Europe, are mostly confined to the remoter borders of the Continent, to populations which are almost unknown to old Europe and which cannot be realised by the general public otherwise than in the shape of loose agglomerations of shepherds, or robbers, unused to political organisation. They cannot therefore excite the same interest nor awake the same sympathies as the former uprisings of Greece, of Italy, of Hungary.

Notwithstanding all this, national questions are as real in Europe as ever, and it would be as unwise to shut our eyes to them as to deny their importance. Of course we know now that 'national problems' are not identical with the 'people's problems'; that the acquisition of political independence still leaves unachieved the economical independence of the labouring and wealth-producing classes. We can even say that a national movement which does not include in its platform the demand for an economical change advantageous to

the masses has no chance of success unless supported by foreign aid. But both these problems are so closely connected with one another that we are bound to recognise that no serious economical progress can be won, nor is any progressive development possible, until the awakened aspirations for autonomy have been satisfied. Though relegated now from the centre to the periphery, Europe has still to reckon with national movements. Irish 'Home Rule,' the Schleswig 'difficulty,' and Norwegian 'separatism' are problems which must be resolved; as also the national agitation that is steadily undermining Eastern Europe. There is no doubt that (to use the words of a recent English writer) 'not only a thorough discontent, but a chronic insurrectionary agitation' is going on among the Serbo-Croats, who are endeavouring to shake off the yoke of Hungary. The Czechs, the Slovaks, the Poles of Austria are struggling, too, for self-government; as also, to some extent, the Slowens, or Wends, and the Little Russians of Eastern Galicia; while neither peace nor regular development is possible on the Balkan Peninsula until the Bosnians, the Herzegovinians, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and others, have freed themselves from Turkish rule, Russian 'protection,' and Austrian 'occupation,' and have succeeded in constituting a free South-Slavonian Federation. The Russian Empire, too, has to reckon with the autonomist tendencies of several of its parts. However feeble now, the Ukrainian autonomist movement cannot but take a further development. As to Poland, she cannot much longer submit to the denationalising policy of her Russian masters; the old Poland of the *szlachta* is broken down; but a new Poland—that of the peasants and working men—is growing up, with all the strength it has drawn from the abolition of serfdom. It will resume the struggle, and in the interests of her own progressive development Russia will be compelled, one day or the other, to abandon the reputedly rather than really strong 'defensive line of the Vistula.' Finally, in the North-east we have Finland, where one of the most interesting autonomist movements of our time has been steadily going on for more than sixty years.

One hardly hears of it in Western Europe. With the perseverance, however, that characterises the men of the North, and particularly those of Finland, this small yet rising nationality has within a short time achieved results so remarkable that it has ceased to be a Swedish or a Russian province more or less differing from its 'neighbours: it is a nation.' Discussing once this question, 'What is a nation?' Ernest Renan set forth in his vivid and graphic style that a nation is not an agglomeration of people speaking the same language—a language may disappear; not even an aggregation with distinct anthropological features, all nations being products of heterogeneous assimilations; still less a union of economical interests which may be a *Zollverein*. National unity, he said, is the common inhe-

ritance of traditions, of hopes and regrets, of common aspirations and common conceptions, which make of a nation a true organism instead of a loose aggregation. The naturalist would add to these essential features of a nation the necessary differentiation from other surrounding organisms, and the geographer, a kind of union between the people and the territory it occupies, from which territory it receives its national character and on which it impresses its own stamp, so as to make an indivisible whole both of men and territory.

None of these features is missing in Finland. Its people have their own language, their own anthropological features, their own economical interests; they are strongly differentiated from their neighbours; men and territory cannot be separated one from another. And for the last sixty years the best men of Finland have been working with great success in spreading that precious inheritance of common hopes and regrets, of common aspirations and conceptions, of which Renan spoke. '*Yksi kieli, yksi mieli*' ('One language, one spirit') :—such is precisely the watchword of the 'Fennomanes.'

Comparative philology and anthropology may tell us that the Finns have but lately occupied the country they inhabit, and that during their long migrations from the Altaic Steppes they have undergone much admixture with other races. None the less do the present inhabitants of Finland appear as a quite separate world, having their own sharply defined anthropological and ethnical characters, which distinguish them from the populations by whom they are surrounded. Their nearest kinsfolk are found only on the other shore of the Gulf of Finland, among the Esthonians, on whom they already exercise a kind of attraction. Their southern brethren, the Magyars, are too distant, too separated, and too distinct ever to exercise any influence on Finland. As to the other members of the same family scattered through Eastern Russia, the Voguls, the Permians, the Mordovians, and so on, science may prove their common origin; but their national characters are being obliterated every day by contact with Russians, and nearly all of them have already lost any chance they may ever have had of constituting separate nationalities. Finland has thus no need to care about these scattered members of her family.

It is true that even the ordinary traveller soon discovers in Finland two different types—the Tawastes in the west, and the Karelians in the east; the square face of the former, their pale eyes and yellow hair, their heavy gait, strongly contrasting with the taller and more slender Karelians, with their elongated faces and darker hair, their animated and darker eyes. But the inhabitants of Central Finland, the Sawos, partaking of the physical features of both neighbours, are an intermediate link between the two; and all three—Karelians, Sawos, and Tawastes—speaking the same language, living the same manner of life, and having so much in common as to their national characteristics—melt together into one ethnical type—the Finnish. Even

religion does not separate them, the nearly 50,000 Orthodox Karelians being as good 'Finnish' as their Protestant kinsfolk.

Exceedingly laborious they are all throughout the country: they could not be otherwise in their *Suomenmaa*—the country of marshes—where the arable soil must be won from the forests, moors, and even lakes, which stretch over nine-tenths of the land. The perseverance and tenacity that characterise all Northern Finnish stems are the natural outcome of these conditions, together with a gravity and a kind of melancholy which are so striking in the features of the people and form one of the most marked peculiarities of their folklore. The disasters, the wars, the bad crops, the famines, from which the Finnish peasant has so often had to suffer, have created his capacity of grave and uncomplaining submission to fate; but the relative liberty he has always enjoyed has prevented him from developing that sad spirit of resignation, that deep sorrow which too often characterises his Russian brother. Never having been a personal serf, he is not servile; he always maintains his personal dignity and speaks with the same grave intonation and self-respect to a Russian Tsar as to his neighbour. A lymphatic temperament, slowness of movement and of thought, and sullen indifference have often been imputed to him. In fact, when I have entered on a Sunday a peasant-house in Eastern Finland, and found several men sitting on the benches round the wall, dropping only a few words at long intervals, plunged in a mute reverie as they enjoyed their inseparable pipes, I could not help remembering this reproach addressed to the Finnish peasant. But I soon perceived that though the Finn is always very deliberate in his movement, slowness of thought and indifference are peculiar only to those, unhappily too numerous, village paupers whom long-continued want and the struggle for life without hope of improvement have rendered callous. Still, a Finnish peasant family must be reduced to very great destitution before the wife loses her habits of cleanliness, which are not devoid of a certain æsthetical tint. The thrift of the Finn is striking; not only among those who have no choice, for they are compelled to live upon rye-bread, baked four times a year and containing an admixture 'of the bark of our black pines,' as Runeberg says. Simplicity of life is the rule in all classes of society; the unhealthy luxury of the European cities is yet unknown to the Finns; and the Russian *tchinovnik* cannot but wonder how the Finnish official lives, without stealing, on the scanty allowance granted him by the State.

Contemplativeness—if I am permitted to use this ugly word—is another distinctive feature of the Finns: Tawastes, Sawos, and Karelians are alike prone to it. Contemplation of nature, a meditative mute contemplation, which finds its expression rather in a song than in words, or incites to the reflection about nature's mysteries rather than about the facts, is characteristic as well of the

peasant as of the *savant*. It may be akin to, without being identical with, mystical reverie. It may, in certain circumstances, give rise to mysticism, as it did at the beginning of our century; it produced that tendency towards sorcery and witchcraft for which the Finns were, and are still, renowned among and feared by their Russian neighbours; but actually it gives rise among the instructed classes to a tendency towards a philosophic and pantheistic conception of nature, instead of the childish wonder with which others are satisfied. It also colours the Finnish folk-lore with an idealism which makes it so strongly contrast with the sensualism of the folk-lore of so many other nationalities. In science it causes *savants* to devote themselves rather to abstract mathematics, to astronomy, to the great problems of the physics of the earth, than to the merely descriptive sciences, these last being, as it seems, rather inherited from the science of Sweden.

Everybody loves his own country: with the Finns this love becomes a passion, as powerful as the passion of the Scottish Highlander for his 'land of mountain and of flood;' and it has the same source. We can easily understand the nostalgia of the Highlander who yearns for a glimpse of the rocks 'where the snowflake reposes,' for the 'dark frowning beauties' of his native mountains, which, in their ever-changing aspects, reflect the moods and phases of the human mind—of life itself. The same is true of dwellers by the sea; it is true again of the inhabitant of lake regions like Finland, where water and soil are inextricably interwoven each with the other; they live for him, and are ever and always assuming new moods and expressions. Finland is a poor country, but it is a fine country, and has a stamp of originality. Its like may be sought for in vain even in the lake district of England or among the inland seas of Canada. Where else, indeed, can the Finns find this network of land and water, this tangled skein of lake, and sea, and shore, so full of contrasts, and yet forming an inseparable and enchanting whole? Where find these millions of islands—of lovely rocks giving footing to a few pines and birches which seem to grow from beneath the water; these thousands and thousands of ever-varying tints spreading over the lakes as the sun slowly moves almost in the horizon, unwilling to go down, or leaving behind it the shining twilight which meets in the north with the aurora of the morning? Nowhere else will the Finn find a country which breathes the same mild and sweet harmony, grave and melancholy, which matches so well with the dreamy pensiveness of his character.

Finland has not, it is true, an exclusively Finnish population.¹

¹ Population of Finland on the 31st of December, 1880 (*Suomenmaan Virallinen Tilasto*, sixth series, fasc. 9):—In towns, 173,401; in the country, 1,887,381. Of these: Finns, 1,756,381 (100,300 in towns); Swedes, 294,876 (65,725 in towns); Russians, 4,195 (821 in towns); Germans, 1,720, mostly in towns; other nationalities, 3,610, of whom 961 are Laponians. Of the above population, 14,052 were born in

The coasts of the two gulfs which entangle it are peopled with nearly 300,000 Swedes: thus one-seventh of its population belongs to the once dominant race. In Österbotten, on the islands of Åland, the Swedes make 90 per cent. of the population, and the labouring classes consist of both nationalities. On the coast of the Gulf of Finland the Swedes number from 50 per cent. of the population in the west to 5 per cent. in the east. But elsewhere, in the interior of the country, they constitute only the population of the towns, the land-owning class, and the *personnel* of the Administration. The inconveniences, however, which arise from this double character of the population are much less ethnographic than political. The fishermen of Österbotten are not on bad terms with their Finnish countrymen, and are as much attached to their country as these last; so also are the inhabitants of the south-western corner of Finland. As to those Swedish farmers who are scattered in the interior, and even on the south coast, they really are more Finnish than Swede: one must be born in the country itself to distinguish them from the Finns, with whom they might be confounded by a stranger. They speak Swedish of course, but nevertheless you soon find them to be passionate 'Finland patriots,' who scorn your attempts to distinguish between Swedes and Finns in their little country. It is not so with the Swedish nobility, Swedish tradesmen, and Swedish officials. Until now they have constituted the dominant element in Finland's political and economical life; they are still landholders in a larger proportion than the Finns; and, by maintaining Swedish as the official language in the Administration, they have systematically eliminated from it the Finnish element, which they still regard with contempt.

Hence, all Finland is divided into two great parties, the Svekomanes and the Fennomanes, continually struggling against one another in the national representation, in all questions of legislation, and in literature. The Fennomanes struggle for the recognition of their language as the equal of Swedish, and strive to introduce it into the Administration of all Finnish-speaking Finland, and that the higher and secondary instruction be given in Finnish; the Svekomanes, in their turn, strive to maintain Swedish as the official language of the country, of the university, and of the secondary school, foreseeing that they will be eliminated from the Administration, which is now in their hands, so soon as Finnish shall be rendered obligatory for the officials, and Finnish youths have the possibility of receiving higher instruction in their own language. Thus the struggle is not one between two races, it is for the maintenance of class privileges inherited from the Swedish domination. Its issue cannot be doubtful. The Fennomanes obtained last year the recognition in other countries than Finland; namely, 3,693 in Sweden, 7,947 in Russia, 522 in Germany, and so on. Emigration in 1879, 34,812.

nition by law of the equality of both languages; and they will not fail to expel the Swedes from the Administration so soon as the Constitution is modified in a democratic sense. It is also most significant that the majority of young men, even many of those who are born of Swedish parents, associate themselves rather with the Fennomanic than the Svekomanic party. They speak only Finnish, and take an active part in the crusade of the Finnish against the Swedish tongue. Of course there are still plenty of Swedish noblemen who sigh after the past military grandeur of Sweden; plenty of tradesmen who look across the Baltic for better business; and enough Swedish officials who are wroth at the idea of 'those Finnish peasants' performing the functions once performed by their forefathers. But those Swedes who do not care for retaining a privileged position—and they are numerous—fully recognise the rights of the Finns. They join the Finnish national movement, and all the Swedes of whose names Finland is proud have been, and are, ardent Finnish patriots.

As to the nearly 11,200 Russians who live in the country, the 7,000 military of course need not be taken into account; if their stay in Finland is short—and it mostly is, for only Finnish citizens are permitted to occupy official positions in the country—they remain Russians. But the tradesmen, or farmers, or peasants, who are staying in Finland for a longer time, are quickly 'Fennicized.' In a few years they conform to Finnish customs; and as you see one of them slowly smoking a pipe and rocking in the rocking-chair (an inevitable piece of furniture in a Finnish household), you would hardly guess that he is a Russian immigrant. He speaks little, he has become reserved and contemplative. Under the *régime* of a liberty he never knew at home, he feels interested in Finland and her prosperity. Nay, even his face has changed. As to his children, their fair heads can hardly be distinguished from the yellow-haired heads of the same *Tchoukhny*s whom their father formerly regarded with so great contempt. It is most interesting that, according to a remark of Herr Max Buch, even the Germans, who so seldom lose their national features, are rapidly 'Swedized' when they stay for some time in Finland.

Finland has thus the ethnographic cohesion which is the first condition for constituting a nation. Its inhabitants possess also the historic inheritance of common struggles, common glory, and common misfortunes, and they have a common hoard of folk-lore and literature. Moreover, they have so marked an individuality that they can neither be assimilated by their Scandinavian neighbours on the one hand, nor by the Russian Empire on the other. Even at the time when Finland was under Swedish dominion, and Sweden regarded the 'Ostlande' as a mere stronghold against Russia, she always looked upon the Finns as a separate 'Finnish nation.' And during the nearly seventy years which have elapsed since their separation,

Finland has done so much for the development of her own national individuality that she can never again be a mere Swedish province. Besides, Swedish rule has left such a heritage of unpleasant memories, especially among the peasants, that a union of both States has been rendered most improbable. Those who suppose otherwise ought to read Mr. Yrjö Koskinen's *History of Finland*. They will then learn the dislike entertained by the lower classes of Finland for Swedish rule, and how that rule is regarded by the best men of Finland. There is no doubt that, united with the Sweden of our times, Finland would enjoy much more liberty and probably would be happier than under Russian rule. But historical sympathies and dislike are not easily dealt with, and Finland now cherishes the hope of becoming an independent State herself.

Of course, in the circumstances under which Finland had to develop at the dawn of her history, Swedish domination brought it several advantages. Assailed as they were on one side by the Germans, and on the other by the Russians, the Finnish stems could not remain free, and would have had to share the fate either of the Esthonians conquered by Germans, or of the Karelians conquered by Novgorod, and later on by Moscow. It was under Swedish rule that the Suomis formed themselves into a political body. Swedish rule again saved Finland from serfdom—at least from the disgrace of personal servitude, and it accustomed the peasant to the sound of his own voice in the State's representation. Finally, the Reformation, by translating the Bible into Finnish, saved the language of the country from oblivion.

These were great advantages; but they do not set off the inconvenience and ruin which resulted from the domination of the aristocracy. Finland was not only, as Sören Norby said, 'the best part of the land for levying taxes,' it became the province most coveted by the Swedish aristocracy. When there were not enough rich estates in Sweden to satisfy all the Swedish and Finnish nobles who gathered at Court, they were sent to Finland. Free peasants were assigned in thousands to Swedish noblemen, who treated them as a lower conquered race. Two-thirds of the country, one-third of the taxes, became the property of noblemen who exacted from the ruined peasantry such sums, enormous for that time, as 20,000 thalers in annual revenue raised by Count Brahe, or 18,000 thalers raised by Wasaborg. Finland was becoming a possession of the Swedish aristocracy, and Finnish trade a monopoly of the Stockholm trading companies. The great 'reduction' which began about the end of the seventeenth century certainly put a stop to the further depredations of the aristocracy. It created that class of discontented nobles whom we see later intriguing for Russia against Sweden. But the peasant gained little thereby, if anything. The State appropriated the incomes of the nobles and inaugurated the long series of wars which reduced Finland to starvation; while the establishment of

autocratic power in Sweden introduced the tendency to centralisation, caused the Finns to be considered 'like serfs, not partners as before,' and manifested itself in the absurd attempt 'to abolish the Finnish language.' Famines, formerly unknown, and a complete ruin of the population—such were the natural consequences of this policy.

Though brought thus to a state which rendered successful resistance to Russian conquest quite impossible, Finland did not throw herself into the arms of her powerful Eastern neighbour. She struggled desperately against the invasion, and thus conquered the right of imposing conditions on her conqueror. Decimated by famine and pestilence, the Finnish peasants fought like lions in 1721 against the Russian Empire. And later on, in 1789–90, when the discontented Finnish nobles of the Anjala Convention surrendered Southern Finland to Russia, the peasants of Sawolaks fought the desperate battles of Porassalmi and Uttis. Even in 1808, when the struggle had become hopeless, when the Finnish troops, badly commanded, were melting away like snow, when Sveaborg, with a flotilla of 110 boats, surrendered without discharging one of its 2,000 guns, even then the Sawolaks peasants raised the banner of the national and popular war, and thus saved their country from political slavery. Alexander I., whose generals had already begun to treat Finland as a conquered province, was compelled to grant several liberties, to proclaim the 'union' of Finland with Russia, instead of merely requiring unconditional submission.

Much bloodshed was prevented and many disturbances avoided by the happy circumstance of Finland falling under the Russian dominion at a time when Alexander I. had not yet abandoned the Liberal principles of his youth. Neglecting the counsels of his courtiers, he followed the advice of Speransky, who understood that 'Finland was a State, and not a Russian province which might be administered in common with other provinces.' While uniting the formerly conquered Eastern provinces with the newly annexed Western Finland, he granted at least a limited autonomy to the young State. He abolished the dreadful recruiting for twenty-five years' military service, already introduced in the province of Viborg by Paul I., and granted to Finland her own separate army and system of finances. He granted that only Finnish citizens should be permitted to occupy official positions in the Administration of the country; and he did still better in putting an end to the so-called 'donations' of estates in Eastern Finland to Russian officials—a practice which had endured since the first conquest, and was especially rife during the reign of Catherine II.; the enforcement of serfdom on Finland was thus hindered. And yet Russian rule did not become popular in Finland. Alexander I. was then, as throughout his life, full of contradictions and tergiversations; thus, while the representatives or the so-called representatives of the country were elaborating the Constitution at Borgå, no discussion of

it was permitted outside ; the single paper of the time, M. Koskinen says, though free to fill its columns with news about the Indians of America and 'the Island of Sirenes,' was not allowed to publish one word of the debates on the Seim of Borgå: they have not been published even yet. Besides, though Alexander I. did much to win over the nobility and tradesmen, the people were quite forgotten. It is even doubtful whether he, or even Speransky, remembered that behind the nobles who gathered round him at St. Petersburg, loudly protesting their loyalty, there was a starving multitude of ruined peasants on the moors and in the woods. Nothing was done for the revision of the land laws or the lightening of the taxes that oppressed the labourer ; the people were forgotten amidst the balls and *soirées*, and of this oblivion the cost is now being paid. While the nobility are really loyal to the Crown—far more than might be expected from men who have some feeling of self-respect—the people retain the hatred for the Russian Empire which their forefathers learnt on the field of battle.

Moreover, the liberties granted to Finland were considered as a mere expression of the good-will of the ruler, which, together with all his liberal ideas, vanished with increasing age. The Seim was not again convoked after it elaborated the Constitution of 1810, and for fifty-three years the country was governed from St. Petersburg by a 'Finnish Committee.' The Finnish Senate, nominated by the Emperor, had but little power under Alexander I., and still less under Nicholas I. It could not oppose the fancies of the military autocrat ; and every attempt at self-government or even at national revival denounced by the gendarmes was ruthlessly repressed. To speak of Finnish nationality was considered a crime. Only in 1843 was it permitted to teach Finnish in schools ; but some years later an Imperial decree prohibited the publication in Finnish language of anything but prayer-books and economical works. The circulating libraries were shut up ; men like A. E. Nordenskjöld were compelled to seek a refuge in Sweden. Even so inoffensive a chair as that of comparative philology at the University of Helsingfors was abolished. The cost of fortifying Bomarsund compelled the young State to contract its first national debt ; and though the conversion of *corvées* into money-rents in 1840 was, in principle, a benefit to the peasant, it was so made as to become a new burden to him ; while in the formerly Russian Finland (Viborg) the peasants were expelled from their homes if they could not prove that they had built them before 1706—a measure whose evil effects may be seen still, as well in the impoverishment of the peasantry as in their discontent with Russian rule.

Since 1863 the Finnish representatives have been regularly called together every four or five years, and the rights received under the Constitution of 1810 have not since been violated. They were even

somewhat increased in 1882, and on the whole Alexander II.'s Government did not meddle over much with the affairs of Finland. All the laws voted by the Senate were sanctioned by the Emperor, and Finland acquired the full right of administering her own finances and of coining her own money, thereby escaping the disorder that reigns in the fiscal affairs of Russia. She was to maintain her own army, and was allowed freely to build her own railways, to spread instruction, to open seminaries for teachers, to adopt the Finnish language for official purposes, and to develop a popular literature without being greatly troubled by the Russian censorship—as long as the writers speak in high terms of the ‘innumerable benefits of the union with Russia.’²

But what guarantee is there for the continuance of these liberties, in reality so limited?—such is the question which the Finnish patriots are asking themselves. The most insignificant event—a fiery speech pronounced by somebody—may any day change everything for the worse. Where is the force, moral and material, to oppose the attempt to reduce Finland to the rank of a Russian province, which is quite possible, and which a certain party of Russian Chauvinists never cease to advocate? The force necessary to resist such an enterprise could

² The Constitution of Finland, framed in 1810 and slightly modified in 1869 and 1882, is very indefinite, and leaves the Crown a wide field for interfering with the affairs of the country. The national representation, consisting of four chambers—nobility, clergy, towns, and peasants—is convoked by the Emperor every four or five years, but only for four months. Each chamber discusses all affairs separately. They can discuss only those schemes of laws which are proposed by the Emperor, to whom belongs also the right of *вето*. He has, moreover, the right of issuing decrees, the limits of which are not well defined. The chambers consist now of 121 nobles (this number varying with the number of separate noble families); 35 deputies of the clergy, university, and primary schools; 44 representatives of towns; and 59 of the peasants, elected in two degrees. The unanimous assent of all four chambers is necessary for the ratification of changes in the Constitution and for new taxes. If unanimity cannot be arrived at for new taxes, a committee of sixty members elected in equal parts by each chamber decides. If new taxes cannot be levied thus without the approbation of the Seim, the expenditure is apportioned by the Emperor—that is to say, by the Finnish Committee, which sits at St. Petersburg, and consists of the State's Secretary and four members nominated by the Crown (two of them being proposed by the Senate). The Senate is nominated also by the Crown, and meets under the presidency of the Governor-General, who is usually a Russian subject. It is the superior administrative power of Finland, and consists of two departments, Justice and Finance (Economic), which have under them the administration of medicine, posts, railways, canals, custom-houses, and the tribunals. Their powers were slightly increased in 1882, but they are still limited, several important branches remaining under the control of the Emperor; thus, he decides as to the customs duties and many other questions of great importance (educational, Church, and so on). The military department is in the hands of the Russian Minister of War, and the Foreign Affairs are those of the Russian Chancellor. Military service has been obligatory since 1879, and Finland has to keep on foot, in time of peace, nine battalions of infantry, and from 70,000 to 80,000 men in time of war. The Governor-General is the chief commander of the Finnish army. Happily the communal and municipal affairs are little interfered with by the Central Government; and the chief safeguard against Russian interlopers is, first, that Finnish citizens alone can enter the service of the State, and that Finland coins its own money and raises its own loans (with the assent of the Emperor). The higher officials, however, are nominated

be derived only from a spirit of national independence pervading all classes of the people, from the mansion to the hovel, and penetrating into the minds of all those whose affections and inclinations were still turned in the direction either of Sweden or of Russia. It was necessary to prove to the indifferent that the watchword, 'Finland for the Finns,' is not an empty dream, but may become yet a reality. Such was the immense task undertaken first by a few men, so soon as they saw into what an abyss they had nearly been drawn by the dream of making the Finland of the first years of our century an independent State under a Russian protectorate.

It is at the end of the last century that the first germs of the nationalist movement in Finland must be sought. The awakening of the labouring classes in Western Europe found an echo in the North, and manifested itself by a fermentation both in the lower and upper classes of society. It was generally understood that something ought to be done to ameliorate the lot of the masses; and while Communistic ideas spread among the peasants, finding later on (1804-1808) an expression in the propaganda of Elias Hänninen, the upper classes endeavoured to raise the economical condition of Finland by the extension of agricultural knowledge, the increase of industry, by the study of their own country, and by the development of national conscience. Porthan, Professor of Roman Antiquities at the Academy of Åbo, was the man who did the most to promote this actual yet vague, uncertain national revival. By his vast erudition, and still more by his large-minded teaching and paternal relations with his students, he exercised a potent influence over his pupils and friends. He created a whole school of young men who devoted themselves to the study of Finnish geography, Finnish history, Finnish antiquities and language.

War, more than Porthan's death, which occurred in 1804, checked the further development of this movement. But when the impossibility of constituting a free State under Russia's protection was duly demonstrated even to the few who cherished this dream; when the national feeling was raised by the last wars, undoubtedly glorious for so small a nationality as Finland, and it became obvious that even the few vestiges of autonomy obtained from the Russian Emperor were due to the resistance opposed to the conquest by the lower classes of the Finnish peasantry; when, finally, both parts of Finland, Western and Eastern, separated by former wars, were again united together, the national movement took a new life. The desire to build up a *Finnish nation*, in the true meaning of this word, spread widely over the land; and it was in a pamphlet published in 1810 by the Crown; it has also the right of dismissing the remainder, who are nominated by the Senate. It will be seen from the above that, if Finland has obtained a certain measure of autonomy, it is more by carefully avoiding any contest with the Russian Government, and by steadily working for the enlargement of its rights, than by virtue of the scanty guarantees of the fundamental law.

that the word 'Fennoman,' already popular with the Åbo students, made its first appearance. To have its own language—that of the great mass of the inhabitants of Finland—was obviously the first step towards success.

It was doubted, however, at that time whether the Finnish language—'a language of labourers and fishermen'—would be sufficient for the expression of all the complex conceptions developed by the variety of social relations of European life; and surely much boldness was necessary in the son of a Finnish peasant, Jacob Judén (who died in 1855), to champion the literary rights of 'the language of the plebeians' by making it a vehicle for poetry. His attempts proved so successful that a series of Finnish poets (those of the earlier epoch) followed in his footsteps. A stranger, the Danish philologue Rasmus Rask, took up the defence of the popular tongue and showed how readily it lent itself to scientific elaboration. The first Finnish grammar and the great dictionary of Renvall soon followed (in 1824 and 1826); while Sjögren, also a peasant's son, undertook the immense task; the accomplishment of which is one of the glories of our century, the comparative philology of the Altaic languages, so magnificently crowned a few years ago by the great work of M. Donner, which sums up the long labours of Sjögren, Lönnrot, Schlott, Budenz, Ahlqvist, Ujfalvi, and so many others.

The discovery of the *Kalevala*—the great Finnish epic poem—was a mighty aid in the further development of the nationalist movement: it gave to it a solid basis. When Doctor Lönnrot (whose loss Finland so sincerely deplored last year) discovered during his journeys in Karelia the fragments of a great epic poem in the *runes* that are sung in the villages on Lake Ladoga; when he published them together, and thus reconstituted one of the finest epic poems known, a general cry of admiration went up from literary Europe. Any literature, however rich, might well be proud of a poem so grand in its cosmogonic conception, inspired with so pure an ideal (the word, the sung word, dominating throughout the poem over brutal force), so deeply penetrated with best human feelings, so beautiful in its simplicity. For Finland it was a revelation. Dr. Lönnrot had opened new and bright horizons, and a pleiad of young men made it their work to hunt up the hoards of poetry concealed for so many centuries in the memory of the Finnish people. More and more treasures were discovered. The *Kalevala* was followed by the *Kanteletar*—the epic poetry by the more accessible lyric songs, so fine that many of them would be a gem in the greatest poet's crown. Indeed, one cannot read these *Kanteletar* without being struck by the always ideal purity of the conception, the fine poetic rendering of even the plain circumstances of life, the artistic finish of the image, the deep insight into the salient emotions of the soul and the workings of nature. A language which proved to be so admirably appropriate to

the finest analysis of human feelings and so æsthetic a representation of nature—the language of the *Kalevala* and the *Kanteletar*—who would dare to say that it was fit only to express the rough feelings of the lowest beings? It was unanimously admitted to be a literary language.

The discovery of the *Kalevala* had another advantage: it awakened the national spirit of the Esthonians. On the other side of the Gulf of Finland like treasures of popular poetry were brought to light, sung also by the *runoiat* in a language most akin to that of the *Kalevala*, and so suggestive of the common origin of both stems, now separated by politics, but once united by their common civilisation. In fact, since Dr. Kreuzwald (son of an Esthonian peasant, of a serf) had discovered the *Kalevi-poëg*, an epic poem celebrating the exploits of Kaleva's son, the first germs of 'Pan-Fennism' were brought to life; while Castren's scientific researches into Finnish mythology extended still more widely the limits of the Finnish fatherland and showed the Finns and Esthonians that they are members of a race which played an important part in remote times and may play it again—not by warfare, but by lending to Aryan civilisation their own ideals and philosophical tendencies.

The ground was thus prepared for the development of poetry and fine arts in Finland. Swedes born in Finland and Finns joined together in their work of raising the national feeling and of developing the national literature. When Nicholas I. prohibited writing in Finnish, the conquest of nationality was continued in Swedish. It was in Swedish that Runeberg, Nervander, Topelius, Cygnæus, sang the beauties of their country, the exploits of her children, and preached the love of Finland and its people. All Swedish-speaking Finland knows by heart the beautiful patriotic hymn of Runeberg, *Vårt Land*, and would tell you the effect it produced when it was first sung at the 'May-gathering' of 1848. Thousands of men and women shed tears of happiness; people who had never met before, overcome by patriotic emotion, fell into each other's arms as the conception of a fatherland awakened in their hearts. Though writing in Swedish, this great *connoisseur* of the human heart and lover of beauty has pictured the Finnish people in their forests, their homes, and their struggles, as vividly as if he were a true Finn. And his ballad, *The Brother of the Cloud*, whose hero understood 'more than life—love, and more than love, for he knew how to die' for his country, is surely one of the best patriotic pieces ever written in Finland. So also with the verses of J. J. Wecksell, who used to write also in Swedish even such pieces as *Swedish and Finnish*, where the young, strong Finn provokes his former ruler in these words:—

Young I am, and I am proud of that; always young, wandering through forests and fields, I sang my dreams and the wonders of past times, waiting till my hour would come. It is come now, and I defy thee! And see, notwithstanding all thy fury, thou blanchest under thy visor. . . . I stand in the heart of the country; as

a young pine I was once forgotten amidst the snow, still full of growth on the barren tract. It is spring now! The hearts of my people feel full of love, hope, and light. Thou sinkest thy crown, mine will not bend.

Common love for the mother-country concludes this fine piece, which expresses in poetry the feelings of at least the best Swedes in Finland.

None of these poets dared, however, to use the Finnish language, so sonorous and so supple, for writing in verse. But they opened the way, and soon a young poet, who concealed under the pseudonym of Oksanen a name which later became widely known for philological research—M. Ahlqvist—tried to sing in his own tongue. He did so with a very great success, and his poetry faithfully reflects the feelings of his countrymen. Other poets, all peasants—Olaf Kymäläinen, Peter Makkonen, Andreas Pulabka—followed M. Ahlqvist, and now Finland possesses some of the finest modern poetry written in the language of its people.³

Finnish art is still very young, but it is going in the right direction. It will not wander among distastefully modernised Greek or Roman antiquities: it seeks its inspiration in Finnish folk-lore, in Finnish nature; and thus Europe will find in it a new and fruitful source of inspiration—austere but not ascetic, severe yet highly idealistic, and sometimes good-naturedly witty. The pictures of Eckman and Magnus Wright (both recently dead) are in good style, as also those of Ferdinand Wright, who continues the work of his brother. But it is especially in music that Finnish art promises to be rich in new elements. The Russian composer Glinka has already shown in *Ruslan and Ludmila* what an inspiration may be drawn from Finnish songs, and of what a rich musical elaboration they are susceptible. Glinka did not, however, know the finest songs of the interior parts of Finland. To really appreciate them you must have heard them occasionally during a walk in the forests, or on the shores of a sylvan lake, sung by some peasant as he contemplates the wide scene before him. He begins, then, in a high and full tenor, one of those vigorous and beloved *adagios* which lift the hearer higher and higher up to some unknown sphere, like one of the best musical phrases of Richard Wagner. We have recently learnt from M. Melgounoff what a richness of quite new and beautiful harmonisation (in Sebastian Bach's style) is to be learned from Russian popular music; the same also from the Finnish, especially with regard to melody.

As to Finnish science, each time I peruse its scientific collections I admire the amount of work performed, and this the more

³ I do not venture, of course, to translate into English any of their poetry, and can only recommend to those who know neither Swedish nor Finnish the excellent small collection *Aus dem Norden*, by Hermann Paul, which contains German translations from MM. Ahlqvist, Cygnaeus, Runeberg, Topelius, and Wecksell; and still more, the same author's German translations of many *Kanteletar*, which appeared at Helsingfors in 1882.

as I know the modest means the Finnish *savants* have at their disposal. I have already mentioned the work done in philology, which has so wide a repute: the same is true of natural science. Finland is undoubtedly one of the best explored countries of Eastern Europe. Not that there are no blanks to be filled: large tracts remain still unexplored; but all explorations have been performed in the true spirit of modern science, and are imbued with a fervent love of the mother-country. In scientific research Finland has much profited, of course, by the experience of Sweden, and imitated it, and nearly all Finnish scientific works have been written in Swedish. But already Lönnrot had begun to cultivate Finnish so as to render it suitable for the philosophical and scientific needs of our time. He translated works of law and science, and discovered that his language offers remarkable facilities for creating new scientific and technical terms. His bulky Swedish and Finnish dictionary became a powerful aid in the further development of scientific terminology; and the tendency is now towards writing scientific works in Finnish. Of course, the *savants* of Western Europe will object, but the resulting inconvenience will be easily obviated by the growing custom in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, of giving French or German *résumés* of the most important papers; while the growth of a Finnish scientific literature will undoubtedly be an immense gain for the people. European science must recognise once for all that every decade will bring within its cycle more and more important works, written in an ever-increasing variety of languages. The true scientific man can no more ignore Scandinavian, Russian, Polish, Czechian, Hungarian, and Finnish scientific literature; and we must devise the means of systematically bringing all works of importance, written in any language, to the knowledge of the whole of the scientific world. Be this as it may, Finnish scientific literature is growing every day, so also Finnish historic science. Thus, after the preparatory works of J. J. Tengström, W. G. Lagus, F. W. Pipping, Gabriel Rein, and M. Akiander, who all wrote in Swedish, and after a first attempt, made in 1846 by J. F. Kajan, to write Finnish history for the Finnish, we had to greet a few years ago the appearance of the remarkable *History of Finland*, by Yrjö Koskinen, which is a serious attempt to write a history of the nation, and not alone of its rulers. It was immediately translated into Swedish and German.

The periodical press does not lag behind, and offers a warm support to the national movement. The first paper published in Finnish in the last century failed for political reasons. So also several ulterior attempts, all killed in the bud by Nicholas I.'s censorship. It was only in 1863 that the Finnish Press took a new start, the Russian Government finding it useful to favour Fennomanes against Svekomanes. It has rapidly developed since, and now supplies the most remote *pitäyä* (farm) in the woods with plain and useful reading in

Finnish at a very low price.⁴ But even yet the Russian Government pursues with regard to the Finnish Press its unwise traditional policy. It is tolerated on the condition of never criticising the proceedings of the Government; and when, last year, some young Fennomanes, whose aim is closer union of the Finnish people with the Russian, proposed to start a paper in both languages, the Censorship refused permission. It could not allow a discussion of constitutional rights to be printed in the Russian language.

From all that precedes it is easy to see that Europe has only to gain from the admission of Finland into its family. But to this end liberty and independence are before all things needful—not the ephemeral liberty which is bestowed on the people by the rule of the richer classes, whatever be their nationality, but that full liberty which would result from the people being their own rulers. Finland is in a fair way to accomplish this. Its national movement does not ask a return to the past, as has been the case with Poland; it aspires after a quite *new*, autonomous Finland. It is true that for the present the national question overshadows all others, and even the extremely important land question (for Finland has also its agrarian question) is nearly quite forgotten. The very existence of their nationality being menaced from St. Petersburg, will the Finnish nationalists repeat the error so often committed of forgetting that under the actual conditions of landed property, the peasant being overwhelmed with rents, taxes, and personal services, no national independence is possible, and if political autonomy be eventually realised under some exceptional circumstances it will be but a new burden on the labouring classes? The eminently popular character of Fennomanism leads to the belief that this mistake will not be repeated. But it must be acknowledged that until now Fennomanism has remained a merely literary movement—a movement for a language, and not a movement for social redemption. No more than the Svekomanes have the Fennomanes a distinct social programme; and if Fennomanism is, on the whole, more democratic than its Svekomane rival, it comprises at the same time, together with the peasant's son who longs after the free possession of soil, the son of the landowner who holds sacred the rights acquired by his forefathers under Swedish or Russian rule over the produce of the peasant's labour. Both unite for the awakening of a national feeling and the conquering for the Finnish language of equal rights with the Swedish; but the day will come when it will be asked whether the landowner's rights are really so sacred as they have been considered, and what will then become of the union?

It is obvious that so long as all administrative procedure is con-

⁴ In 1881 Finland had sixty-eight papers, out of which forty-two were Finnish and twenty-six Swedish; of the latter, seventeen appeared at Helsingfors. Such small towns as Jyväskylä and Uleåborg have six Finnish papers each; and even Kuopio, Tammerfors, and Wasa have each three papers.

ducted in a language which is foreign to five-sixths of the population, and so long as Finnish children cannot receive instruction in their mother-tongue, the language question will be a burning question; and all the more so, as to take the administration from the hands of the Swedish-speaking officials means to take it out of the hands of the Swedish nobility, landowners, and bankers. This first step was partially realised last year, the equality of both languages in the administration having been recognised by law. As to Finnish schools, they have still to be created almost entirely. At the University of Helsingfors lectures are still mostly delivered in Swedish, though the students generally speak Finnish. So also at the Polytechnic School and in twelve lyceums out of twenty-two. As to primary instruction, the great mass of the people are still deprived of permanent schools. Out of 300,000 children of school age in 1881, only 26,900 received instruction in 576 permanent schools, of which 134 were Swedish. The remainder were taught in ambulatory schools, a typical feature of the Scandinavian north. When Nicholas I. forbade Finnish schools, ambulatory schools, like those of Norway and Sweden, were introduced. Once a year the teacher comes into the village, stays there for some time, and teaches the children. Such schools even yet are not the exception, they are the rule; and while less than 27,000 children were taught in permanent schools, the remainder received primary instruction either from ambulatory masters (116,201 children) or at home (177,925), so that only 6,983 children, mostly feeble or ill, remained without instruction. (I take these figures from the well-informed pamphlet, by Max Buch, *Finland und seine Nationalitätenfrage*.) But the instruction thus given is obviously quite, insufficient, for only eight per cent. of the Finns can write, the remainder are only able to read.

Finnish schools, Finnish administration—such is the platform of the Fennomanes. They do not neglect, however, at the same time to free the soil of Finland as much as possible from foreign landholders, and to develop their industry so as to render their country economically independent of its neighbours. A few years ago Russian monasteries had still large estates and fishing grounds on the western shore of Lake Ladoga. But arable soil, forests, lakes, all have now been purchased by Finns, and are sold in small parcels to Finnish peasants, so that the ‘Russianisers’ of the worst part of the Russian Press are loudly crying out against ‘the prodigiously rapid Fennisation’ of Kexholm, Serdobol, and even of the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg.

As to the economical development of the country, it has really made a material progress during the last five-and-twenty years. Notwithstanding the loss of as much as 180,000 people during the famine of 1872, the population of Finland has increased by more than one-fifth during the last quarter of a century, reaching 2,060,800 during the last census of 1881. The population of its towns has doubled during the same period, and the agricultural produce in-

creased in the ratio of 3 to 2. The horned cattle have increased by 400,000 head in twenty-five years, and the making of butter, with more perfect methods, has so extended as to produce from Russia an annual tribute of 1,200,000 roubles (120,000*l.*) The production of iron has trebled at the same time, reaching the figure of 351,000 cwts. in 1879; and the aggregate produce of manufactures has decupled: it is estimated at 49,000,000 roubles, against only 5,000,000 in 1854. No less than 550 miles of railway and fifty miles of canals have been built; and the exports reached in 1880 123,000,000 Finnish marks, or francs, against 23,000,000; while the imports were 138,000,000 marks, instead of 46,000,000. Navigation has experienced such a development that the commercial fleet of Finland in the same year numbered 1,857 ships, 288,300 tons; 9,744 ships, 1,504,200 tons, entered its ports; and a considerable part of the foreign maritime commerce of the Russian Empire is conducted under the Finnish flag. As to the roads, they are mostly in so good a state as to be comparable to those of Switzerland; and the journeys on post-horses, by roads provided with plain but clean hotels, are a true pleasure. The lakes are literally furrowed by steamers, which penetrate into the remotest inlets; and, thanks to a masterly system of canalisation, in which Finns excel, the smallest hamlets and saw-mills are within easy reach of the great lake-basins, which, in their turn, communicate with the sea by the monumental Saima canal. All this has been done at surprisingly moderate expense, each mile of the Finnish railways having cost, on the average, only one-third of the average cost in Russia. As to finances, though supporting the heavy burden of obligatory military service recently imposed on the country, they are in an excellent state. When Russia finds it impossible to raise money at less than 6 per cent., Finland easily obtains loans at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and its paper money circulates at par, while the Russian paper rouble is worth no more than six-tenths of its nominal value.

It is obvious that the more national consciousness is raised in Finland, and the more education is spread among its people, the more will it feel the weight of Russian sovereignty; and, while the Russian peasant is always welcomed by his Finnish brother, every Russian suspected of being an official finds only coolness, and often hatred, among the people. Finnish nobles in Russian service may protest their loyalty as much as they please: they are not the people. They may refer also to the gallant behaviour of Finnish troops in the last Balkan war: it proves nothing; the Finns were ever a gallant race, and it is not their habit to recoil before danger. But surely the last war has not increased their attachment to the Russian Empire; they have seen what Russian administration is, and the war is costing Finland too dear. True, there are plenty of men in Finland ready to say that their country is already quite independent, being only 'united' with Russia in the person of the Emperor; but

the masses understand pretty well what a union means of which the weaker party is unprotected against the caprices of the stronger. If they should forget it, the Reactionists now in power in Russia do not fail to remember it in the most brutal way. These people do not understand how wise Speransky was when he pointed out the dangers of having a hostile population at the very doors of the Russian capital; they seem to have set their hearts on rendering it hostile. The small dose of liberty enjoyed by Finland irritates them. A country where people travel without passports, and the *dvorniks* (porters) do not listen at the doors of lodgers, appears to them a hotbed of revolution. Even the industrial development of this small country renders them uneasy. They would like to shut the doors of Russia against the little merchandise that enters therein. For it is most remarkable that even Finland, poor as she is, imports from Russia the food which is taken from the mouth of the Russian peasant, and exports thither manufactured ware; since 1882 it has begun even to export more than to import. The editors of the reactionary St. Petersburg papers would rather double the price of the paper on which they print their cheap ideas than to have it from Finland. And the Moscow Protectionists, after having attracted, by almost prohibitory duties, German capital, German enterprise, German manufacturers, and German workmen into Poland, demand now the erection of a Chinese wall against Poland, and even against little Finland. They have succeeded in preventing the entrance of Finnish cattle into Russia, thus raising the already high price of meat at St. Petersburg; and they would like now to impose still more their own dear produce on Finland, and not their produce alone, but also the disorder of their own finances. Returning to Nicholas I.'s time, they long to introduce into Finland the obligatory circulation of Russian paper roubles. They are not satisfied with imposing on her the burden of a 70,000-men-strong army in war time; they would like to grasp in their own hands her poor revenues, and to conduct them, to pillage them, as they have conducted and pillaged the finances of the Empire.

'Is union possible on such conditions?' Such is the question which the Russian Reactionists are more and more impressing on the minds of even the most 'loyal' Finnish subjects; and nobody can tell whither this blind policy may lead. Only one thing is certain: that the ardour of Finnish patriots for awakening among their people national feeling and the longing for a complete independence will be redoubled by the attempts, recently renewed, against Finland's autonomy. The map of Europe has already undergone many changes, and it is not improbable that the social and political complications which accumulate on Old Europe's head may result, among other things, in the restoration of Finland to the Finns.

P. KROPOTKIN.

TURKEY AND ENGLAND.

THE present 'impasse' in which the English Government finds itself with regard to its position in the East makes it the duty of every man interested in the welfare of his country to endeavour to find some solution of the difficulty, and, instead of grumbling and finding fault with this person or that, to suggest a remedy for existing evils.

I will not discuss the recent events in the Soudan, or remark on our very delicate, and I may say equivocal, position in Egypt (equivocal inasmuch as our old ally Turkey is concerned); but I will at once proceed to take a bird's-eye view of our status as a great Mahommedan power. We have doubtless done much to weaken this power, and alienate these races, many of which, however, are still our submissive dependents, and all of which, without much effort, and while acting in accordance with our old traditions, we might utilise in a manner so clearly beneficial that it is astounding to me that any reminder is necessary to guide the English Government in the right direction. Our Government seems to have got into a careless way of ignoring the very existence of the great Mahommedan races in Turkey and its dependencies (which in actual numbers, including our Indian subjects, nearly equal all the Christian nations put together). It seems as though they had been advised by men who are ignorant and unpatriotic enough to tell us that the support and allegiance of the Turkish Moslems is neither desirable nor useful.

It is almost superfluous to state that the men who have made England what she is have regarded an alliance with the Sultan as a political necessity concerning which there could hardly be any serious dispute. In European diplomacy this has long been considered as an axiom. It has ever been the object of Russia to destroy this friendship. The manœuvres by which she effected that object in 1876 are so well known at the present day that any further comments on them are unnecessary. It is sufficient to point out that the rage of the people all over England was stirred up artificially against the Turks. They were reviled from pulpits, platforms, and barrels; village spouters and public-house politicians, taking their cue from orators and statesmen, were never tired of ranting and railing against Mahommedans in general and Turks in particular. The Eastern question degenerated from a political question into a party cry. At this time Lord Beacons-

field was in power, and his opponents made full use of the clamours against Turkey, and stirred to the utmost the already excited masses; the action of the Government was crippled, and before the eyes of the country were opened, and before the English people saw how cleverly they had been befooled, the Treaty of Berlin had inflicted a blow upon Turkey the effects of which will, perhaps sooner than some of us think, be felt upon the Indian frontier.

But the kernel of England's dispute with Turkey was the unfortunate repudiation of the Ottoman debt. This also we owe to Russia. It was brought about, as everyone knows perfectly well now-a-days, by the cunning of the Russian ambassador. The surest way of exciting a man's hatred is to touch his pocket. It was remarked by Thackeray, no superficial observer of human nature, that a dispute about twenty pounds would set the happiest family at loggerheads, and would change the dearest friends into the bitterest enemies. Thus it was with England and her old ally. This act of bankruptcy obliterated, in a single day, the friendship of a century.

It is not my intention to dispute the justice of the universal opinion as to the system of administration in Turkey. The Ottoman system of government doubtless has its faults, and progress in Turkey may not be what it should be. I could, had I time, bring forward many palliating circumstances as a reason for this apparent remissness. I could also expatiate on the fact that other governments besides that of Turkey are often weighed and found wanting. I do not intend to dwell upon the question as to how Turkey carried out her part of the Treaty of Berlin; all I will say on that head is, that while there is a constant cry of 'Why does not Turkey respect treaties and keep her engagements?' it is rare indeed that one hears a word as to why engagements made by other Powers, signators to that Treaty, are still unexecuted. No one ever examines into such questions; if they did they would understand that it is almost impossible for Turkey to play what may be called a one-sided game. I will give only one example: Turkey is supposed by her treaty engagements to expend considerable sums of money in carrying out reforms in Asia Minor. Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia are told off by the Treaty of Berlin to pay her certain tributes. These tributes are *not* paid, and, so far as I can see, never will be paid.

Having made these few remarks, I will now come to what may be called the salient point of this paper. My object is to bring before the English people the necessity of a firm alliance being made between England and Turkey, and the advantages, both present and future, which they will gain thereby.

Now, I am able to state, without fear of contradiction, that the inhabitants of Turkey, I mean the Turks pure and simple, are one of the finest races, physically and otherwise, that the earth has produced. They are a God-fearing, sober, brave, unselfish people,

who can be the best of friends, and, unless interfered with as regards their religion, the enemies of no man. They have been accustomed till lately to look upon the English as their friends. Wherever a Briton went, he was, and is still, well treated. That the Turks are courageous in the extreme no one doubts for a moment, and that bravery might, were there a good understanding between the two countries, be utilised to an enormous degree, for half a million of the finest troops in the world would be available at a moment's notice. Turkey and England together could defy the universe, and English reserves or colonial volunteers need never be required in times of war. The Sultan of Turkey is one of the most remarkable men of his age, and if encouraged instead of severely lectured and bitterly censured by some of those accredited to his court, deceived and led the wrong way by others, and at times badly advised by his confidants (I do not refer to those now near the throne), he would prove himself in the eyes of the world a very great sovereign. Then, again, an English alliance would at once put a stop to the present system of robbery—there is no other word to express what has gone on during the last five years as regards Turkey's outlying provinces. This system will lead, *must* lead, to a great European war. A Turkish alliance would stop all these depredations, and I do not think that any one can disagree with me when I say that both parties would equally benefit by it. Obstacles will crop up daily to prevent this alliance; the present very unwarranted action of Italy complicates matters (for my part I hope they will find it too warm down there to make a long stay agreeable), and distant growlings warn us that other countries are already looking out for a share of the coveted flesh-pots.

Now let us consider what will be the consequences if England does not accept what I believe to be Turkey's last efforts made to-day through the special mission of Hassam Fehmy Pasha to arrive at a renewal of friendly feeling with England. There is an Arab story of a man who, when drowning, grasped at a venomous snake to save himself. The snake bit him, and the poison very soon worked its fatal effect. Though the man knew the snake to be venomous, he took hold of it in order that he might prolong his life, were it ever so little.

This is what the Turks *must* do when they are perfectly satisfied that England means to desert them; knowing they are about to sink, they will hold on to Russia. Now let us mark the end. That great nation, steadily and sternly bent on conquest, aware that to exist she must have distraction for her badly governed people, will promise everything to her future victim. She will go so far as to guarantee Constantinople, and even will suggest *holding it for Turkey* against all comers. Assisted of course by her future victim's armies and navies, enabled by the magnificent forts of the Dardanelles to keep out all adversaries, Russia would defy the world. Turkey might be

allowed by Russia to live perhaps for several years in a fool's paradise, and then . . . In the meantime, Turks, Turcoman tribes, the inhabitants of the frontiers of Persia and the shores of the Red Sea, and the lands between Bagdad and Herat, would become the allies of Russia; and Lord Dufferin, or whoever may succeed him as Viceroy of India, must prepare for *dictation*, instead of *negotiation*, from the great northern conqueror.

Having shown what I believe to be the advantages of an alliance with the Turks, I should wish now to ask what disadvantages there can be to us in such an alliance? To my mind absolutely none. I regret deeply to see the daily growing coolness between the two countries. I do not think that matters have gone so far that they cannot be remedied. The greatest obstacle, in my opinion, is that nobody in England seems at the present moment to *care about anything*. There is a degree of *laissez aller* about everyone which is leading gradually to a kind of national suicide. Just ask an Englishman to shut his eyes and imagine the Russians predominant at the Dardanelles, our road to India cut off, our commerce in the East destroyed. Would that Englishman care sixpence? Upon my word, I am afraid not.

Now as to Turkish people I would say a few words. They have been accused of brigandage, assassination, and every description of crime. I, who have lived among them for fifteen years, am proud to proclaim myself their champion. As soldiers and sailors they are unrivalled when well commanded. As peasants they are industrious, long-suffering, and good. In their religion they are sincere, and never fanatical unless roused to be so by ill-usage and sneers at their faith. Let the sportsman, the traveller, or the antiquarian in pursuit of pleasure or business find himself among the real Turks in Anatolia or elsewhere, and he will be safe as to his person and property, and receive every kindness and hospitality; whereas, when he goes among the Christians settled in Turkey, he will frequently be robbed, and always under the levy of black-mail. Accusations have been made against the Turks of cruelty and ill-usage, which have been exaggerated, sometimes to a ludicrous degree—such as when a reverend divine reported that he actually saw a man *impaled*, who turned out to be a fisherman sitting on a pole watching for fish to enter his net. Seriously speaking, the statistics of crimes committed in Turkey by Turks would bear favourable comparison with those of many so-called enlightened nations. I have always advocated that England should bear in mind what a splendid race she might have for allies by using a little kindness and tact. Somehow or other these people have been impressed from long ages with the idea that England and the English are their national friends and protectors; and sad indeed will be the time when that idea, already inclined to wane, shall be altogether banished from their thoughts.

In this paper I have scarcely mentioned the Soudan and Egypt. I have purposely refrained from doing so, because at a moment of such intense excitement as is caused by the sad state of affairs in these countries, I think it wiser for any one who, like myself, is deeply impressed with the extremely difficult position in which England is placed, to avoid saying anything that might tend to irritate the feelings of those who, while having certain vested rights in Africa, ought not to advance them at such a moment as this. But I have the greatest confidence that when this sad campaign is finished every justice will be done to all concerned. My object in writing what I have done has been to call the attention of my country to the fact that, if England will, she may, with very little effort on her part, establish on a firm footing a lasting friendship with a valuable ally such as Turkey would prove herself to be, and a people whose friendship is worth to my country all the gold in Australia, and to repeat a warning that to lose such an ally would be an act of little less than mere madness.

Before concluding this paper, a word on the women of Turkey. On this head, people are, as in most cases regarding Eastern affairs, generally misinformed. A Turkish woman is a good wife and a kind mother. If the rules of the harem are strictly observed, as is always the case, then she has more time to attend to her domestic duties. It is rare in these days to find a Turk with more than one wife, although his religion allows him to have more, as it did to Abraham and his descendants for many generations. The children of Turks are well brought up; in fact, in most families of position foreign governesses and tutors are employed. As regards the education of the lower classes, it is interesting to see the strings of little Turkish children toddling off to school every morning. These schools, of which there are many hundreds, not to say thousands, in Turkey, have been introduced and supported by His Majesty the Sultan. French and English are taught, and a stranger would indeed be astonished if he attended at a half-yearly examination of the children and saw the progress made by these naturally intelligent little creatures. I have seen more than a thousand boys and girls working at the new printing establishment lately set up also under the auspices of the Sultan, in a way that would delight even the great people in Printing House Square. I again ask, why not encourage and ultimately profit by the friendship of such people?

HOBART PASHA.

*A FEW MORE WORDS ON IMPERIAL
FEDERATION.*

THERE has been so noteworthy a progress towards Imperial Federation during the last month that I venture to add a few words to those which I wrote on the subject in the last number of this Review.

No one can deny that the present outlook is dark and stormy. This is a time of trial for the strength and virtue of Englishmen; but these times of trial have not been few or far between in our history, and as before, so now, England will face her dangers and surmount her difficulties. I have hope for my country, because I have faith in my fellow-countrymen. Yet there is ground both for sorrow and anxiety. We have lost our beloved hero, and many of our bravest men; we are engaged in a dangerous and most costly enterprise; the strain upon our army and our navy is severe; and the great Powers of Europe, with the exception of Italy, who has shown that she has not forgotten who was her disinterested friend in her time of need, appear to be considering what advantage they can obtain from our difficulties.

But there are two rays of sunlight across the dark prospect. Our soldiers and sailors have given clear proof that they have the endurance and courage and devotedness of their fathers. This is no new fact, though it is well that other nations should at this crisis be reminded that it is a fact with which any enemy of England will have to reckon; but there is a new fact, and that is, that our colonial fellow-countrymen have proved that they are not only willing but longing to take their share in the defence of our common country. I never doubted this willingness, I was sure that it would be shown; but there is not much heed given to expectations or prophecies until they are realised, and therefore I cannot wonder that these offers of colonial aid have struck the British public with pleased surprise.

A day or two before these offers were made known, a speech was made by the ablest and most respected of the opponents of Federation.

It is to me most painful to differ from Mr. Bright, but I expected his opposition, because in one respect he is the most conservative

of our statesmen. There is no man with any mental power approaching to his to whose mind a new idea has such difficulty of access.

But what did Mr. Bright say on the 29th of January at Birmingham?—‘The idea,’ he said, ‘in my opinion is ludicrous that the British Empire—that is, the United Kingdom with all its colonies—should form one country, one interest, one undivided interest for the purposes of defence.’ ‘They’ (that is the Federation League who proclaim these ludicrous notions) ‘must be blind to the lessons of history.’

Yes, but history teaches many lessons now-a-days, and they follow so fast one upon another that it is not always easy to learn them. It may be well for us all, Mr. Bright included, to study this last lesson of history. The Governments of the Dominion of Canada, of New South Wales, of Victoria, of Queensland, of South Australia, have declared that the United Kingdom, with all its colonies, do form one country for the purposes of defence. They have made this declaration on behalf of their people by the offer to give, not only their money but their men, for the defence of the Flag in a war of more than usual danger and privation, and their people have supported their Government in these offers with patriotic enthusiasm.

The union of the mother-country with her children is, thanks to this patriotism, more close and more intimate than it was a month ago.

But is there more probability of its being permanent?

The advocates of disunion, or perhaps it would be more fair to them to call them the believers in necessary disintegration, will tell us that this colonial enthusiasm is a temporary caprice, or at best but a passing feeling, on which no reliance can be placed. I am content to ask those who hold this view to learn the lessons which history will teach them; but may I venture to say one word to the friends of Union? Some of them may perhaps think that this action of the colonies affords an opportunity of securing the permanent unity of the Empire by the immediate elaboration and definition of a scheme of Federation. I would rather venture to say that this colonial action would seem to show that the time has not yet come for such definition, and for this reason, that no scheme which could now be devised, and no system which could now be defined, would adequately express the feelings in men’s minds.

The idea of the permanent unity of the realm, the duty of preserving this union, the blessings which its preservation will confer, the danger and loss and disaster which will follow from disunion, are thoughts which possess the minds of Englishmen both here and over the seas. These thoughts are expressing themselves in deeds; let this expression continue; at present it helps our cause far more effectually than any possible scheme. Events march quickly in these times. Last month I gladly supported Lord Grey’s and Lord

Lorne's proposal of a Colonial Council or Board of Advice, composed of delegates from the self-governing colonies, but I rejoice to acknowledge that the colonies have now taken a step in advance of a Board of Advice.

The Queen has lost no time in expressing Her Majesty's 'warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid;' and thanks for all the offers have been given in fitting terms by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Lord Derby, and by the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief.

But the only offer which has been actually accepted has been that made by New South Wales. I think this is a mistake. If for military reasons it is desirable that the departure of the expeditions from the other Australian colonies and from Canada should be delayed, I cannot but think that, instead of informing the respective Governments that the Imperial Government would take their offers into consideration if the Soudan war lasted till the autumn, it would have been better to accept these offers at once, while adding that definite instructions would be sent out with regard to time.

Who expects that the Soudan War will be ended before autumn?

Are we sure that our forces will not need strengthening elsewhere than in the Soudan?

The colonies, as I have said above, have taken a step in advance of a Colonial Board of Advice; but it may be that the Queen's subjects both at home and in the colonies will soon call upon the Queen's Ministers to take a still further step.

The evidence of colonial patriotism may ward off the dangers which exist, but on the other hand those dangers may increase, and it may soon become clear that Englishmen throughout the Empire must rally their forces in defence of themselves and of their common country; and there may well be an irresistible demand both at home and in the colonies for a special conference between the Imperial Government and the Colonial Governments in order to resolve on the organisation of this defence.

This therefore does not seem to me to be a time to postpone the acceptance of any colonial offer of assistance, and merely to state that such offer may be taken into consideration.

Let me mention another recent and encouraging event. No offer of military aid in the Soudan has come from South Africa, nor could such offer have been expected. The Queen's subjects in South Africa have their own work to do at present, but in no part of the Queen's dominions has the determination to maintain her realm unshattered been more clearly shown.

The Cape Colonists, not only of English, but many also of Dutch descent, have supposed that England did not care to keep a South African colony, but only a naval station on the road to India and

Australia. I will not now discuss how far this supposition was warranted by the action or inaction of our Government. Public opinion in England has clearly declared that this supposition is a mistake; but, at any rate, it has served this good purpose; it has called forth the most unmistakable demonstrations of loyalty and of patriotism. This has been shown by the pained indignation with which the notion of English desertion has been received in the colony, by the hearty welcome to Sir Charles Warren and by the eagerness of volunteers to assist him in Bechuanaland; and by the formation of a powerful and influential association, which, under the name of the Empire League, has held enthusiastic meetings throughout the colony, for the purpose of maintaining the unity of the Empire.

The Federation League has gladly welcomed the offer by this association of affiliation, for, though the names may be different, the aim and principles of the two Leagues are the same. We have thus the most encouraging evidence that Canada and Australia and South Africa have not only no wish for separation, but are prepared to make sacrifices for its prevention; and yet there are disintegrating influences still at work. Do not let us blind ourselves to this fact, but that it is a fact is mainly the fault of us at home.

I rejoiced to read some words spoken a few days ago by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Mr. Evelyn Ashley stated at the dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce that the offers which the colonies have made 'of their gallant sons as soldiers for the mother-country realised that Federation was an accomplished fact.'

This is perhaps too strong a statement, though it is most encouraging to find it made by the representative of the Colonial Office; but the fact that is realised is, that the colonies are doing their part towards Federation. It remains for us to do ours.

I will not now repeat the arguments by which last month I endeavoured to show that two conditions must be fulfilled in order that England and her colonies should be permanently consolidated in one realm. The ultimate form of Federation must secure not merely co-operation in defence, but participation in foreign policy.

Mr. Ashley added to the remark I have quoted, that all that we have now to do is 'to clothe this new embodiment of Federation in the garb of formality.' But as yet there has been only the embodiment of the colonial willingness to bear part of the burden of common defence. What is now wanted is the embodiment of our willingness to give them participation in that policy which may involve them in war, and which must often most closely affect their interests.

There is an especial reason why the offer of Australian support should at this time be received with gratitude, and that is, that it is made at a time when the Australian colonies have felt themselves aggrieved by the action of our Government in regard to actual German and possible French annexations.

I will not now consider how far this aggrieved feeling is justified by facts, but this much I think is evident, that it would not have existed, or would have been much less prevalent, if the Australian Governments had been taken into closer counsel, and at an earlier period.

That this was not done is not so much the fault of the present Government as of our colonial system.

I am not now pressing for a formal scheme of consultation with the self-governing colonies on foreign policy. It may be, it probably will be, best that, as in defence, so in foreign affairs, deeds should precede words; but no Cabinet will in future allow that either Foreign Office etiquette or Colonial Office traditions shall make it possible for the Imperial Government to pledge itself to any foreign Power upon any matter seriously affecting any self-governing colony without previous consultation with the representatives of such colony. May we not then hope that this year of 1885, which has opened so sorrowfully and so anxiously, may be the beginning of a new and glorious chapter in the records of our country, and may mark the era at which history will have declared the true meaning of the British Empire?

W. E. FORSTER.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. XCVIII.—APRIL 1885.

*THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN
CENTRAL ASIA.*

It is easier to write about the Russian advance at the present day than it was a few years back. The ground has been cleared of much of the rubbish which formerly encumbered it. Not long ago the apologists of Russia were wont to compare the progress of her arms in Central Asia with the progress of our own in India. We were warned of a certain law of nature which impelled civilisation to advance on barbarism, and were asked to hail with sympathy, rather than view with suspicion, the extension of a Power which, as it swept on in its resistless course, diffused the blessings of order, of knowledge, and of commerce over a vast region hitherto sunk in a savagery of the worst description. But public opinion is now somewhat changed. No one questions that Russia is entitled to great credit for the civilising influence that has attended her progress, for the large benefits she has conferred upon humanity in her career of conquest through Central Asia. By crushing the Turcoman raiders, indeed, and by abolishing the slave markets of Khiva and Bokhara, she has restored peace and prosperity to districts which were groaning in misery, and has earned the gratitude of thousands of terror-stricken families. Whatever may happen in the future, she has gained imperishable glory in the past by her victories of peace along the desolated frontier of Khorassan; but here the register of her good

deeds must end. To suppose that she launched her forces across the Caspian in 1869 and engaged in Central Asian warfare with a view to these beneficent results, is to ignore the whole spirit and character of her policy. Fortunately there is now no room for misconception. Her soldiers and statesmen have recently laid bare her springs of action with a plainness that is almost cynical, but at the same time with a fulness of detail that must carry conviction to all unprejudiced minds. It was during the Crimean war, we are told, that Russia first realised her false position in regard to England. In her schemes of aggrandisement in Europe she was liable to be met and thwarted at every turn by British alliances and British influence; and when engaged in war she was open to our attack in every quarter, in the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, the Baltic, or the coast of Georgia, without any possibility of retaliation. If she was to develop in due course, as had so often been predicted, into the leading Power of the world, it was thus absolutely necessary that the inequality complained of should be redressed. Some weak point in our armour must be discovered. Some means must be found to shatter the palladium of our insular security. Hence there arose the idea of creating a great Oriental satrapy, under Russian administration, which should envelop the north-west frontier of our Indian Empire, and from which, as occasion might arise, pressure could be exerted, or, if necessary, armed demonstrations might issue, which would neutralise British opposition in Europe, and would place our policy on the Bosphorus or elsewhere in subordination to her own. In former times, as is well known, elaborate schemes have been discussed at St. Petersburg for the actual invasion of India, and, if we may judge from the utterances of the Moscow press and the fervid letters of certain Russian generals, the same exalted ideas still prevail in many military circles; but assuredly no such extravagance has been apparent in the careful plan of trans-Caspian operations hitherto adopted by the Russian Government, which has, on the contrary, been of the soberest and most practical character.

The end in view has been simply to arrive by gradual accretion of territory at the frontier of India. In pursuance of this object Russia has incurred expense without any immediate prospect of return, to an extent which has filled economists with dismay; fifty millions sterling, at least, having been expended by her in Central Asia during the last twenty-five years. Native rights at the same time have been mercilessly trampled on, and, above all, diplomacy has pushed its privilege of deception far beyond the bounds hitherto recognised as legitimate; but success, which condones all such irregularities, has rewarded her efforts, and the crisis has now arrived, almost sooner than was expected.

A brief summary of the salient points which have marked the

persistent advance of Russia in Central Asia seems to be all that is required at present. For the first ten years following on the Crimean war her generals, having crossed the Kirghiz steppes from Orenburg, were gradually feeling their way along the valley of the Jaxartes. Creeping up the river, and taking fort after fort and city after city, they everywhere defeated the rabble soldiery of the Uzbeks, and finally, in 1867, planted the Russian flag on the famous citadel of Samarcand, adjoining the mausoleum of Timúr. Here, according to prearranged design, the progress of the Russian arms was arrested, pending the approach of co-operating columns from the Caspian; but, in the meantime, the neighbouring Khanate of Bokhara, hitherto the most important of the Central Asian States, was brought completely under control, and the influence of Russia was fully and firmly established on the Oxus. To the westward a still more important series of operations was now commenced. In 1869 the first Russian detachments crossed the Caspian, and boldly invaded the country of the Turcomans. Had such an expedition been carried out in Europe, it would have been stigmatised as piracy, for there was absolutely no provocation on the part of the tribesmen, nor even was the formality observed of declaring war. Coercive measures, without further warning and with varying success, were directed against the tribes of the neighbourhood. Gradually the sphere of action was extended. Khiva was reduced in 1873, and then the Tekkehs, the principal tribe of the Turcoman confederacy, who inhabited the steppe from Kizil-Arvat to Merv, were seriously attacked. The western division of this tribe, called the Akhals, made a stout resistance, on one occasion in 1879 beating off the regular troops led by Lomakin, and seriously imperilling the whole Russian position. Ultimately, however, in 1880, the renowned Scoboleff, greatly assisted by the Persian chiefs of Kuchán and Bujnoord, who furnished carriage and supplies from the adjacent frontier of Khorassan, penetrated to the heart of the Akhal country and took their stronghold, Geok Tepeh, by storm. All active opposition then collapsed, and in due course conciliation, combined with intimidation, being skilfully employed against the Eastern Tekkehs, who were demoralised by the subjugation of their brethren in Akhal, and who applied for support in vain both to Persia and to Cabul, Merv—‘the Queen of the East,’ as she has been called—surrendered to Russia in February 1884, and the first act of the great Central Asia drama, after twenty-five years of sustained and energetic action, was brought to a successful close. It is needless to say that during this long and desperate struggle to reach and occupy Merv there were many phases which tended to distract public attention from the main object in view. To many persons who followed the Russian proceedings with an observant and even friendly eye—for the atrocities committed by the Turcomans had excited general indignation against

them—the explanation which most commended itself was, that as Russia had already established an important government in Turkestan very imperfectly supplied with the means of communication with the Wolga, she found it indispensable to supplement the northern line with a more direct and assured route to the west, which route should traverse the Turcoman steppe *viâ* Merv and Askabad, and should thus connect Tashkend and Samarcand with the Caspian. And it is quite possible that considerations of this nature—which from a strategical point of view were perfectly sound and proper—may have had some weight in determining the course of events, combined, as they naturally were, with a full appreciation of the advantages in respect to prestige and military power which must accrue from the creation of a new empire in Central Asia; but I must adhere to my view that neither strategy, nor lust of conquest, nor military glory, nor any of the thousand and one motives which in matters of peace and war ordinarily actuate nations, was the governing principle in directing the Russian advance into Central Asia. That principle was, I believe, an intense desire to reach the threshold of India, not for the purpose of direct or immediate attack, but with a view to political pressure on Great Britain, with which Power she would thus, for the first time, be brought in territorial contact.

With this conviction strong on my mind, and with a lively sense of the inconvenience to India of Russian contiguity, is it surprising that I should feel constrained to put the following questions? Ought we to have remained passive while the meshes were thus being woven round us? Ought we not rather to have impeded by all the means at our command the passage of the Russian columns from the Caspian to Merv? There were many such means available. We might have persuaded Persia, whose jealousy was already excited by the movement of the Russian columns along her frontier, to interdict that supply of grain and transport animals from Khorassan which was indispensable to a successful advance. We might have furnished the Tekkehs of Akhal with arms and money to resist the invaders. We might have warned the Russian Government in plain but forcible language that her occupation of Merv would infallibly lead to war. It is impossible, indeed, to acquit ourselves of shortcoming in this respect. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that, by a want of firmness in action as in language, the crisis which now threatens us has been unduly accelerated. I have no wish to reopen old sores, or to revive the acrimonious strife of 1881, when the questions of the evacuation of Candahar and the abandonment of the Quetta railway were debated with the keenness of political disagreement, embittered by the virulence of party feeling; nor, indeed, although strongly advocating at the time the retention of the Western Afghan capital, and believing as I still do that Russia was mainly encouraged to advance

on Merv by our retirement from Candahar, am I at all insensible to the solid advantages which resulted from the adoption by the Government of the day of an opposite course of action. I freely admit three distinct sources of gain. Firstly, the considerable expense of maintaining an independent government in Candahar for the last four years has been saved to the public treasury; secondly, we have avoided local friction with the Dúrání population, which might have seriously hampered us under present circumstances; and, thirdly, we have succeeded during the interval in maintaining friendly relations with the Amír of Cabul, a result which, according to the best authorities—I refer especially to Sir Lepel Griffin's statement on this head—would have been impossible had he been subjected to the constant sense of humiliation, as well as to the pecuniary loss, occasioned by the dismemberment of his kingdom and the continued presence of a British garrison at Candahar. Yet, admitting the value of such results, I cannot but think them a poor compensation for the cramped position, both military and political, in which we now find ourselves. At any rate, if we were at present established in strength at Candahar as we were in 1881, with the railway completed to that town from Sibi, and with a small detachment occupying Girishk on the Helmeud, the improvement in our military position would be at least equivalent to an additional force of 20,000 men in line should hostilities really supervene with Russia, whilst the relations we should have been able to establish during the interval with the Hazáreh and Parsiwán section of the population—relations which must in the future constitute our chief element of strength in the country—would have rendered us almost indifferent to the jealousy and opposition of the Afghans.

Having thus disposed of all preliminary matter, I now take up the frontier question, from which arises our present acute misunderstanding with Russia. Oriental states have notoriously elastic and fluctuating frontiers, and Afghanistan is no exception to the general rule. At different periods, indeed, since the institution of the kingdom of Cabul by Ahmed Shah in 1747, the Afghan power has extended on one side to Cashmire, on another to Deregez in Khorassan, while to the south it has stretched into Beluchistan and even to the frontiers of Sinde. More frequently of late years it has been circumscribed within much narrower dimensions, and has moreover been disintegrated and broken up into three distinct chiefships. The normal condition of the kingdom may be considered to be such as it presented on Shir Ali Khan's accession to power in 1868, Herat and Candahar being united to Cabul, and the seat of government being established at the eastern capital. It was shortly after this, in 1872, that, on the invitation of Russia, who had already brought Bokhara under her influence, and was exercising a tutelary direction of her

affairs, we undertook, in the interests of Shir Ali Khan, to specify the northern districts over which we considered that he was entitled to claim jurisdiction, the object being thus to define a frontier between the Afghans and Uzbeks, which should obviate in the future all risk of collision or misunderstanding. As Russia at that time had no relations whatever with the Turcomans of Merv, it is not very obvious why it should have been thought necessary to protract the Afghan frontier beyond the Bokhara limit to the west of the Oxus. Perhaps the object especially was to protect the Afghan-Uzbek states of Andekhúd and Mymeneh, which in the time of Dost Mohammed Khan had been subject to Bokhara. Perhaps Russia already contemplated the absorption of Merv, and foresaw that all territory outside of the Afghan boundary would naturally fall into her own hands. At any rate, the memorandum of 1872, better known as the Granville-Gortchakoff arrangement, after defining the Bokhara frontier as far as Khoja Saleh on the Oxus, went on to name, as districts to be included in Shir Ali's dominions, 'Akcheh, Sir-i-Púl, Mymeneh, Shibergán, and Andekhúd, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of Turcomans;' and further: 'The Western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and those of the Persian province of Khorassan is well known and need not be defined.' Now, however much it may be regretted that this memorandum, which was evidently drawn up as a mere basis for negotiation, and not as a formal declaration of territorial rights, was not more explicit in defining the trace of the line, and especially in marking the points at which it would cross the Murgháb and abut on the Heri-rúd; it did at any rate establish two main points of geographical interest. In the first place, it clearly distinguished between the independent Turcoman desert to the north and the Afghan hilly country to the south; and in the second place it naturally, and as a matter of course, assigned to Afghanistan the 'dependencies of Herat' to the west of the Murgháb, which dependencies again were divided, it was said, from Persian territory by the 'well-known' boundary of the Heri-rúd.

The terms of this agreement were in February 1873 formally accepted by Russia; and, faulty and irregular as the document is from a diplomatic point of view, it has quieted all frontier agitation between the Oxus and Heri-rúd for the last ten years, and would have served the same purpose for another ten years in advance but for the unfortunate intrusion of Russia into the controversy as a sequel to her conquest of Merv.

Russia first reintroduced a discussion on the frontier early in 1882, suggesting, in the interests of peace and order, that the arrangement of 1872-3 should, in respect to the western

portion of the line, be complemented by some formal demarcation, determined by actual survey of the country; but as the Tekkehs were then independent, and there seemed to be no advantage in encouraging Russia to absorb their territory up to the line of demarcation, the proposal for a joint commission of delimitation was received by us at the time with some coldness. Two years later, in February 1884, affairs having much advanced in the interim, negotiations were resumed, and in due course (July 1884) a commission *ad hoc* was appointed, General Lumsden being nominated by the British Government, and General Zelenoi by the Russian, with instructions to meet at Serakhs in the following October.

Now, it is quite evident that in the earlier stages of these frontier discussions the Russian Foreign Office understood the provisions of the 1872-3 arrangement, which were held to govern the later negotiation, in their natural and common-sense acceptation. The principle of a distinction between plain and hill was fully recognised, and the phrase 'dependencies of Herat' was held necessarily to include the province of Badgheis, a tract which extended from the Paropamisus range to Serakhs, and which had been a dependency of Herat from the time of the Arab conquest. The line on which the commissioners were to be engaged is thus everywhere spoken of by M. de Giers and M. Zinovieff in the preliminary negotiations as a direct line from Khoja Saleh to Serakhs, or to the neighbourhood of Serakhs, and there is no hint of any deflection of the line to the south. After the annexation of Merv, however, and especially after M. Lessar had perambulated Badgheis and made a careful study of the valleys of the Kushk and Murgháb rivers, larger views appear to have dawned upon the Russian authorities. Geographical and ethnological conditions were then invented that had never been thought of before. It was discovered that the Paropamisus range was the true natural boundary of Herat to the north, that the district of Badgheis, which lay beyond the range, had been absolved from its allegiance to Herat by efflux of time, Afghan jurisdiction having been suspended during the Turcoman raids which had desolated the district for above fifty years; above all, it was asserted that the Saryk Turcomans who dwelt at Penj-deh and in the valley of the Kushk, well within the Afghan border, must be registered as Russian subjects, because another detachment of the same tribe, who dwelt at Yolatan, beyond the desert and near Merv, had proffered their allegiance to the Czar. Questions of principle of such grave moment, it was further stated, required to be settled by the two European Governments before the commissioners could enter on their duties, and General Zelenoi was accordingly, without further explanation or apology, sent to rusticate at Tefis, regardless of the public convenience or of the respect due to his colleague, who had been waiting for him for four

months on the Murgháb with an escort of 500 men and a large gathering of attendants and camp-followers.

The abrupt and discourteous manner in which Russia gave effect to her altered views,^c by withdrawing her commissioner, was not calculated to improve the prospect of an amicable settlement. Other graver matters, too, soon supervened. Before General Lumsden had arrived at the Heri-rúd, Russia had pushed forward a patrol to Púl-i-Khatún, about fifty miles south of Serakhs, thus occupying one of the points on which the Commission would have had to adjudicate; and subsequently she extended her advance still further into the 'debateable' land, placing a strong post at Ak Robát, in the very centre of Badgheis, so as to cut off from the Afghans a famous salt lake which supplies the whole country with salt as far as Meshed and Askabad, and was thus a valuable source of revenue; and also taking possession of the pass and ruined fort of Zulficár, fifty miles south of Púl-i-Khatún, where one of the favourite tracks of the old Turcoman raiders crossed the Heri-rúd, and where an Afghan picket was already stationed. This last aggression, which was later sought to be justified by Russia on the ground of retaliation for an unauthorised Afghan advance on the Murgháb, brought the outposts of the two nations into immediate contact, and would certainly at the time have caused a collision but for General Lumsden's urgent remonstrances. On the Murgháb, too, affairs were equally critical. As long ago as 1883, before the appointment of a frontier commission was ever thought of, the Amir of Cabul, alarmed by the Russian proceedings at Merv, had established a strong military post at Bala Murgháb, in the Jamshídí country,¹ and about fifty miles short of the Saryk settlement at Penj-deh. This was a purely military precaution, with no political significance, and could give offence to no one. In March of the following year, however, the situation was a good deal altered. Owing to a visit from M. Lessar, who came from Merv for the express purpose of testing the fidelity of the Saryk Turcomans to the Amir of Cabul, and who was generally regarded as the forerunner of a Russian advance, so much alarm was created in the neighbourhood that application was made to the commandant at Bala Murgháb to send a detachment of his troops to Penj-deh for the protection of the Saryk tribesmen; and it was fortunate that this requisition was complied with, for otherwise the chances are that the Afghans would have lost the place, as the Russians were actually preparing to attack it.

¹ Bala Murgháb, where Sir P. Lumsden and his party have passed the winter, is apparently built on the site of the old city of *Abshán*, which was the capital of the *Sháhs* of Gharshistan, a line of princes of great celebrity in Oriental history. The family was of Persian descent, and reigned in Gharshistan (the upper valley of the Murgháb) for nearly two centuries during the Samanide and Ghaznevide dynasties, the Shar Abu Nasar, who was defeated by Mahmoud and died in captivity at Ghazni in A.H. 406, being one of the most learned men of his time.

The importance of this incident of the Afghan occupation of Penj-deh has been a good deal exaggerated by Russian partisans, who claim that the 'debateable' land reserved for the adjudication of the commissioners was thus first invaded by the Afghans; but in reality, as will be presently explained in detail, no question had ever been raised in the country as to Penj-deh being outside the jurisdiction of Herat, previous to M. Lessar's visit in March 1884, and the Cabul commander at Bala Murgháb, in ignorance of the appointment of a commission in Europe to consider any such question, naturally and properly supposed that he was merely carrying out an arrangement of internal police in strengthening his northern outpost. As it afterwards turned out, however, Russia attached the greatest importance to this obscure position of Penj-deh. Colonel Alikhanoff, indeed, always preferring action to negotiation, made an attempt to seize it with a detachment from Merv a few months after its occupation by the Afghans, and only desisted when he found that he must fight for its possession. There have been since repeated demonstrations of attack from the northward, and at the present moment it is the point where a collision between Russians and Afghans is most to be apprehended, the Saryks of Yolatan under Russian orders holding Púl-i-Khishti on the Kushk river, while the Saryks of Penj-deh under Afghan orders hold the neighbouring position of Ak Tepeh, within half a mile's distance, at the junction of the Kushk and Murgháb, and peace being only kept between the rival parties by the presence of our assistant commissioner, Colonel Ridgeway, who has been directed by Sir P. Lumsden to watch the frontier with an escort of fifty lancers, as long as he can with safety remain.

It must now be noted, that while local proceedings of this grave character have been taking place on the Murgháb, diplomacy in Europe has not been idle. When Russia decided not to send her commissioner to the frontier pending our acceptance of the new principles which were to govern the negotiation, she proposed for our consideration a zone of arbitration within the limits of which the boundary line was to be drawn. Negotiations on this subject are still proceeding, but no definite arrangement has been yet arrived at.

It must be patent to all the world that if Russia were pursuing a really honest policy, and were not striving to make a bargain especially favourable to her own interests, she would leave the delimitation commission to decide, according to evidence obtained on the spot, what was meant in the arrangement of 1872-3 by drawing a distinction between the Afghan hilly district and the Turcoman desert, as well as what extent of territory ought to be fairly included within 'the dependencies of Herat.' On these points, which constitute the real difficulties of the situation, I now propose to make a

few general remarks, repeating the arguments in favour of the Afghan claims which I have already submitted to the public in another place.²

Firstly, then, in regard to what is meant by the dependencies of Herat, the district between the Murgháb and Heri-rúd is known by the name of Badgheis, not, as has been fancifully suggested, from any traditional connection with the mythical Bacchus, but rather, as is stated in the *Bundeheesh*, that curious repository of ancient Aryan legends, from the tribe of Vad-keshan, who were probably a subdivision of the Hiyátheleh or Ephthalities, and who, according to Beladheri, were first established in the district, in direct dependency on Herat, by the Sassanian king Firoz in the fifth century A.D. Badgheis, from its rich and abundant pasturage and its sylvan character, soon became the favourite appanage of Herat, and the two names have been bracketed in all history and geography ever since, the Lord of the Eastern Marches being called, under the Sassanians, the Marzabán of Herat and Badgheis, and the district in question having followed the fate of the capital in all subsequent revolutions. The geographers, Istakhrí, Ibn Haucal, Mokadassi, Edrisi, and their followers to the time of the Mongol conquest, all describe Badgheis as the most valuable portion of the Herat territory. Although indifferently supplied with running streams, and being thus deficient in irrigated lands, particularly in the northern part of the district, it was on the whole well peopled, wells and *kahrizes* (or underground aqueducts) supplying the wants of the inhabitants. Again, in the southern and eastern portions of Badgheis, including the northern slopes of the Paropamisus range and the valley of the Kushk river, the natural beauties of the district became proverbial. The author of the *Heft Aklím* describes this part of Badgheis as a flower-garden of delights, and adds that it contains a thousand valleys full of trees and streams, each of which would abundantly supply an army not only with encamping ground but with grass and water, and fuel and fodder, and all the necessities of life. He also alludes to the strong hill forts in the Kaitú range, Naraitú and others, of which our officers have lately seen the remains, and thus illustrates the famous passage in the *Bundeheesh* which records that 'Afrasiáb of Tur (the eponym of the Hiyátheleh) used Bakesir of Badgheis (*Baghshúr* of the Arabs; now called *Kileh Maúr*) as a stronghold and made his residence within it, and a myriad towns and villages were erected on its pleasant and prosperous territory.' The geographers enumerate some ten or twelve considerable towns, which continued to flourish till the time of the Suffaveans, the capital being Dehistán (probably modern Gulran or Gurlan), which must have been founded by the Dahæ when they accom-

² See *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 2, 1885.

panied the kindred tribe of Tokhari or Hiyátheleh in their original immigration.

The boundaries of Badgheis seem to have fluctuated according to the power of the neighbouring states, and it is not always easy to verify the notices of the geographers, owing to the disappearance of the old names. Still, it is important to note that Hafiz Abrú, who was a minister of Herat under Shah Rúkh, states categorically that Badgheis was bounded on the west by the Persian districts of Jam and Serakhs, thus proving that, at any rate at that period, the district extended northward up to the confines of the desert. To the east Badgheis was frequently made to include Merv-er-Rúd (Ak Tepeh), Penj-deh, Baghshúr (Kileh Maúr), Baún or Bavan (Kara Tepeh), and the entire valley of the Kushk river, while to the south it was separated from the plain of Herat, as at present, by a range of hills (now called Barkhút), the prolongation of the great Paropamisus. Such being the concurrent testimony of all writers as to the configuration of the country in antiquity, and Badgheis being as intimately connected with Herat as is the Campagna with Rome, it is difficult to understand on what grounds it can now be excluded from Afghan territory as indicated in the memorandum of 1872. The argument that neither Dost Mohammed Khan, nor Shir Ali Khan, nor even Abdur Rahman Khan until quite lately, exercised any effective jurisdiction in the district, or held it in military subjection, is certainly of no value; for this condition of recent possession, which at one time did really govern the distribution, was specially excluded from consideration in determining claims to Afghan nationality by Prince Gortchakoff's letter of the 19th of December, 1872; and it would be a monstrous aggravation of the original outrage if the Turcomans, who had rendered Badgheis uninhabitable for fifty years, were, in virtue of their forcible interruption of Afghan government, to become themselves the legal owners of the country.

With regard again to the claims of Russia to inherit through the Saryk Turcomans, a portion of whom have lately become her subjects, the pretension is still more preposterous, since her outposts were not within 500 miles of the disputed territory when in 1872 the dependencies of Herat were adjudged to Afghanistan. It must be acknowledged that Badgheis has for the last fifty years been swept and harried by the Turcoman raiders till not a vestige of habitation has been left in the district. The land, especially along the Heri-rúd, is utterly desolate; but who will pretend that violence and outrage of this exceptional character has obliterated the rights of Herat to resume possession of the country on the re-establishment of order and security? In real truth Herat has never abandoned her hold *de jure* upon Badgheis. The towers along the southern hills, which

Macgregor remarked in 1875, were intended to protect the immediate plain of Herat from the further incursions of the Tekkeh savages, who suddenly swept down like a hurricane from the north whenever an opportunity offered, not to serve as landmarks for the Afghan territorial border; they were strictly works of internal defence, and as such have no analogy with the line of border towers along the course of the Heri-rúd, which at an earlier period had been erected by Kilich Khan, an officer of Shah Zamán's, with a view to resist invasion from Persia, and the ruins of which are still to be seen in a scattered line, extending from Kohsán to Garmáb in the vicinity of Púl-i-Khatún. Practically, and in so far as the safety of Herat is concerned, it can make no great difference if the Russian outposts are stationed at Púl-i-Khatún, or Zulficár, or at Kohsán. Herat would be equally open to attack from any of these points, and must rely for protection on its own means of defence; but it must be remembered that this is not a mere strategical question: on the contrary we are dealing with the rights and property of an independent sovereign as the guardian of his interests, and have no sort of authority to override the one or alienate the other on grounds of geographical or political convenience. Badgheis is unquestionably Afghan territory. Rescripts are still extant, addressed to the inhabitants by the Suddozye kings of Cabul. In 1873 Shir Ali Khan specifically named Badgheis, in his negotiations with Lord Northbrook, as an Afghan district which was likely to be overrun by the Turcomans if these tribes were expelled from Merv by the Russian arms. Again, in the famous memorandum of 1872, I have a certain knowledge that the phrase, 'dependency of Herat,' was specially intended to cover Badgheis, and finally the assessment of the district is actually borne on the Herat register at the present day.

And now with regard to the other point at issue between Russia and ourselves—the dependency of Penj-deh, which, being situated on the Murgháb, just before the river issues from the hills, should belong geographically to Afghanistan, and which, moreover, is at least forty miles south of a direct line drawn from Serakhs to Khoja Saleh on the Oxus—a brief summary of its history would seem to be required. In antiquity Penj-deh was a mere suburb of the great city of Merv-er-Rúd, now marked by the ruins of Ak-tepeh. Formed, according to the geographer Yacút, of five separate villages (whence the name) on the river Murgháb, which had been gradually consolidated into a single township under Malik Shah, it was at the time of Yacút's visit, in A.H. 617, one of the most flourishing places in Khorassan. Shortly afterwards it was ruined by the Mongols, and a second time it was devastated by Timour, but under his successors, and especially during the reigns of Shah Rúkh and Sultan Hussein Mirza, it again rose to a state of great prosperity, and ever since, except during

some brief intervals of foreign dominion, it has remained in close dependency on Herat. When Ahmed Shah Abdalli, on the death of Nadir in 1747, established the kingdom of Cabul, the Kushk and Murgháb valleys were held by Eymák tribes, Hazáreh, Fíroz-kohís, and Jamshídís, who cultivated the lower lands along the rivers and pastured their flocks over the downs of Badgheis, unmixed with either Afghans or Turcomans, but paying revenue to Herat in common with all the other tribes who inhabited the ranges of the Paropamisus.

The earliest Turcoman intruders into the valley were Ersáris, from the Oxus. These nomads first appeared in about 1825, and were shortly followed by Salors from Yolatan, and somewhat later by detached parties of Saryks from Merv, all the new visitors, however, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the local Jamshídí or Hazáreh chief, and paying their dues to the Afghan ruler of Herat. In 1858 a further dislocation occurred; the Ersáris, who never liked the Murgháb, returned to the Oxus, while the Salors and Saryks, retreating before the Tekkehs of Merv, took their places at Penj-deh. Later still the Salors crossed over to the Heri-rúd, leaving the Saryks alone in possession of the lands on the Murgháb and Kushk, where they remain in the same condition of squatters on Afghan lands to the present day. During all this long period, that is from the first appearance of the Ersáris at Penj-deh, an annual tax has been levied on the Turcoman cultivators and shepherds, either by the local Eymák chiefs—lords of the soil, and themselves accountable to Herat—or by an officer specially deputed for the purpose by the Afghan Governor of Herat. The names of the *naibs*, or deputy governors, who have thus acted in command of the district, are all well known, and in many cases the individuals are still living to attest their employment at Penj-deh under the Afghans. In fact, no question was ever raised as to the Afghan right to Penj-deh, or as to the political condition of the Saryks, until after the Russian occupation of Merv. The Saryks were Turcoman tribesmen renting Afghan lands, and during their tenancy accounted as Afghan subjects, precisely as other divisions of the great Turcoman community who were settled temporarily in Persia, in Khiva, and in Bokhara, during their sojourn paid tribute to, and acknowledged the jurisdiction of, those States. If the Saryks of their own free will desired to quit their Afghan lands at Penj-deh and in Badgheis and migrate to their former pastures, which have passed under the rule of Russia, the Afghans could not properly interfere to prevent them; nor, indeed, with a view to avoiding friction on the frontier, is it at all clear that an arrangement of this nature might not be to the advantage of the Herat Government. But it was wholly indefensible that Russia, on the broad principle of ethnographical unity, should, as she recently

did, demand as a right the registration of the Saryks as Russian subjects, and should require the transfer of the lands which they occupied to Russian jurisdiction. A frontier, too, is now boldly claimed, assigning to Russia Penj-deh, with all the adjacent lands on the Murgháb and Kuskh, and troops are moved up the river from Merv to support the claim, at the imminent risk of provoking collision and thus initiating war.

It remains now to consider the prospect before us in regard to this momentous alternative of peace or war. To those who, like myself, have watched the cautious and consistent proceedings of Russia in Central Asia since the close of the Crimean war, with a growing presentiment of evil, but still not without a certain admiration of such determined policy and a warm approval in many cases of the results, the immediate future presents no special features of mystery or alarm. The occupation of Merv and the incorporation in the Russian Empire of the vast hordes who roam the steppes from the Caspian to the Oxus was but the crowning act of a long series of costly but tentative enterprises, all leading up to the same much-desired consummation. The threshold of India was reached. Russian Turcomania was now conterminous with British Afghanistan, and it only remained to give effect to the situation in the manner most conducive to Russian interests. It must be understood, then, that in all the recent discussions between London and St. Petersburg regarding lines of frontier, work of the Commission, relations with the tribes, &c., Russia, in prosecution of those interests, has been guided by three distinct considerations, all aiming at the strengthening of her position in view to future pressure upon England. Firstly, she requires the best strategical base available for immediate demonstration against Herat. As far as actual attack is concerned, her power would be as formidable if launched from Serakhs or Merv as if she had already advanced half-way to Herat and were encamped at Zulfiár and Chemen-i-bíd; but in respect to a passive but continued pressure, no doubt her best position would be on the northern skirts of the hills which divide Badgheis from Herat, and in full command of the upper valley of the Kuskh. Hence her desire to possess a boundary line from Zulfiár on the Heri-rúd by Chemen-i-bíd to Meruchek on the Murgháb, and hence the persistency with which she clings to this line, even at the risk of actual conflict. Secondly, she requires the full command of the Murgháb and Kuskh valleys, not only because the most direct, and by far the most commodious, road to Herat from her northern base, the Caspian and Askabad, leads by Merv and Penj-deh, but also because Penj-deh dominates the communication between Herat and Afghan Turkestan, and would be thus of the greatest strategical importance in the event of war between Russia and Cabul. Hence the insistence with which

she clings to Penj-deh, and the boldness she has shown in enveloping the place with her troops, hoping, as it would seem, to redeem Alikhanoff's former failure to obtain peaceful possession by now provoking a disturbance between the Saryks and Afghans which shall justify her own forcible interposition. And, thirdly, in regard to the Saryks of Penj-deh, it should be clearly understood that it is not the tribesmen that Russia principally cares about, but the lands which they occupy. She is tempting them, no doubt, to declare in her favour by every means in her power, and she ostentatiously displays before them the bait that she has now occupied Badgheis as far as Ak Robát, and thus commands the Salt Lake and the pastures which they have hitherto enjoyed as Afghan tenants; but if the Afghans were to resume occupation of Badgheis, and the Saryks were to offer, nevertheless, to migrate to Merv or the Tejend, it is doubtful whether she would receive them. The whole controversy, indeed, may be regarded as a sham, or at best a means to an end, the possession of Penj-deh being the real object aimed at, on account of its affording such a convenient basis for threatening, or even for attacking, Herat.

The measures which Russia has taken to carry out the above objects are of a very grave significance. Although it is known that we have already recognised the validity of the Afghan claim to Badgheis and Penj-deh, and are, moreover, pledged to support by our arms the Amir of Cabul, Abdur Rahman Khan, in the event of an unprovoked aggression on his territory by a foreign enemy, she has, on the mere ground apparently that she contests his claim to these districts, advanced her troops as far as Zulficár, Ak Robát, and Púl-i-Khishti. She has, in fact, as matters stand at present, superseded the work of the commission. She has arbitrarily drawn up a line of frontier deciding all the moot points of jurisdiction in her own favour; and by her military dispositions she has given evidence that she intends to uphold this territorial distribution by force of arms. We have in the meantime done all that was possible with honour to avert hostilities. We have refused to abandon the hope of a settlement of the frontier dispute through the agency of the delimitation commission, and we have in various ways stretched conciliation to the utmost, merely requiring that no further advance shall be made into the debateable land by the pickets or patrols on either side, pending negotiation. Although no formal arrangement to this effect has been agreed to, orders have been issued to the Russian commanders on the spot, and a sort of truce of a very temporary character has been thus established; but what is to be the outcome of this strained position of affairs? The truce cannot be prolonged indefinitely, and in the meantime any chance collision between Cossack and Afghan patrols may set the whole country in a blaze, for considerable reinforcements are said to be marching on Penj-deh both

from Merv and from Herat, and there is much exasperation of feeling upon either side.

It is, of course, well understood that neither Russia nor England is desirous of entering on a war at the present time, and if the quarrel were really what it is ostensibly, it might be safely assumed that a recourse to arms would be impossible. To suppose, indeed, that two mighty nations like Russia and England would enter on a serious conflict, which would cost millions of money and entail the sacrifice of thousands of lives, upon a paltry squabble regarding a few hundred square miles of barren desert or a few hundreds of savage Turcomans, would be a simple absurdity. But the fact is that there are far graver interests in the background. Russia, in pursuance of her original design of demonstration against India, will certainly strain every nerve and encounter very serious risks in order to obtain a frontier suitable to her purpose. She desires to secure a strong and permanent position at the foot of the Barkhút hills, not perhaps with a view to undertaking the siege of Herat, for if such were her object the route up the Kushk valley would offer a more convenient mode of approach, but especially in order to increase her prestige among the Turcomans and Persians, and, if possible, to overawe the Afghans, while at the same time she would exert a severe and continuous pressure upon India. This pressure undoubtedly would be very inconvenient to us, entailing, as it would, the necessity of a constant preparedness for war, and we should be fully justified in seeking to protect ourselves against it by every means at our command. Already, for defensive purposes, we have created a strong and friendly government in Afghanistan, and we have undertaken to give it our cordial support. If, therefore, Russia continues to maintain the positions which she has usurped far within the Afghan limits, and thus permanently violates the integrity of the country, resisting all negotiation, and even thwarting our efforts through the commission to effect a compromise, there would seem to be no alternative but a resort to arms. The Afghans are quite aware of this, and are prepared to bear the brunt of the attack. The Amir, with very brief preparation, could probably put 100,000 men into the field, and supported with an auxiliary British army, which India, it may be confidently assumed, is ready to supply, would prove at least as formidable an antagonist as Omar Pasha or Shamil. Fortunately there is already a small British force under Sir P. Lumsden in the immediate vicinity of Herat, which in conjunction with the garrison of the city would be sufficient, it is thought, to protect the place from a Russian *coup de main*, pending the arrival of British reinforcements; and it must be borne in mind that if once the die were cast and Russian supremacy were fairly challenged by us in Central Asia, we might be joined by unexpected allies. The Turcomans and Uzbegs, though

cowed at present, are not subdued. Persia is incensed at her spoliation by Russia of the slopes of the Attock and the canals and rice-grounds of old Serakhs, besides being much alarmed at the gradual envelopment by Russian arms of her rich and warlike province of Khorassan; and even Turkey would not be indisposed to strike another blow on behalf of her ravished provinces, if there were the faintest prospect of success. To the possibility of European complications I need not allude, but it is hardly to be doubted that in any general *débâcle* the balance would be against Russia and in favour of England.

But it is just possible that at the eleventh hour Russia may listen to the voice of reason and moderation, and may by timely concession render the resumption of the work of the commission possible. In that case war, immediate war, might be avoided. It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that, unless forced by severe military disaster, Russia would really abandon the great object of threatening India, in pursuit of which she has already sacrificed so much treasure and spilt so much of the best blood of her army. All that we should gain would be a respite. With her attention riveted on Herat, which would henceforward become the centre-piece of the Asiatic political tableau, Russia might be content to withdraw from her present aggressive attitude, and bide her time at Merv and Serakhs. Our own proceedings must in any case mainly depend on the issue of the interview which is about to take place between the Viceroy of India and the Amir of Cabul. If, as there is every reason to anticipate, a complete understanding should be arrived at between the two authorities, the further demonstration against India would be met and checked. The defences of Herat, under British superintendence, would rapidly assume the dimensions and completeness befitting the importance of the position as the frontier fortress of Afghanistan and the 'key of India;' and an auxiliary British garrison might even, if the Amir required its co-operation, be furnished from India, so as to enable him to show a bold front to his enemies, or, in case of need, to beat off attack from the north. Under such circumstances the situation would very closely resemble that which I ventured to foreshadow in 1874—the only difference, indeed, being that whereas I then proposed, much to the dismay of the peace party both in England and in India, to lease Herat and Candahar of the Amir of Cabul, so as to enable Great Britain to negotiate direct with the Russian Government, in the present case the normal arrangement of territory would remain unchanged, and England would merely appear in relation to Herat as the Amir's ally and representative. The passage will be found in *England and Russia in the East*, second edition, 1875, p. 378, and is as follows: 'What this occupation [of Herat] might lead to, it is impossible to

say. Russia might recoil from contact with us, or we might mutually retire to a convenient distance from each other, or in our respective positions at Merv and Herat—Russia being able to draw on her European resources through the Oxus and the Caspian, while a railway through Candahar connected our advanced garrison with the Indus—we might lay the foundation of that liminary relationship along the whole line of frontier, which, although unsuited to the present state of affairs in Central Asia, must inevitably be the ultimate condition of our joint dominion in the East.’

H. C. RAWLINSON.

P.S. It should be well understood that this article has been drawn up on the writer’s personal responsibility, and does not in any way commit the Government to the opinions or line of action which it advocates.—H. C. R.

AN ANGLO-TURKISH ALLIANCE.

I.

At the risk of being thought intrusive, I must venture another word as to England's position while confronting Russian ambition. First of all we must look back a little into events which have occurred during the last ten years and even more—say from the time Russia tore up the most important clauses of the Treaty of Paris, which prevented her from increasing her navy and making fortifications in the Black Sea. I must not be considered as censuring Russian action. The maxim of the present day is to get what you can: get it, if possible, honestly; but get it. Now what did Russia go to war with Turkey for? Not for the sake of humanity, on account of the so-called atrocities committed by Turks on Bulgarian Christians, otherwise she would never have allowed the far more atrocious doings of the Bulgarians against the unfortunate Turks after the war (regarding which, by the by, even the so-called philanthropists and atrocity-mongers in this country never uttered a word or raised a finger beyond shrugging their shoulders and saying that all these doings were 'much to be deplored'). No; far from it. Russia went to war with Turkey to obtain Batoum and the Kilia branch of the mouth of the Danube. These objects she succeeded in obtaining. By the latter feat she obtained a position by which she threatened Austria and all Eastern Europe strategically in the event of a war. In regard to the former achievement, we have only to refer to the will of Peter the Great and to the dream of the Empress Catherine, in both of which we find that Russia's destiny was to be the possessor of Constantinople and India.

At the time that the Treaty of Berlin was made I raised my humble voice in protest against Batoum being given over to Russia, and a nice mess I made of it, so far as my own personal interests were concerned, for I made enemies all round. The only satisfaction to those who thought as I did in regard to giving up Batoum was that the Russians were to confine their operations into making it a commercial port. Alas! How vain has been our faith in the value of

treaties! Batoum is now a strong military fortress, and by its possession Russia flanks any movement of any army that might be employed against her. The strategical importance of Batoum is apparently unperceived by English statesmen, but it is fully understood by lookers-on abroad, who are well aware that, holding Batoum, the Russians could despatch the vast army now occupying the Caucasus *en route* to the Indian frontier. The heaviest guns from Sebastopol have recently been transported from that fortress to Batoum, which has become—as I foretold at the time of its cession that it would become—a place of prodigious strength. This so-called ‘commercial’ port, situated in an out-of-the-way, seemingly unimportant corner of the Black Sea, puts the army of Trans-Caspiana, as it is called, in easy communication with Odessa, the Crimea, and the mouth of the Danube. In the course of a week an army of 100,000 men could be conveyed to the right towards India or to the left towards Europe. In Peter the Great’s will, already referred to, it is said, ‘Docks and ports must be established in the Black Sea; the downfall of Persia must be assured; the way to India forced.’ The capture of Kars and Batoum are part of this plan, because they lie on the most convenient road to Herat and the Indian frontier. Thus it is evident that Russia is carrying out steadily and surely her programme of conquest. It is evident that she profits by every occasion which arises to turn away the attention of England from her designs. The most dangerous point is that Russia as she advances strengthens her position in a manner altogether irretrievable by those against whom she is acting. This is done in many ways: by establishing her system of government (such as it is); by conciliating the ignorant inhabitants of the countries she forcibly annexes, she succeeds in persuading them that her system of civilisation surpasses that of all other nations; by making railways that can, in fact, only be used for the conveyance of troops; by forcing the people into her army; and by Russifying the whole population, she guards herself from any formidable rising against her arbitrary rule.

How in the name of common sense can we be so blind as to do nothing to counteract this insidious policy? If we are so indifferent to our vital interests as not to perceive how it affects us as a nation, all the writing in the world will never save us from the ruinous consequences of our imbecility. I have no wish to criticise the actions of Russia while dealing with her barbarous neighbours, so long as she does not apply her little game to the provinces immediately touching our Indian Empire, and so long as she refrains from intriguing among people over whom we have the undeniable right of direction and protection. Let Russian *virtue* have free scope in the immediate vicinity of Russia, but let her clearly understand that ‘hands off’ must apply to her when she pushes too close to our Indian possessions. At this

critical time it must be more than ever evident to the English people that, to check the actions to which I have just referred, an alliance with Turkey is of the greatest importance, because England can take no steps to effectually stop Russian encroachment except with the aid and assistance of our old and natural allies the Turks. How is England in any way to control the action of Russia while moving her armies by water from point to point, unless English fleets could be sent into the Black Sea to prevent her doing so? By existing treaties, both the Dardanelles and Bosphorus are neutral in time of war. Except by permission of the Sultan of Turkey, no war ships can pass into the Black Sea, and thus Russia commands the situation, with water-communication for her armies free, and the Black Sea to all intents and purposes a Russian lake, forming an admirable base for the Russian army. It is evident that this must eventually be fatal to our defence of India. On the other hand, an alliance, *offensive and defensive*, with Turkey would assure England a commanding position which would paralyse the hostility of Russia. Instead of acting on the defensive, England could, very shortly after the commencement of a war, take the offensive, and not only utterly ruin Russia, but drive her back in her ambitious projects at least a century. This could be done by attacking the base of her operations at Batoum, which would never be able to resist the combined action of the English and Turkish fleets. Destruction of railway communication with Tiflis; cutting off communication with the southern provinces of Russia, and thus stopping the expedition of reinforcements from that side; the disembarkation of an Anglo-Turkish army on the Caucasian coast, and the organisation of a revolt among the tribes (with whom hatred of the Muscovite is a matter of religion, and who only want leaders and assistance to break out), would give ample employment to the Russian army in the Caucasus, and teach Russia a lesson effectually putting Peter's will and Catherine's dream out of her head for the next hundred years.

As I have introduced the question of Batoum, and its importance as a base of operations to the palpable designs of Russia in her slow, but sure, career of conquest, it will perhaps be interesting to give a short description of the provinces lying south of that stronghold, namely, Lazistan and Armenia, concerning both of which so little is really known. We hear a great deal of 'Armenia for the Armenians,' and of the cruelty of the Turks to the Christians in that country. All these stories are one-sided, and, like all one-sided stories, they are greatly exaggerated.

With regard to Lazistan, it is inhabited by a poor, hardy, sober, and long-suffering race, brave as lions, and as miserable as any poor wretches on the face of the earth. Their country is situated between the disturbed and unsettled provinces on the south of the Caucasus

on one side and Armenia on the other. One day they are under Russian control, another day they are on their own hook, and a third day they are overrun by the lawless hordes who inhabit the northern part of what we call Armenia. What hope have they of either peace or happiness? Since the last war Russian authority has made itself felt in the neighbourhood of Batoum. The Russian frontier, having been considerably advanced into Lazistan, what has been the result? The so-called mild rule of the Muscovite has been tried, and, after a few months of its blessings, every man and woman who could scrape together the means of doing so have emigrated into Turkey, preferring to suffer the pinching poverty experienced by the refugees in that country to remaining under the paternal government of Russia. I have said that the Lazis are a brave race. I will give one instance of their unflinching pluck. During the Russian siege of Batoum (which ended, I may say *en passant*, in a dead failure, for Batoum remained in Turkish hands till foolishly handed over to Russia by the Treaty of Berlin) I myself was witness of an attack made on the Russian lines by about 500 Lazis. These grand fellows rushed out of the fortress of Batoum, and, with knives in their mouths and rifles in their hands, dashed into the Russian trenches, over which they jumped, and, in spite of a desperate opposition, forced their way into the Russian camp, where they played the very devil with their invaders; 125 of these heroes came back. These are the kind of men who could be utilised by the English in the event of war with Russia, not in untrained batches of 500, but in well-organised irregular corps of as many thousands, who wouldn't ask for better sport than to get at the hated Muscovite.

Now as to Armenia.

The Armenians are an ancient people who were once a great nation. In many respects they can be compared to the Jews. They are dispersed over the face of the earth. There is no large town which contains a population exclusively Armenian. Therefore the idea of giving them what is commonly called 'autonomy' can only be compared in absurdity to giving 'autonomy' to the Jews in England. They are Christians, however, and, although belonging to a faith hostile to the Russian Church, that is enough for the Russians to profess the greatest sympathy with them, and to talk of them, in their usual canting way, as 'our brothers groaning in Turkish slavery.' In former ages there was a country called Armenia, extending from the Hindoo Koosh to the Mediterranean. At the present moment there is no such country as Armenia. The districts where the Armenians live in the greatest numbers are divided between Turkey, Persia, and Russia. These districts, roughly speaking, lie round the foot of Mount Ararat. Here is a celebrated monastery and cathedral called Echmiadzin. The Armenians look to this spot in the same

way as the Jews look to the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem. In 1828, the Russians took possession of this sanctuary, and in doing so got a hold on the Armenians and made them pose as an interesting nationality. From that time the Russification of the Armenians began. The Russian Government got possession of the schools and the education of the children. They interfered and meddled with everything. In Turkey the Armenians exist as a nation, and are called a 'nation' in the Turkish language. In Turkey they are allowed to manage their local affairs, and justice, in cases where Armenians only are concerned, is administered by the priests or elders. This is why they prefer the government of the Turks to that of the Russians. They want to be Armenians and not Russians. The Russians do everything in their power to discredit the Turkish administration, and to fill the heads of the Armenians with exaggerated notions of their wrongs. Agents of the Russian Government are constantly wandering about the country in every kind of disguise, and under every sort of pretence, exciting discontent. Whenever an Armenian conceives himself wronged he looks to Russia for support, and even family disputes about property, when referred to Tiflis, receive encouragement from the Russian Government. The English Consuls in Turkey are sent to protect the Christians. The Russian Consuls are sent to foment disorder.

For a long time there were two secretaries employed in the Russian Consulate at Erzerum. Both these gentlemen were very fond of taking long excursions into the country and making sketches. The Turks, who are very honest themselves, never dreamt that the occupations of these two officials could be otherwise than harmless. After the battle of Devaboyoun an outlying work commanding Erzerum was attacked by the Russians. The storming party got in; but through some mistake or other, not being supported, the Turks made short work of them. To the astonishment of the inhabitants, who knew these harmless civilian secretaries, the officer who led the stormers into the fort was recognised as one of these well-known members of the Russian Consulate. He had been killed. In his pockets were found elaborate plans of the fortifications of Erzerum. His employment while he was in the country may be taken as a specimen of the employment of all the Russians who come into the country—namely, planning and intriguing against the Turks. Why do the Russians show such sympathy for the Armenians living in Turkey, and why do they not care a straw about the Armenians living in Persia? The answer is simple enough. Because the Turkish Armenians live on the road towards Constantinople. No one but a Russian could define the frontiers of Armenia, because the Armenians are scattered all over the country and mixed up in towns and even small villages with hundreds of other sects and tribes.

Besides, as I said before, Armenia has no official designation in Russia, Turkey, or Persia. The Russians, however, pretend that Diarbekir is the extreme limit of Armenia, and no doubt their next move will be to try and get possession of that strategical point. Russian sympathy for 'brothers groaning in Turkish slavery' and Russian strategy always hunt in couples. Once in Diarbekir, it is not necessary to be a prophet to predict that the Russians would put forward their old claim to a protectorate of the holy places in Jerusalem. Nothing could be more popular than this pretension with the mass of the Russian peasants. Like everything done by Russia, this, too, would be disguised under the name of religion. Religion! what crimes are committed in thy name! On the plea of protecting Turkish Christians, whose religion they persecute at home with a virulence altogether unknown in the Ottoman Empire, another European power has succeeded quite recently in overturning an admirable system of government in a province of the Turkish Empire, and it is positively certain that if the Turkish government in Armenia were equally admirable, it would be just as much the policy of Russia to upset it too. The hankering of the Russians after Diarbekir is on a par with the rest of their manœuvres in Armenia. They want to obtain possession of it for excellent strategical reasons. It is, in plain words, the Metz of the Euphrates Valley, and the Russians once in that commanding position would threaten the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta. It was with the intention of check-mating in advance the palpable game of the Russians on this side, that Lord Beaconsfield guaranteed what was left of Armenia to the Turks and made of Cyprus an English *dépôt*.

The aims of Russian ambition extend like the arms of an octopus throughout Asia Minor. Having once bagged Armenia, she will try to push her conquests further south, so as to threaten the coveted goal of Constantinople from the Asiatic side, and thus avoid a conflict with Austria, as well as a dispute with her jealous German neighbours, should Turkish-European conquests be attempted. It is for this reason that the Turkish Government, fully aware of the insidious and carefully pre-arranged designs of their natural enemy, always insist that those projectors who propose developing the enormous natural riches of Asia Minor, by the construction of lines of railway, should include in their propositions a great railway communication through the northern districts of Anatolia, combining military strategy with commercial enterprise. This wise determination on the part of Turkey has naturally greatly retarded the progress of railway communication through Asia Minor to the Tigris and Euphrates valleys; however, there is every reason to hope that this difficulty will be overcome by a mutual accord being arrived at between the railway contractors and the Ottoman Government.

The timidity of the Turkish Government in granting concessions for the construction of railways, as well as for otherwise developing the riches of Asia Minor, arises altogether from their fear of political complications resulting from the employment of foreigners in the heart of the Empire; for what with the capitulations, consular interference, intrigues being got up and encouraged against the Porte whenever the foreign element is too strong, the former, while only maintaining its just rights, finds itself eternally engaged in impossible controversies. To prevent this the Ottoman Government have resolved that all future concessions shall be given to companies only on the undertaking that they will act under Turkish law, as does, indeed, that very successful establishment, the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Now Turkish law, which is based on common sense and sound principle, is so very little understood that this proviso unnecessarily frightens many serious proposers of schemes which, if carried out, would be the saving of Turkey financially.

Before concluding this article I must refer very briefly to a remark which I made at the commencement of it relating to the Kilia branch of the Danube river, now, through Russian astuteness at the Congress of Berlin, in the hands of the Muscovites. I have been considerably snubbed by the high and mighty authorities composing the Danube Commission, who have lulled themselves into perfect security as to the utter unimportance of Russia's having established herself as controller of one of the branches of that river; but I appeal to ordinary mortals—who, like myself, think it dangerous that an ambitious nation such as Russia should hold possession of a branch of a river through which the whole commerce of Southern Austria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, and other grain-growing provinces, is carried—not to forget that the Danube in its course towards the sea brings down goods that are shipped on board vessels loaded at places as far up in the interior of Austria as Linz and Passau, and that the command of an important outlet of that water-way will greatly interfere with the liberty of commerce should any misunderstanding arise with the countries through which it flows. The great authorities above referred to ridicule the strong protest of Roumania, as well as the complaints of the other countries interested. They say: 'We have opened the lower branches of the Danube for you, and you need not fear the upper branch ever being utilised to your detriment.' This, however, is purely a matter of opinion; and one has only to ask those most nearly interested in the question to find that, although folding their arms and accepting the inevitable, they are intensely disgusted at the cool way in which their interests have been stamped upon and disregarded.

Those who read this article will no doubt be convinced that the main object I have had in view in writing it is to prove the absolute

necessity of an Anglo-Turkish alliance, without which England herself, with all her strength, will be paralysed in her action against Russia should the misfortune of war arise, which I fear, sooner or later, to be inevitable, unless more prudent counsels prevail.

I again assert that I do not for a moment presume to blame the actions of Russia. I blame those who allow her thus to endanger the peace of the world while striving to benefit herself and her people in accordance with what she honestly believes to be her true destiny.

HOBART PASHA.

II.

'The present condition of affairs in the East makes it the duty of every man interested in the welfare of his country to endeavour to find some solution of the difficulty.'

IN accordance with the call of duty, as defined by Hobart Pasha in the sentence quoted above,¹ I venture to offer a few remarks on his article advocating an alliance with Turkey, which, from the weight attaching to the name of its author, and from his intimate acquaintance with Turkish affairs, will doubtless have attracted much attention.

As it is my misfortune to differ with Hobart Pasha *in toto* as to the advisability of an alliance with the Sublime Porte, I have the greater pleasure in expressing my cordial and entire agreement in all that he has so eloquently urged in favour of the Turkish people, as distinguished from their rulers.

A finer, kinder-hearted, more lovable race than the purely Turkish inhabitants of Anatolia, it has never been my lot to meet with in any part of the world. No one could live among them, as I have done, without being deeply impressed with their many good qualities, and feeling the most profound sympathy for their miserable condition.

In this brave, hardy, simple peasantry, Turkey undoubtedly possesses one great element of strength; but in every other respect she is deplorably weak, and I am convinced that an alliance with her is the very worst course that this country could follow, and one which must, sooner or later, lead to dangers compared to which those we have now to face are mere trifles.

In support of this view of the case I propose, in the first place, to examine the extent of the advantages to be gained by the alliance which is so warmly advocated by the gallant admiral, and then to point out the disadvantages, which to his mind are absolutely non-existent, while to mine they are as clear as day.

The advantages which it is supposed we may gain by a Turkish alliance are, I take it, twofold. Firstly, the material aid of the Ottoman army and navy; secondly, the moral support which, as a

¹ From his article in the March number of this Review.

great Mussulman power, we should derive from the friendship of the Caliph of Islam.

Now it is a very remarkable circumstance that, with reference to the assistance to be expected from the Turkish navy, Hobart Pasha is discreetly silent; and this silence is the more significant as, from his official position, he is thoroughly acquainted with the present condition of that navy, and could have told us how many of the ironclads which perpetually lie at anchor in the Golden Horn could put to sea at short notice.

Reliable information on this point would be of the greatest value, inasmuch as at Constantinople grave doubts are entertained as to the seaworthiness of the fleet, and strange stories are told of machinery eaten up by rust, and of boilers which even a Yankee skipper would decline without thanks.

With reference to the army, however, no such reticence is maintained, and we are tempted by the promise of 'half a million of the finest troops in the world, available at a moment's notice,' ready and able to do all our fighting for us, and render the calling out of our reserves and the proffered help of our colonies alike unnecessary.

This sounds well, but I very much fear that nearly half of these redoubtable warriors are men in buckram, and that we might call for a good many moments before they answered to our appeal.

That the Turkish army can muster over half a million on paper is, no doubt, true enough, but Hobart Pasha ought surely to know, as well as most men, the difference between this phantom host and the actual fighting force which could take the field in time of need; and he will not, I think, find much fault with the figures given below, which, without pretending to exact accuracy, afford a tolerably correct estimate of the number of soldiers actually available.

The Turkish army, which, within the last few years, has been remodelled on the Continental system, consists of the 'Nizam,' or active army, and the 'Redif,' or Landwehr. The latter is divided into two 'Bans,' to the first of which all men are transferred as soon as their period of service with the colours is completed.

The regulation, or paper strength of the army is as follows:—

NIZAM.

Infantry.

5 army corps, each consisting of 32 battalions of 1,000 men	100,000
2 army corps, incomplete, about	40,000
Total	2 0,000

Cavalry.

6 army corps of 30 squadrons each	180 squadrons
Artillery	112 batteries
Engineers	6 battalions
Army service train, &c., making up in all perhaps	50,000

REDIF.—*Infantry only.*

1st Ban, 5 army corps of 32 battalions each	.	.	160,000
2nd Ban, " " " "	.	.	160,000
Total	.	.	320,000

Nominal total strength.

Nizam, or active army	.	.	250,000
Redif, or Landwehr	.	.	320,000
Total	.	.	570,000

which is somewhat over the half million mentioned by Hobart Pasha.

So much for the strength as it should be: now for the real strength, so far as it is possible to estimate it.

When a war with Greece was imminent in 1881, the commander of the second army corps at Adrianople was ordered, on the 24th of June, to mobilise as rapidly as possible, and by the end of July it was officially reported that the strength of each battalion had been brought up to 800 men.

This, however, was not really the case, and, at the end of August, the force on the Greek frontier, in Thessaly and Epirus, consisted of only 30,000, all told, in forty-eight battalions, giving an average of only 625 men to each battalion, instead of 1,000.

Assuming that Turkey has grown stronger during the last four years (a very bold assumption), and calculating that, within three months, each battalion could be raised to 700 combatants (instead of 625 as in 1881), we may place the fighting strength of the active army at 112,000 Infantry, exclusive of the two incomplete army corps, which it would not be safe to remove from Baghdad and Yemen: to this must be added 38,000 Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers, &c., making a total of 150,000.

As regards the Redif the case is still worse, and it is tolerably certain that the first Ban would not muster more than 600, and the second Ban more than 500, to each battalion.

I arrive at this conclusion from what I myself observed at Brussa, in the spring of 1881, when many battalions of Redif passed through that town, on their way to the Greek frontier.

Many battalions were extremely weak, from 400 to 450, rank and file, while the strongest did not muster over 650 to 700 men; an average of 600 would certainly have been very much over the mark. The fighting strength of the Redif may therefore be estimated at

1st Ban, 160 battalions of 600	.	.	96,000
2nd Ban, 160 battalions of 500	.	.	80,000
Total	.	.	176,000
Active army, as noted above	.	.	150,000
Total	.	.	326,000

Our 'half million of the finest troops in the world' has now dwindled down to about 326,000 at the outside, of whom considerably

less than one half are regulars, the remainder being composed of men many of whom have passed the prime of life, and who for several years have not handled a rifle or done a day's drill.

In thus calculating the actual force which the Porte could put into the field, I have purposely omitted the 'Mustafiz,' or Landsturm. My reason for so doing is, that these veterans are of very little use, being quite unfit for active service, and ought to be called out only in the last extremity.

It is probable that Hobart Pasha when estimating the strength of the Ottoman forces, has failed to allow for the terrible losses which they sustained during the three years' war, 1875-78, which terminated in their total collapse; losses so heavy as to be almost incredible.

There is no reason to suppose that the two provinces over which my consulate extended suffered more than other parts of Anatolia, and their returns were as follows:—

Khudavendikyar	.	.	80,000	went to the wars,	20,000	returned
Kastamuni	.	.	52,000	"	16,000	"

Believing at first that these figures could not possibly be correct, I made inquiries in all the villages that I passed through in the course of my tours, and the following numbers are taken at random from my note-book:—

1st village	.	.	.	180	went to the army,	30	returned
2nd village	.	.	.	18	"	5	"
3rd "	.	.	.	36	"	7	"
4th "	.	.	.	30	"	12	"
				264			
						54	

A few of the missing men may have remained in Russia, where all prisoners were very kindly treated, and a few more may have settled down in different parts of the country, but the vast majority have fallen in action, or died from wounds, want of food, exposure and sickness.

Brave as the Turkish soldiery undoubtedly are, I very much doubt whether they now feel that confidence in themselves and their leaders which would enable them to encounter the Russians again with anything like their former spirit. The memory of their last fatal campaign weighs heavily on them, and they are disheartened by the belief that they were betrayed before, and may be betrayed again, by some of their own chiefs.

To return to our 326,000 soldiers, whom for the sake of argument I will allow to be of first-rate quality, what is the first duty that must be required of them? Obviously the defence of their own territory; and provision must be made:—

1. For garrisoning Erzeroum and defending Armenia:
2. For holding, in force, the line of the Balkans, or, failing that, some positions nearer to Constantinople.

3. For 'observing' the Greek, Albanian, Montenegrin, and Servian frontiers.

After these purely defensive arrangements have been made, how many sabres and bayonets will be available to assist us in an attack on Russia?

On the answer to this question depends the value of the Turkish alliance, from a purely military point of view.

The next advantage we have to consider is, the moral effect which a Turkish alliance might produce on the 50,000,000 Mussulmans in our Indian Empire, whom, by the way, Hobart Pasha includes amongst 'the great Mohammedan races in Turkey and its dependencies,' reminding one of the patriotic Manxman, who prayed for the 'country of Man and the adjacent islands of England and Scotland.'

We now enter on the debatable land of supposition and conjecture, where facts and figures cease to act as guides, and nothing can be known with absolute certainty.

Judging from my own experience in India, I am of opinion that the vast majority of Mussulmans there, like the vast majority of Christians in Europe, are occupied chiefly with the things of this world, taking thought for the morrow, how they may eat and drink, and wherewithal they may be clothed, and troubling their heads very little about the Caliph of Islam, his triumphs and his defeats.

In the event of any war between Christians and Turks, the sympathies of the Indian Mussulmans would, no doubt, be with their co-religionists, but this would be purely a matter of sentiment, and would certainly not dispose them to draw their swords from their scabbards or the rupees from their pockets. There are, no doubt, some earnest fiery spirits who would be eager to fight for the faith, but their zeal would be damped by the fact that they are staunch believers in the martyrs Hassein and Hussein, while the Caliph is at the head of the opposite faction, to whom those martyred saints are *Anathema Maran-atha*.

It is therefore at least doubtful whether our Indian Mussulman subjects would welcome with any extreme enthusiasm a Turkish alliance; and if one may judge from the small success which attended certain efforts of the Sultan in our Eastern Empire in 1881-82, his influence there may easily be over-rated.

Supposing, however, that I am entirely mistaken on this point, and that the influence of the Sultan, as Caliph of Islam, is so great and so widely spread as Hobart Pasha believes it to be, would it be for our benefit in the long run to fan into a flame the smouldering fires of fanaticism, to encourage our Indian Mussulmans to look for orders to Constantinople rather than to London, and to transfer their allegiance from the Empress of India to the Sultan of Roum? Might we not, some fine day, find that we were hoist with our own petard?

To what extent Turkish support would avail us in the Soudan and Egypt I am not prepared even to hazard a conjecture, and doubt greatly whether anyone knows much as to the feelings of the Mahdi's followers: they have certainly no reason to love the Turk, and their prophet, apparently, denies the Sultan's right to the Caliphate, and denounces him as an impostor, a usurper, and a Laodicean.

So much for the advantages to be gained by a Turkish alliance: let us now look at the other side of the picture.

First and foremost, in certainty though not in importance, is the question of pounds, shillings, and pence; if we know nothing else, of this at least we are well assured, that a Turkish alliance must be an expensive luxury; the Sultan may be the greatest, wisest, best of monarchs; his legions may be as the sand on the sea-shore for multitude, and bold as lions, but the Imperial treasury is as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard.

During the Russian war, when the Turks were fighting against a hated invader and the foe was at their very gates, the men put up with scanty rations and no pay, but their patience was tried to the utmost, and when they were turned adrift, after the war, in rags and all but penniless, to find their way home as best they could, they felt and spoke bitterly enough of the treatment they had received. One man made me a handsome offer of his three years' pay in arrears for a medjidie (three shillings and fourpence) in hard cash, while others vowed that, come what might, they would never go to the wars again.

All these grievances might be forgotten if the country were once more invaded by the infidel, and these brave fellows might again turn out in defence of hearth and home, taking their chance of semi-starvation as being all in the day's work; but, if they were called on to fight on behalf of Great Britain, they would certainly expect to be treated as became the allies of the wealthiest nation in the world, and, to supply their wants, English gold would have to flow like water.

The next disadvantage of the proposed alliance is that, whether it brought a strong force to our aid or not, it would certainly array against us all the enemies of Turkey, whose name is legion.

Without pretending to any special knowledge of the present state of Eastern Europe, I may venture to prophesy that the first shot fired by a Turkish soldier against a Russian would call to arms nearly all the Christian nationalities which have been, or still are, under the Turkish yoke.

Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia would be in a blaze; the warlike clans of Albania and Montenegro would pour down from their mountains, and the armies of Bulgaria and Servia, numbering some 120,000 men, would be set in motion, while it is more than probable that Roumania would back them up with another force of equal strength.

Greece might possibly be kept quiet by our influence, but should

she join in the fray, yet another army of 70,000 or 80,000 soldiers would be thrown into the scale against us.

Supposing, however, that fortune favoured us on every occasion, and that the campaign was one long series of victories; that the Russians were smitten, hip and thigh, and that all the smaller nationalities that had ventured to oppose us were driven to sue for peace, what then would be our position, and what reward would our brave ally require at our hands? Surely the very least the Sultan would demand, in return for all the sacrifices he had made, would be the recovery of a portion, if not of all, the territory which had been wrested from him after the disastrous campaigns of 1877-78; he would, moreover, consider us bound to assist him in retaining his hold on those lands.

England would then have to choose between defrauding her faithful ally of the rightful spoils of war, and trampling the Christian nationalities into the dust and handing them over to the tender mercies of their old oppressors.

Either course would lower us in the eyes of Europe, while the whole Mohammedan world would glorify our ally. "Ul-humd-ul-illah," the Commander of the Faithful, is ever victorious; the Ingleez may rest in safety under the shadow of his sword.'

J. PICTON WARLOW,

late Military Vice-Consul in Anatolia.

forward, and the possibilities of growth and expansion which seem certain, it is surely wise to consider in time what our future position as a nation is likely to be. Are we to allow our great colonies to drift away from us and become independent nations like the United States, or should we strive to permanently maintain the union which promises such future greatness? As a mercantile nation, is it not of consequence, when we find our products gradually being shut out of foreign ports, to secure our future trade with our colonies, where it is so rapidly increasing? Even if we now pay some colonial import duties on our productions, we can judge by the practice of the United States how those might be increased and multiplied if our colonies were to become independent.

In the world's future, great empires seem fated to take the place of the smaller states of to-day. America and Russia threaten to dwarf the smaller European states, and Germany will probably expand by absorption or conquest of her smaller neighbours, while England has only to wait the growth of her own people in her own territories, to bind them to her side in closer ties, and she need fear no rival.

The time is now most opportune to consider the question of the consolidation of the Empire. The colonies are still passionately loyal, and are desirous of a closer and more permanent union with the mother-country. An extension of the franchise has been recently granted, to include two millions of new electors. This measure will lead to further legislation of a more democratic character, and doubtless before long to a universal extension of this privilege, and thus give greater power to a class who do not view with favour the idea of the hereditary right of another class in the community to legislate for the nation.

Before the loyalty of our colonies grows cold in a new generation, having necessarily fewer sympathies in common with England, and before the advent to power of the least educated of the people, it is wise fully to consider the splendid opportunity that now offers itself, and to lay wide and deep the foundations of the extended Empire of the future.

The Imperial Federation League has endeavoured with considerable success to awaken an interest in the public mind towards this most important question. Hitherto they have abstained, and perhaps wisely, from putting forward any definite scheme by which the object which they desire may best be attained, and while some of their members and their chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, have published their individual opinions on the question, the League itself has not yet adopted any scheme which they are prepared to advocate.

The time has now come, however, when a more definite position must be taken up. They must know their own minds if they hope to influence public opinion, and some proposition as to how Imperial

Federation is to be attained will soon be expected from them by the public.

I have already, through the public press, plainly set forth my views as to the solution of this problem, which is so important to the future of the Empire.

The key to the whole question is this: Are you, or are you not, as Englishmen, willing to admit on equal terms your countrymen residing in the colonies to the rights and privileges and responsibilities for common objects of the men of the United Kingdom? If the answer be a negative one, then it seems to me that disintegration of the Empire and the independence of the great colonies is only a question of time, and the wisest course would be to prepare for the inevitable.

If, on the contrary, it be fully conceded that the country and the Legislature are willing and ready to admit the colonists to equal rights, provided they will bear their fair proportion of Imperial burdens, the main difficulty in the way of Imperial Federation will have disappeared.

Let us now inquire what are those items of expenditure which may be fairly called Imperial. The first, and that most important, is that for national defence.

In round numbers the army costs the country an annual outlay of seventeen millions, and the navy ten millions sterling. There are other items of expenditure which may fairly be classed as Imperial, such as the Foreign Office with its ambassadorial and consular services, royal allowances, and the expenses of a Federal Parliament, which in all, including the army and navy, would amount to about thirty millions sterling annually. Of this annual expenditure for the protection of the Empire the colonies would be expected to pay their proportion according to their wealth and population, but any expenditure for any of these objects by the colonies would be a set-off against this payment, and should be deducted from the proportion of Imperial expenditure with which they would be chargeable.

It is obviously impracticable that the colonies could have a proportionate representation in the present House of Commons, the number of which is much too large already, and because the number of members to which they would be entitled in proportion to their population would be too great even now, and, as the colonies increase, the expense of sending so many representatives to so great a distance would be prohibitive of this scheme. And it is not to be thought of that representatives of the colonies should have the right to deal with the ordinary legislation of the United Kingdom.

The only practical scheme, therefore, seems to be that of an Imperial Parliament of two Houses to deal with Imperial affairs, and also National or Colonial Parliaments to deal with the necessary legislation for each nation or colony. The Imperial Federal Parliament

might consist either of one or of two Chambers, to be elected by each division of the Empire having representative institutions. We may take it for granted that the nearly universal practice would be adopted, and that a Federal Parliament of two Houses would be preferred to a Federal Council of only one Chamber, and that these two Houses should be moderate in number, to enable the distant colonies to be fully represented without too great an inconvenience. In the scheme which I put forward I proposed a Federal Parliament of two Houses of a hundred members each, the members for the upper House to be elected by the members of the upper Houses of the different colonies and divisions of the Empire, and the members for the lower House by the lower Houses of each colony or division. As we shall soon have in British dominions fifty millions of the English race, the electoral unit would then be half a million of people; and in the rapidly growing colonies each fraction of half a million might also have one member. Each political party should also be represented by equal numbers, to keep the balance of parties and to overcome the difficulty that has been found in the election of Scotch and Irish representative Peers by the majority. The scheme proposes a separate Parliament of two Houses for Ireland and the same for Scotland, to be composed of the members of the House of Commons for each country, and the Peers of each country; an adjustment of the representation to take place decennially or after each census.

This scheme has the advantage that it promises a remedy for the Irish difficulty, that it admits colonists to equal rights with Englishmen, that it distributes and equalises the burden of national defence and of other Imperial expenditure, that it maintains existing institutions and hereditary privileges, that it allows the most perfect freedom to local legislatures to deal with local affairs, and that by it Ireland will obtain Home Rule, not by any concession to dynamitards, or to disloyal and treasonous agitation, but because it is a part of the plan adopted for the benefit of the whole Empire.

Another very remarkable advantage to be gained by the change proposed is that the burden of legislation, now almost too grievous to be borne by members of the House of Commons, will be lightened and shared by the different local legislatures. The greatest, wisest, and best, and those best fitted for the work, would be elected by the different legislatures to the Federal Parliament for the important duties of the position.

But a change of the nature proposed cannot be adopted and carried out all at once. In England all great constitutional changes are usually carried out by degrees, one step following another till the result is accomplished. The steps which would lead up to the perfect and symmetrical plan, which should always be kept in view, might be, in the first instance, the appointment of a council of the Agents-General for the Colonies to keep the Minister of State for the Colonies informed

of the opinions and desires of the colonists. This proposal has been put forward by Lord Grey and Mr. Montagu Burrows, and although its adoption would not be federation in any sense, and might even retard that desirable end, it would be of good service to the colonists as well as to the Colonial Minister.

A further and much more important step would be the extension of the powers of the Grand Committees in the House of Commons and their formation in the House of Lords. What an advantage it would be to remit all Irish local questions to a Grand Committee of the House of Commons, to be afterwards dealt with by a Grand Committee of the Lords; measures passing through these two committees to receive the Queen's assent and become law, unless in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown they exceeded the power granted to the two committees, or infringed the rights of the Imperial Committees, which should be entrusted with questions of Imperial interest! The next step would be to give representation to the colonies, and seats in both Houses of Parliament to colonial representatives, with the right to act on the Imperial Committees only; each colony having representative institutions to have a member in each House for each electoral unit of its population.

Once the separate and final legislation of the Grand Committees in each House for England, Ireland, Scotland, and for Imperial affairs came into working operation, the final step of granting these committees the power to sit and legislate in London, Dublin, or Edinburgh, as would be most convenient, would be the practical completion of the scheme.

In an ably written article in the December number of this Review, the late Premier of Queensland, Mr. John Douglas, says that while Australians are 'essentially loyal,' yet 'even if they may wish to struggle against it, they must some day accept their absolute independence not only as a duty but as a necessity.' This indicates what must surely come if steps be not taken in time to avert what would be a great national calamity. That which Mr. Douglas deemed most difficult if not impossible in December last, seems now almost within the range of practical politics. Lord Norton also in September wrote an article entitled 'Imperial Federation: its Impossibility,' but the impossibility of its ever being adopted was not very clearly shown and seemed to exist chiefly in his own imagination. He asks: 'But supposing the great colonies had certain clearly defined subjects of common interest made referable to them in common council with ourselves . . . would they ever agree to undertake a common liability in matters however wisely selected as of common interest, yet necessarily very unequally affecting them all?' The agreement or act of Federal Union would be the evidence of their willingness to do this which Lord Norton deems impossible. Again he asks: 'Would Canada agree to give up to the Imperial Council her present powers of fiscal regulation?' To this I would reply that, as far as

can be judged at present, no customs union to equalise tariffs all over the Empire would be agreed to, and this must be left an open question until a customs union could be brought about without any objection from any of the parties to the Act of Federation.

Lord Norton says that federation of the Empire 'must resolve itself practically into one or other of these two issues. Either the colonies must abandon much of the powers of self-government which they now enjoy, and hand them over to a parliament of some sort sitting in London, of which only a twentieth part would consist of colonists, and those coming from widely different parts of the world, or there must be a Federal Constitution under the monarchical head with an Imperial Congress and State Legislature, including that of the United Kingdom, restricted from dealing with Imperial concerns.'

The first proposition has not, I believe, been put forward by any advocate of Imperial Federation, and why he proposes that the colonists of the English race, who number over ten millions, should only have a twentieth of the representation, while the United Kingdom has only thirty-six millions of people, or less than four times their number, I cannot imagine.

As to the chances of the English people agreeing to the other alternative, Lord Norton thinks that any Minister making such a proposition would be immediately consigned to Bedlam. The much more sweeping change of the abolition of the House of Lords, or socialistic proposals for division of land, and demands for 'ransom' from owners of property for the privilege of ownership, are not, however, beyond the range of practical politics as understood by Ministers of the Crown, and even these proposals have not caused their authors any risk of 'being consigned to Bedlam.' Why, then, should the people of England object to a proposal which will confer on Englishmen in another part of the Empire those privileges of fellow-citizenship which they themselves possess, provided the colonists are willing to bear their fair proportion of the national expenditure for common objects, and to take their share of the responsibility for national defence?

In the November number of the *Fortnightly Review* there are two articles on Imperial Federation, both of which are adverse. Mr. Farrer objects to it on account of the cost of the defence of our colonies, which would, however, be no greater than under the present system, and it would have the great advantage that the colonies, while enjoying representation in a Federal Parliament, would contribute their share of taxation for the defence of the Empire. 'Why,' he asks, 'should we surrender our position of paramount supremacy and either descend to political equality with our subject colonies or raise them to our political level?'

But if it be to the mutual advantage of the mother-country and her colonies, and will lighten the burden of taxation for the defence

of her most distant possessions—if it will incalculably strengthen the position of England should war arise with any great power—if it will keep the nation abreast of the great nations of the world in power and position—these are surely advantages not to be despised. Otherwise England must without her colonies sink in the scale of nations. The statement of Mr. Farrer, therefore, that the ‘giving is to be all on our side, all the receiving on the part of the colonies,’ should Federation take place, is entirely erroneous, as also his assertion that ‘the balance of advantages, both for ourselves and our colonies, can easily be shown to lie with the political independence of the latter.’

In his efforts to prove that this is the case he shows the possibility of a hostile invasion of Australia through a war with Russia or the United States; but although this may possibly happen, and some damage might be done, three and a quarter millions of our race, with such means as they now possess, and some assistance from the Imperial navy, will be able to cope with any invading force which may be able to find their way there.

But even supposing that the great colonies and England agreed to a separation on friendly terms, and that Australia and Canada accepted independence, the cost of maintaining our numerous small colonies and settlements scattered over the globe would be but little lessened, and the nation would lose in power, prestige, and population, and would be less able to resist attack from any great power than she would with the great colonies to support her.

Mr. Arthur Mills, in the same number of the *Fortnightly*, follows in a similar strain, and wishes to know whether India and the Crown Colonies are to be included in the Federation; but probably in the first instance only colonies with representative institutions, and mainly of the English race, would be included in the Federal Union, which would leave their legislatures the same freedom which they now possess, but, in consideration of their sharing Imperial burdens, would grant them a voice in proportion to their numbers in the management of Imperial interests. The Home Government is now pledged by the House of Commons ‘to protect the colonies against perils arising from the consequences of Imperial policy,’ and the carrying out of this pledge would then be in the hands of the Federal Government. Mr. Mills concludes that on the whole ‘Imperial Federation cannot be said to offer us any improvement in the matter of Imperial defence.’ If the present strength of ten millions of our race in the colonies, and the future strength of ten, twenty, or even fifty times that number, bound together in a Federal Union, to bear their proportionate share of Imperial defence, be no improvement on the present position of things when it is only optional and exceptional if the colonies contribute at all, what greater improvement or advantage could England desire? If England wishes to maintain the position she has hitherto occupied amongst the nations of the world, she

must endeavour to bind together the far-distant portions of her Empire. She wants no extension of territory, nor wars except for self-defence. While Russia looks to conquest in Turkey and the far East for aggrandisement, Germany to Holland for seaports and colonies, and France to aggression in China and Madagascar with a future thought of the annexation of Belgium, England has only to wait the growth of her colonies, and the unification and consolidation by wise measures of her enormous empire, to keep abreast of the great empires of the world.

Lord Bury, in an able paper on the subject in the *National Review*, is of opinion that Federation is unnecessary, and sees dangers of disintegration in the future. He laughs at 'cut and dried' schemes of federation and 'paper constitutions.' But if a man desires to add to his house which is becoming too small, or unsuited to his growing wants, he does not despise a cut and dried scheme which shows the adaptation of the proposed addition to his requirements, and to the old building. He likes to see a complete plan and to know the cost before commencing to build. In the United States a 'paper constitution' has been found to stand the test of one of the most severe struggles known in history. Lord Bury thinks Parliament will not agree to Imperial Federation, but Parliament in these days of democratic influences will not long resist the will of the people; and when the great and manifold advantages of the step have become clearly known—and the movement is rapidly becoming popular—it will not be long before the members of both Houses become convinced of the wisdom of forming a federal union of the United Kingdom and the colonies, that by this means they may permanently maintain the unity of the Empire.

SAMUEL WILSON.

THE BLACK DEATH IN EAST ANGLIA.

(CONCLUDED.)

WHEN Bishop Bateman started on his journey upon the King's business, in March 1349, he can scarcely have turned his back upon his diocese without some misgivings as to what might happen during his absence. In some parts of Norfolk a very grievous murrain had prevailed during the previous year among the live stock in the farms; and though this had almost disappeared, there was ample room for anxiety in the outlook. If the plague had not yet been felt to any extent in East Anglia, it might burst forth any day. London had been stricken already, and there was no saying where it would next appear in its most malignant form. It was hoped that the Bishop's mission would be accomplished in a couple of months, and during his absence the charge of the diocese was committed as usual to his officials, to one of whom the palace at Norwich was assigned as a temporary residence.

- The good ship, with the Bishop and his suite, had hardly got out of the Channel, when a storm other than that which sailors care for burst upon town and village in East Anglia. The Bishop's official found his hands full of work. In April he was called upon to institute twenty-three parsons to livings that had fallen vacant. This was bad enough as a beginning, but it was child's play to what followed. By the end of May *seventy-four* more cures had lost their incumbents and been supplied with successors. That is, in a single month, the number of institutions throughout the diocese had almost equalled the *annual* average of the last five years. All these stricken parishes were country villages, and the larger number of them lay to the north and east of the county of Norfolk. We take note of this that we call a fact, and straightway the temptation presents itself to construct a theory upon it. Who knows not that, in the trying spring-time, the 'colic of puff'd Aquilon' makes life hard for man and beast in Norfolk, and that across our fields the cruel gusts burst upon us with a bitter petulance, unsparing, pitiless, hateful, till our vitality seems to be steadily waning? It was in the month of March that the great plague smote us first:—did it not come to us on the wings of the wind that swept across the sea the germs of pestilence, say from

Norway, or some neighbour land in which, peradventure, the Black Death had already spent itself in hideous havoc? A tempting theory! If I confess that such a view once presented itself to my own mind I am compelled to acknowledge that I abandoned it with reluctance. It was hard, but it had to be done. How we all do hanker after a theory! What! live all your life without a theory? It's as dreary a prospect as living all your life without a baby, and yet some few great men have managed to pass through life placidly without the one or the other, and have not died forgotten or lived forlorn.

The plague had apparently fallen with the greatest virulence upon the coast and along the watercourses, but already in the spring had reached the neighbourhood of Norwich, and was showing an unsparing impartiality in its visitation. At Earlham and Wytton and Horsford, at Taverham and Bramerton, all of them villages within five miles of the cathedral, the parsons had already died. Round the great city, then the second city in England, village was being linked to village closer and closer every day in one ghastly chain of death. What a ring-fence of horror and contagion for all comers and goers to overpass!

For two months Thomas de Methwold, the official, stayed where he had been bidden to stay, in the thick of it all, at the palace. On the 29th of May he could bear it no longer. Do you ask was he afraid? Not so! We shall see that he was no craven; but the bravest men are not reckless, and least of all are they the men who are careless about the lives or the feelings of others. The great cemetery of the city of Norwich was, at this time actually within the cathedral Close. The whole of the large space enclosed between the nave of the cathedral on the south and the bishop's palace on the east, and stretching as far as the Erpingham gate on the west, was one huge graveyard. When the country parsons came to present themselves for institution at the palace, they had to pass straight across this cemetery. The tiny churchyards of the city, demonstrably very little if at all larger than they are now, were soon choked, the soil rising higher and higher above the level of the street, which even to this day is in some cases five or six feet below the soppy sod piled up within the old enclosures. To the great cemetery within the Close the people brought their dead, the tumbrels discharging their load of corpses all day long and tilting them into the huge pits made ready to receive them; the stench of putrefaction palpitating through the air, and borne by the gusts of the western breeze through the windows of the palace, where the Bishop's official sat as the candidates knelt before him and received institution with the usual formalities. If it was hard upon him, it was doubly so upon those who had travelled a long day's journey through the pestilential villages; and on the 30th of May the official removed from Norwich to Terlyng,

in Essex, where the Bishop had a residence; there he remained for the next ten days, during which time he instituted thirty-nine more parsons to their several benefices. By this time other towns in the diocese had felt the force of the visitation. Ipswich had been smitten, and Stowmarket, and East Dereham—how many more we cannot tell. Then the news came that the Bishop had returned: Thomas de Methwold was at once ordered back to Norwich—come what might, that was his post; there he should stay, whether to live or die.

The Bishop seems to have landed at Yarmouth about the 10th of June; he did not at once push on to report himself to the King; urgent private affairs detained him in his native county. Seventeen or eighteen miles to the south-west of Yarmouth lies the village of Gillingham, where the Bishop's brother, Sir Bartholomew Bateman, a man of great wealth and consideration, had been the lord of the manor. The parish contains about 2,000 acres, and at this time had at least three churches, only one of which now remains. Besides these Sir Bartholomew had a private chapel in his house. Here he kept up much state, as befitted a personage who had more than once represented Norfolk and Suffolk in Parliament. The plague came, and the worthy knight was struck down; the parson too fell a victim; and the Lady Petronilla, Sir Bartholomew's widow, presented to the living a certain Hugh Atte Mill, who was instituted on the 7th of June. The first news that the Bishop heard when he landed was that his brother was dead. He started off at once to Gillingham. Death had been busy all around, and the plague had broken out in the Benedictine Nunnery of Bungay and carried off the prioress among others. Straightway the few nuns that were left chose another prioress; on the morning of the 13th she came for institution, and received it at the Bishop's hands. Hurrying on to Norwich, the Bishop stayed but a single day, leaving his official at the palace. He himself had to present himself before the King to give account of his mission; on the 19th he was in London; on the 4th of July he was back again in his diocese. During the twenty days that had passed since he had left Gillingham, exactly *one hundred* clergymen had been admitted to vacant cures, all of them crossing the horrible cemetery where the callous gravediggers were at work night and day, the sultry air charged with suffocating stench, poisoning the breath of heaven. Yet there the Bishop's vicar-general had to stay, eat, drink, and sleep—if he could—and there he did stay till the Bishop came back and relieved him of the dreadful work.

Meanwhile the gentry too had been dying. It is clear that in the upper ranks the men died more frequently than the women, explain it how you will. During June and July no fewer than fifteen patrons of livings were widows, while in thirteen other benefices the patronage was in the hands of the executors or trustees of gentlemen who had died. During the month of July in

scarcely a village within five miles of Norwich had the parson escaped the mortality; yet in Norwich the intrepid Bishop remained, in the very thick of it all, as if he would defy the angel of death, or at least show an example of the loftiest courage. Only towards the end of July did he yield, perhaps, to the persuasion or entreaty of others, and moved away to the southern part of his diocese, taking up his residence at Hoxne, in Suffolk, where he stayed till October, when he once more returned to his house at Thorpe by Norwich. The palace had become at last absolutely uninhabitable.

To Hoxne accordingly the newly-appointed clergy came in troops, and during the first seven weeks after the Bishop's arrival he admitted no less than eighty-two parsons, a larger number than had been the average of a whole year heretofore. Did they all betake themselves to their several parishes and brave the peril and set themselves to the grim work before them? They could not help themselves. Where the benefice was a vicarage, an oath to reside upon his cure was in every case rigorously imposed upon the newly-appointed; and though the law did not sanction this in the case of rectors, yet not a single instance of a license of non-residence occurs; the difficulty of finding substitutes was becoming daily more and more insuperable, and the penalty of deserting a parish without license was a great deal too serious to be disregarded. In the months of June, July, and August things were at their worst, as might have been expected. In July alone there were two hundred and nine institutions. During the year ending March 1350 considerably more than two-thirds of the benefices of the diocese had become vacant.

In the religious houses the plague wrought, if possible, worse havoc still. There were seven nunneries in Norfolk and Suffolk. Five of them lost their prioresses. How many poor nuns were taken who can guess? In the College of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, at Norwich, five of the seven prebendaries died. In September the abbot of St. Bennet's Hulm was carried off. Again we ask, and receive no answer, What must have been the mortality among the monks and the servants of the convent? And yet sometimes we do get an answer to that question. In the house of Augustinian Canons at Heveringland prior and canons died to a man. At Hickling, which a century before had been a flourishing house and been doing good work, only one canon survived. Neither of these houses ever recovered from the effects of the visitation; they were eventually absorbed in other monastic establishments.

It is one of the consequences of the peculiar privileges granted to the Friars that no notice of them occurs in the episcopal records. They were free lances with whom the bishops had little to do. It is only by the accident of every one of the Friars of our Lady who had a house in Norwich having been carried off, and the fact that their house was left tenantless, that we know anything of their fate. Wad-

ding, the great annalist of the Franciscans, while deploring the notorious decadence in the *morale* of the mendicant orders during the fourteenth century—a decadence which he does not attempt to deny—attributes it wholly to the action of the Black Death, and is glad to find in that calamity a sufficient cause for accounting for the loss of the old prestige which in little more than a century after St. Francis's death had set in so decidedly. 'It was from this cause,' he writes, 'that the monastic bodies, and especially the mendicant orders, which up to this time had been flourishing in virtue and learning, began to decline, and discipline to become slack; as well from the loss of eminent men as from the relaxation of the rules, in consequence of the pitiable calamities of the time; and it was vain to look for reform among the young men and the promiscuous multitude who were received without the necessary discrimination, for they thought more of filling the empty houses than of restoring the old strictness that had passed away.'

How could it be otherwise? In the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, at least *nineteen* religious houses were left without prior or abbot. We may be quite sure that where the chief ruler dropped off the brethren of the house and the army of servants and hangers-on did not escape. What happened at the great Abbey of St. Edmund's we know not yet, and until we get more light it is idle to conjecture; but, as a man stands in that vast graveyard at Bury, and looks around him, he can hardly help trying—trying, but failing—to imagine what the place must have looked like when the plague was raging. What a Valley of Hinnom it must have been! Those three mighty churches, all within a stone's throw of one another, and one of them just one hundred feet longer than the cathedral at Norwich, sumptuous with costly offerings and miracles of splendour within—and outside ghastly heaps of corruption, and piles of corpses waiting their turn to be covered up with an inch or two of earth. Who can adequately realise the horrors of that awful summer? In the desolate swamps through which the sluggish Bure crawls reluctantly to mingle its waters with the Yare; by the banks of the Waveney, where the little Bungay nunnery had been a refuge for the widow, the forsaken, or the devout for centuries; in the valley of the Nar—the Norfolk Holy Land—where seven monasteries of one sort or another clustered, each distant from the other but a few short miles—among the ooze and sedge and chill loneliness of the Broads, where the tall reeds wave and whisper, and all else is silent—the glorious buildings with their sumptuous churches were little better than centres of contagion. From the stricken towns people fled to the monasteries, lying away there in their seclusion, lonely, favoured of God. If there was hope anywhere it must be there. As frightened widows and orphans flocked to these havens of refuge, they carried the Black Death with them, and when they dropped death-stricken at the doors,

they left the contagion behind them as their only legacy. Guilty wretches with a load of crime upon their consciences—desperate as far as this world was concerned, and ready for any act of wickedness should the occasion arrive—shuddered lest they should go down to burning flame for ever now that there was none to shrive them or to give the *viaticum* to any late penitent in his agony. In the tall towers by the wayside the bells hung mute; no hands to ring them or none to answer to their call. Meanwhile, across the lonely fields, toiling dismally, and oftentimes missing the track—for who should guide them or show the path?—parson and monk and trembling nun made the best of their way to Norwich; their errand to seek admission to the vacant preferment. Think of them, after miles of dreary travelling, reaching the city gates at last, and shudderingly threading the filthy alleys which then served as streets, stepping back into doorways to give the dead-carts passage, and jostled by lepers and outcasts, the touch of whose garments was itself a horror. Think of them staggering across the great cemetery and stumbling over the rotting carcasses not yet committed to the earth, breathing all the while the tainted breath of corruption—sickening, loathsome! Think of them returning as they came, going over the same ground as before, and compelled to gaze again at

Sights that haunt the soul for ever,
Poisoning life till life is done.

Think of them foot-sore, half-famished, hardly daring to buy bread and meat for their hunger, or to beg a cup of cold water for Christ's sake, or entreat shelter for the night in their faintness and weariness, lest men should cry out at them, 'Look! the Black Death has' clutched another of the doomed!'

I have said that upwards of 800 of the beneficed clergy perished in East Anglia during this memorable year. Besides these we must make allowance for the non-beneficed among the regulars; the *chaplains*, who were in the position of curates among ourselves; the vicars of parishes whose endowments were insufficient to maintain a resident parson under ordinary circumstances, and the members of the monastic and mendicant orders. Putting all these together, it seems to me that we cannot estimate the number of deaths among regular and secular clergy in East Anglia during the year 1349 at less than *two thousand*.¹ This may appear an enormous number at first hearing, but it is no incredible number. Unfortunately the earliest

¹ In the diocese of Ely, where the mortality was less severe than in Norfolk and Suffolk, 57 parsons died in the three months ending the 1st of October, 1349. When an ordination was held by the Bishop of Ely's suffragan at the priory of Barnwell on the 19th of September, the newly-ordained were fewer by 35 than those who had died at their posts since the last ordination.

record of any ordinations in the diocese of Norwich dates nearly seventy years after the plague year, but there is every reason for believing that there were at least *as many*, and probably many more, candidates at ordinations in the fourteenth century as presented themselves in the fifteenth. During the year ending January 1415, Bishop Courtenay's suffragan ordained 382 persons, and assuming that in Bishop Bateman's days an equal number were admitted to the clerical profession, the losses by death in the plague year would have absorbed all the clergy who had been ordained during the six previous years, but no more. Even so this constituted a tremendous strain upon the reserve force of clergy unbeneficed and more or less unemployed, and it was inevitable that with such a strain, there would be a deterioration in the character and fitness of the newly-appointed incumbents. Yet nothing has surprised me more than the exceeding rareness of evidence damaging to the reputation of the new men. That these men were less educated than their predecessors we know; but that they were mere worthless hypocrites there is nothing to show, and much to disprove. Nay! the strong impression which has been left upon my mind, and which gathers strength as I study the subject, is that the parochial clergy of the fourteenth century, before *and after* the plague, were decidedly a better set than the clergy of the thirteenth. The friars had done some of their best work in 'provoking to jealousy' the country clergy and stimulating them to increased faithfulness; they had, in fact, made them more *respectable*; just as the Wesleyan revival acted upon the country parsons and others four centuries later. Until the episcopal *visitations* of the monasteries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are made public—they exist in far larger numbers than is usually supposed—it will be impossible to estimate the effect of the plague upon the religious houses; but I am inclined to think that the monasteries suffered very greatly indeed from the terrible visitation, and that the violent disturbance of the old traditions and the utter breakdown in the old observances acted as disastrously upon these institutions as the first stroke of paralysis does upon men who have passed their prime—they never were again what they had been.

It must be remembered that in the great majority of the smaller monasteries, and indeed in any religious house where there were chaplains to do the routine work in the church, there was nothing to prevent an absolutely illiterate man or woman from becoming monk or nun. It was, however, impossible for a man to discharge the duties of his calling as a parish priest without some education and without at least a knowledge of Latin. I will not stop to argue that point; they who dispute the assumption have much to learn. Moreover it is only what we should expect, that while some were hardened and brutalised by the scenes through which they had passed, some were softened and humbled. The prodigious activity in church building—church

restoration is perhaps the truer term—during the latter part of the fourteenth century in East Anglia is one of many indications that the religious life of the people at large had received a mighty stimulus. Here, again, the evidence near at hand requires to be carefully looked into. In historical, no less than in physical researches, the microscope requires to be used. As yet it has scarcely been used at all. History is in the empirical stage. Meanwhile, such hints as that of Knighton's is significant when he tells us that, as the parsons died, a vast multitude of laymen whose wives had perished in the pestilence presented themselves for holy orders. *Many*, he says—not all—were illiterate, save that they knew how to read their missals and go through the services though unintelligently, they hardly understood what they read. Were they, therefore, the worst of the new parsons? Men bowed down by a great sorrow, bewildered by a bereavement for which there is none but a make-shift remedy, men whose 'life is read all backwards and the charm of life undone,' are not they whose sorrow usually makes them void of sympathy for the distressed? Nay! their own sadness makes them responsive to the cry of the needy, the lonely, and the fallen. Experience proves to us every day that among such men you may find, not the worst parish priests, but the best.

I wonder whether John Bonington, steward of the manor of Waltham, was one of those whom Knighton alludes to.

Sometime during the year 1343 there had been a disastrous fire in the house of one Roger Andrew; the dwelling, with all that it contained, was burnt to the ground. Poor Roger lost all his household stuff and furniture and much else besides; worse than all, he lost all his title deeds, the evidences and charters whereby he held his little estate. As for Roger himself, he either perished in the flames or his heart broke and he died very shortly afterwards. He left a son behind him, young Richard Andrew, who must have found himself in sorry plight when he came to take up his patrimony and enter upon his inheritance. Those were not the days when the weak man and the beaten man excited much pity in England. No! they were *not*, whatever sentimental people may say who maunder about the ages of faith and refresh themselves with other such lackadaisical phrases. So poor Richard being down in his luck, John Bonington, acting for the Duke of Lancaster, the lord of the manor, put the screw on, and boldly claimed a heriot from the young man as the right of the lord. Richard disputed the right, and protested that his land was not heriotable. Bonington pleaded his *might* in a very effectual way, and took his heriot—to wit, the best horse which Richard had in his stable, the best and probably the only one. Then Richard appealed to the homage. The homagers were afraid to give a verdict against the steward, and timidly objected that all Richard's evidences

had been burnt in the fire. Bonington trotted off triumphant, leaving Richard to his bitter wrath. Six years went by, and the plague came. It fell upon the district round with terrific fury, and the people died in that dreadful April 1349 as the locusts die when the hurricane drives them seaward, and they rot in piles upon the shore. The Roll of the Manor Court is a horrible record of the suddenness and the force with which the Black Death smote the wretched Essex people. When the steward's day's work was done, and the long, long list of the dead had been written down, he added a note wherein he gives us the facts which have come down to us; and then he adds that, inasmuch as he, John Bonington, had come to see that the aforesaid horse had been unrighteously taken from Richard Andrew six years before, and that the conviction of his own iniquity had been brought home to his contrite heart, *as well by the dreadful mortality and horrible pestilence at that time raging, as by the stirring of religious emotion within his soul*, therefore the full value of the horse was to be restored to the injured Richard, and never again was heriot to be levied on his land. After six years' hard riding and scant feeding, peradventure Richard Andrew would rather have had the hard cash than the poor brute, which by this time, probably, had died and gone to the dogs!

A shudder of penitence and remorse had thrilled through John Bonington when the plague was stalking grimly up and down the land; and this is what we learn about him—this and no more.

Had John Bonington lost *his* wife; and was he meditating a life of usefulness and penitence and prayer?

Infert se sæptus nebula (mirabile dictu)

Per medios miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli.

A shadowy form looming out from the mists that have gathered over the ages past, we see him for a moment, and he is gone.

Fill up the gaps and tell all the tale, poet with the dreamy eyes, eyes that can pierce the gloom—poet with the mobile lips, lips that can speak with rhythmic utterance the revelations of the future or the past.

All the lonely ones, and all the childless ones, did not turn parsons we may be sure; yet it is good for us to believe that John Bonington's was not a solitary instance of a man coming out of the furnace of affliction softened, not hardened; purified, not merely blistered, by the fire. Was Thomas Porter at Little Cornard somewhat past his prime when the plague came? It spared him and his old wife, it seems; but for his sons and daughters, the hope of his old and the pride of his manhood, where were they? He and the good wife, cowering over the turf fire, did they dare to talk with quivering lips and clouded eyes about the days when the little ones had clambered up to the strong father's knee, or tiny arms were held out to the rough yeoman as he reached his home? 'Oh the desolation and the loneliness!

No fault of thine, dear wife—nor mine. It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good !'

Thomas Porter had a neighbour, one John Stone, a man of small substance: he owned a couple of acres under the lord; poor land it was, hardly paying for the tillage, and I suppose the cottage upon it was his own, so far as any man's copyhold dwelling was his own in those days. The Black Death came to that cottage among the rest, and John Stone and wife and children all were swept away. Nay! not all: little Margery Stone was spared; but she had not a kinsman upon earth. Poor little maid, she was barely nine years old and absolutely alone! Who cared? Thomas Porter and his weeping wife cared, and they took little Margery to their home, and they comforted themselves for all that they had lost, and the little maid became unto them as a daughter. Henceforth life was less dreary for the old couple. But five years passed, and Margery had grown up to be a sturdy damsel and very near the marriageable age.

Oh, ho! friend Porter, what is it we have heard men tell? That when the Black Death came upon us, your house was left unto you desolate and there remained neither chick nor child. Who is this? Then some one told the steward, or told the lord, and thereupon ensued inquiry. What right had Thomas Porter to adopt the child? She belonged to the lord, and he had the right of guardianship. Aye! and the right of disposing of her in marriage too. Thomas Porter, with a heavy heart, was summoned before the homage. He pleaded that the marriage of the girl did not belong to the lord by right, and that on some ground or other, which is not set down, she was not his property at all. That might have been very true or it might not, but one thing was certain, Thomas Porter had no right to her, and so the invariable result followed—he had to pay a fine. What else ensued we shall never know.

The glimpses we get of the ways and doings of the old stewards of manors are not pleasing; I am afraid that as a class they were hard as nails. Perhaps they could not help themselves, but they certainly very rarely erred on the side of mercy and forbearance. Is not that phrase 'making allowances for, &c.' a comparatively modern phrase? At any rate the *thing* is not often to be met with in the fourteenth century. Yet in the plague year every now and then one is pleased to find instances actually of consideration for the distress and penury of the homagers at this place and that. Thus at Lessingham, when the worst was over and a court was held on the 15th of January, 1350, the steward writes down that only thirty shillings was to be levied from the customary tenants by way of tallage, 'Because the greater part of those tenants who were wont to render tallage had died in the previous year by reason of the deadly pestilence.'

Here and there, too, we come upon heriots remitted because the heir was so very poor, and here and there fines and fees are cancelled

causa miseriæ propter pestilentiam. Surely it is better to assume that this kind of thing was done, as our friend Bonington puts it, *mero motu pietatis suæ* than because there was no money to be had. Better give a man the benefit of the doubt, even though he has been dead five hundred years, than kick him because he will never tell any more tales.

If it happened sometimes that the plague brought out the good in a man, sometimes changed his life from one of covetous indifference or grasping selfishness into a life of earnestness and devout philanthropy, it happened at other times—and I fear it must be confessed more frequently—that coarse natures, hard and cruel ones, were made more brutal and callous by the demoralising influences of that frightful summer.

I am sure it will be very gratifying to some enlightened and chivalrous people to learn that I have at least one bad story against a parson.

Here it is!

The rolls of the manor of Waltham show that the plague lingered about there till late in the spring of 1350. As elsewhere, there must needs have been much change in the benefices of the neighbourhood. Of course some of the new parsons were scamps, the laity who survived being, equally of course, models of all that was lovely and estimable. One of these clerical impostors had got a cure somewhere in the neighbourhood—where is not stated, but, inasmuch as his clerical income had not come up to his expectations or his necessities, or his own estimate of his deserts, he found it necessary to supplement that income by somewhat unprofessional conduct. In fact, the Rev. William—that was his name—seems actually to have thrown up his clerical avocations and by his flagrant irregularities had got to himself the notorious sobriquet of William the One-day priest. I should not be surprised to find out that this worthy was captain of a band of robbers who infested Epping Forest. In the end of January 1351, Matilda, wife of John Clement de Godychester, was quietly riding homewards when, as she passed by the sheepfold of Plesset, out came the Rev. William and bade the lady stand and deliver. Her attendants, it is to be presumed, took to their heels, and the lady, being unable to help herself, delivered up her purse—the account says the Rev. William cut it off—and moreover surrendered a ring of some value, after which she continued her journey. She raised the hue and cry to some purpose, and the clerical king of the road was taken and . . . there is no more. No! It is a story without an end.

But there were then, as there are now, other ways of preying upon our fellow-creatures and levying black-mail from them, without going to the length of highway robbery—cold work, and a little risky at times.

Henry Anneys, at Lessingham, could work upon the fears of Alice

Bakeman and extort a *douceur* from her without resorting to violence. Mrs. Bakeman had succeeded to the property of some dead kinsman, and Mr. Anneys heard of it. He called on the lady and informed her that for a consideration he would save her from paying any heriot to the lord; he had certain information which he could use either way. Finally, it was agreed that Alice should give the rogue a cow as hush-money, and with the cow Mr. Anneys departed. His triumph was brief. When the time for holding the next court arrived, others came round the poor woman, and made it quite evident that the lands she had succeeded to were not heriotable at all, and that Henry Anneys was a swindler. So the case was brought before the homage as usual, the cow was ordered to be returned, and a substantial fine imposed upon Anneys.

Almost the first thing that strikes a novice who looks into the village history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the astounding frequency of bloody quarrels among the rustics. In the records of the Courts Lete for Norfolk it is very seldom indeed that you can find a court held at which one or more persons, male and female, are not amerced for 'drawing blood' from somebody. Whether it was by punching their opponents on the nose, or whether they used their knives, I hesitate to decide; but I suspect, from the frequent mention of knives and daggers, that sticking one's enemy with cold steel was not so very un-English a practice as popular prejudice is wont to assume it to be. One thing is very certain, and that is—that all over East Anglia, five hundred years ago, there was such an amount of bloodletting in village frays as would hardly have disgraced the University of Heidelberg. In Norfolk these sanguinary fights must have been a passion; but one would have thought that, while the plague was raging and after it had begun to subside, then, if ever, men and women would have become less savage and ferocious. So far from it, such records of the years 1349 and 1350 as I have examined are fuller than ever of fights and quarrels. At Lessingham, about Christmas time 1349, there was a free fight of a most sanguinary character, men and women joining in it freely. It seems to have arisen from some one finding a horse wandering about the deserted fields. As a stray it belonged to the lord—the finder took a different view, somebody cried, 'Halves!' and somebody else said, 'I'll give information,' and somebody else replied, 'So will I,' whereupon arose a bloody battle as has been told. About the same time at Hunstanton, Catharine Busgey, evil-disposed old hag that she was, had armed herself for the next combat by robbing a dead man of his stiletto. I suppose she flourished it in the faces of her foes, for they fell upon her, and she had to surrender the weapon—a *courtesy*, the steward euphemiously called it—which was forfeited and delivered over to the lord.

It might well be supposed that, while the whole executive machinery of the country was being subject to a tremendous strain,

there would be in some districts a condition of affairs which differed very little from downright anarchy. Yet here, again, the existing records are surprisingly free from any evidence tending to support such an assumption. England was not governed by the Home Secretary in those days. Every parish was a living political unit with its own police and its own local government. However desirable it might appear to some to bring back such a state of things, the question nevertheless remains how far it is ever possible to revivify an organisation which has long since died a natural death. That, in the fourteenth century, the country districts governed themselves there can be no doubt at all; with what results, as far as the greatest happiness of the greatest number is concerned, this is not the time or the place to inquire or to decide. Yet I cannot withhold my conviction that, if any such gigantic calamity were to fall upon our people now as fell upon them when the Black Death swept over the face of the land five centuries ago—a calamity so sweeping, so overwhelming—its consequences upon the whole social fabric would be incomparably more disastrous than it was in times when centralisation was almost unknown and practically impossible. Be it as it may, since the days when the Roman Senate passed a vote of confidence in a beaten general because he had not despaired of the republic, I know nothing in history that impresses a student more profoundly with a sense of the magnificent self-possession, self-control, and self-respect of a suffering nation, under circumstances of unexampled agony and horror, than the simple prosaic annals which remain to us of the great plague year in England.

In only one district in Norfolk have I found evidence of any widespread lawlessness. Even there one hears of it only to hear of vigorous grappling with the ruffians, who were not allowed to have it all their own way.

The hundred of Depwade, lying to the south of Norwich, contains twenty-three parishes; and at the time we are concerned with had very few resident gentry of any consideration. Then, as now, the country parsons were the most important people in the district, and the benefices were above the average in value. In the summer and autumn, at least fifteen of these clergymen fell victims to the plague; among them the Rector of Bunwell and the Vicar of Tibenham, adjoining parishes. The vicarage was a poor one; it was worth no one's holding; the rectory had been held by William Banyard, a near relative of Sir Robert Banyard, lord of the manor; the plague carried him off in July, and his successor was instituted on the 25th of the month, but does not seem to have come into residence immediately. There had been a clean sweep of the old incumbents from all the parishes for miles round; the poor people, left to themselves, became demoralised; there seems to have been a general scramble, and for a while no redress anywhere. It is recorded that the cattle roamed at will over the standing corn with none to

tend them, and that there had been none to make the lord's hay; that among others who had died there were five substantial men among the homagers on whose lands heriots of more or less value were due; but no heriot was recoverable, inasmuch as since the last court certain persons unknown had plundered all that could be carried off—cattle and sheep and horses and goods, and there was nothing to distrain upon but the bare lands and the bare walls.

It may be presumed that where a scoundrel escaped the contagion altogether, while others were dying all round him, or where another recovered after being brought to death's door, in such cases the man would, as a rule, be a person of exceptional strength and vigorous constitution. Such fellows, when the evil spirit was upon them, would be ugly customers to deal with. Gilbert Henry of Tibenham was a somewhat audacious thief when he walked into John Smith's house, where there was none alive to bar the door, and carried off certain bushels of malt and barley, with other goods not specified; and, not content therewith, stripped the dead man of his coat and waistcoat. The value of these articles of apparel was not assessed very highly—only sixpence each—and Master Gilbert, after paying the price of the garments, seems to have gone away with them. It is hardly to be wondered at that neither steward nor lord greatly coveted that coat and waistcoat. At the same court, too, William Hessland was amerced for appropriating the few trumpery chattels of Walter Cokstone, a *villein* belonging to the lord. Another wretched pair—a man and his wife—had deliberately cleared a crop of oats off an acre and a half of land, and stacked it in their own barn. Their view was that it belonged to no one; the steward took a different view, and reminded them that what grew on no man's land was the property of some one other than the smart man who ventured to lift it.

It was at Bunwell, too, that William Sigge was by way of becoming a terror to his neighbours. It was laid to his charge, generally, that he had from time to time during the pestilence carried off and appropriated various articles of property (*diversa catalla*) too numerous to specify. They must have been a very miscellaneous lot, for they included several hurdles and the lead stripped off a dead man's roof, not to mention such trifles as garments, and pots, and pans. Sigge was a very successful plunderer, and his success rather, turned his head. When the autumn of 1350 came, he refused to do his autumn service, protested that there was none to do, and was fined accordingly; not only so, but he was found to have stubbed up a hedge which had been the boundary of the laud of Robert Attebrigge, who had died with no one to represent him. The women were as bad as the men; they had their rights in those days. One of these beldames was caught walking away with a couple of handmills from a plague-struck dwelling, and another had looted a tenement where John Rucocock's corpse lay; she too had stripped the dead!

It is not a little curious to notice how that love of going to law which old Fuller two hundred years ago remarked upon as a characteristic of Norfolk men comes out again when the confusion had begun to subside. The plague is no sooner at an end than the local courts are resorted to for the hearing of every kind of odd question which the complications arising from the abnormal mortality had occasioned.

When Edward Burt died at Lessingham, he left his widow Egidia all he had ; but he owed Margery Brown the sum of thirty shillings. Egidia at once provided herself with a second husband, and surrendered herself and her belongings to Edward Bunting. Mrs. Brown applied for her little bill. Egidia, now no longer a widow, but lawful wife of Mr. Bunting, repudiated the debt ; she was widow no longer, she had become the property of another man ; the debt, she pleaded, was buried in her first husband's grave. That little quibble was soon overruled. But there were often cases which were by no means so easily disposed of. Robert Bokenham was lord of the manor of Tibenham, and Robert Tate was one of his tenants. Tate died ; then Bokenham died. Bokenham's son was only nine years old, and no guardian had been appointed when Tate's son died. Then followed a dispute as to who was guardian of young Bokenham, and of whom Tate's land was held, and who was the true heir. A pleasant little brief there for a rising barrister to hold.

A complication of much the same kind arose at Croxton. William Galion, a man of some consideration, died in July, leaving his wife Beatrix with two sons ; but he died intestate. Beatrix had just time to pay a heavy fine to the lord for the privilege of being her eldest son's guardian when the plague took her. Before she died she left the guardianship of her first-born son John to her husband's brother Adam ; a few days afterwards the boy John died, and his brother Robert alone remained ; the guardianship of the boy John is of course at an end, and uncle Adam applies for the guardianship of the surviving nephew ; but by this time is unable to find the money ; whereupon the child's estate is taken into the hands of the lord till such time as the uncle can pay the fees demanded.

Walter Wyninge had a wise woman for his wife, and her name was Matilda. The Black Death left her a widow, but she speedily married without any license from the lord to William Oberward. The second husband had a very brief enjoyment of his married life ; in a few days he too died, and Matilda married a third husband, one Peter the carpenter. At this point Matilda's turn came, and she died. All this had happened in the interval of two months since the last manor court was held. The steward of the manor claimed a heriot from Wyninge's land and another from Oberward's. But the astute Peter was equal to the occasion : he pleaded that, according to the custom of the manor, no heriot could be levied from a widow till

she had survived her husband a year and a day, and he demanded that the court rolls should be searched to confirm or correct his assertion. I suspect he knew his business, and no heriot came to that grasping steward. Who pities him?

Ladies and gentlemen of the romantic order of mind will be shocked at the indelicacy of Mistress Matilda—she of the many names—I suspect that they would be shocked by a great many things in the domestic life of England five centuries ago. Marrying for love has a sweet sound about it, but the thing did not exist in the old days. When did it exist? History is very hard upon romance. History, disdaining courtesy, lifts one veil after another, opens closed doors, reveals long-buried secrets, turns her bull's-eye upon the dark corners, and breaks the old seals. She is very cynical, and will by no means side with this appellant or with that. Beautiful theories crumble into dust when they stand before her judgment-seat, and old dreams, offspring of brains that were wrestling with slumber in the darkness, pass away as the dawn comes, bringing with it, too often, such revelations as are not altogether lovely to dwell on. In the fourteenth century an unmarried woman was a chattel, and belonged to somebody who had the right to sell her or to give her away. That is the naked truth. You may make a man an offender for a word if you will, and object that 'sell' is an incorrect term; but the fact remains, however much some may

leave the sense their learning to display,
And some explain the meaning quite away.

Hence, when a wretched woman was mourning alone over the husband who had just been hustled into his grave, the men were after her like wolves, every one of her neighbours knowing exactly what she was worth even to the fraction of a rood of land, or the last lamb that had been dropped, or the litter of pigs that were rooting up the beech-nuts in the woods. They gave her short time to make up her mind. Sentiment? We in the East—the land of the wise men since time was young—we know nothing of sentiment. We can hate with a sullen tenacity of resentment which knows no forgiveness; but love—nay! we leave that for the 'intense' of other climes. And women in the good old times—positively women—love one man more than another? What, *they?* *'whose love knows no distinction but of gender, and ridicules the very name of choice!'* Why, where were you born?

The records of deaths on the court rolls of the plague-year are hardly more startling than the marriages. Whether men and women paid less to the lord for a license than they were compelled to pay if they married without license I cannot tell; but that hundreds of widows must have married only a few weeks or a few days after their husbands' death is clear. Matilda's case was not a rare one. Alice Foghal, at

Lessingham, was another of those ladies who in a couple of months had been the property successively of three husbands—the last was actually a stranger. Where he came from is not stated, but he sat himself down by the widow's hearth, claimed it as his own, and paid a double fee for his successful gallantry. How he managed the matter remains unexplained, but young brides were plentiful in the parish just about that time; and at the same court where Alice's matrimonial alliances were compounded for, no less than fifteen other young women paid their fees for marrying without license from the lord. I have only noticed one instance of anything like a remission of the *marriage fees*, though I hope it was less uncommon than appears on the rolls. The lady in this case was a butcher's widow, and it was too much to expect that she could wait till the next court, wherefore the steward graciously knocked off seventy-five per cent. of his due; and, in lieu of two shillings, charged her only sixpence—*ratione temporis et in misericordia*, as he sententiously observes. Magnanimous steward!

I have met with no evidence leading to the belief that anywhere in the country villages there was anything approaching to a panic. Only a novice would be led astray by what he might read occurred at Coltishall. Five brothers named Gritlof and two other brothers named Primrose, being *nativi*, i.e. *villeins born*, and so the property of the lord, had decamped whither none could tell; the court solemnly adjudicated upon the case, and decreed that the seven runaways should be attached *per corpora*, whatever that may mean. But Coltishall is barely five miles from Norwich, and from the villages round the great city the *villeins* were always running away in the hopes of getting their freedom if they could keep in hiding within the city walls for a year and a day. Oh ye seven, had the yellow primrose less charm for you, and the barley loaves that were sure for you in breezy Coltishall—gritty though they might be—less charm than the garbage that might be picked up in Norwich, in its noisome alleys reeking with corruption, and all that flesh and blood revolts from? Ah! but to be free—to be free! How that thought made their poor hearts throb!

That there was panic—mad, unreasoning, insensate panic—elsewhere than in the country villages there is abundant evidence to prove, but it was among the well-to-do classes—the traders and the moneyed men, the *bourgeoisie* of the towns—that a stampede prevailed. Any one who chooses may satisfy himself of this by looking into Rymer's *Fœdera*, to go no further.

Enough has been told in the foregoing pages to illustrate the overwhelming violence with which the great plague ran its career in East Anglia. Only a small part of the evidence still ready to our hands has been examined; but if no more were scrutinised, the impression left upon us of the severity of the visitation would be quite sufficiently appalling. It is, however, when an attempt to estimate

the immediate effects and the remoter consequences that followed that our difficulties begin.

Before a man is qualified to dogmatise upon those effects, he must have gone some way towards making himself familiar with the social and economic conditions of the country during at least the century before the plague. Unfortunately the history of economics in England has never been attempted by any one at all duly qualified for dealing with so complex and difficult a subject, and the crudest theories have been substituted for sound conclusions, then only to be accepted when based upon the solid ground of ascertained fact. In the childhood of every science dogmatism precedes induction, and in the absence of clear knowledge, foolish and wild-eyed visionaries have posed as discoverers again and again. Yet bluster and audacity have their use, if only to stimulate the timid and the dilatory to quicken their pace and move forwards. For my part, however, if it be necessary to choose between the two, I should prefer to err with the slow and cautious rather than with the rash and over-bold; the former may for a while serve as a drag upon the chariot-wheels of progress, the latter are sure to thrust us out of the road and land us at last in some quagmire whence it will be very hard to get back into the right track.

The great teacher who with his transcendent genius has done more to create a school of English history than all who have gone before him, who, in fact, has made English history, not what it is, but what it will be when his influence shall have permeated our literature, has spoken on this subject of the Black Death with his usual profound suggestiveness. The Bishop of Chester looks with grave distrust upon any theory which ascribes to the Great Plague as a cause 'nearly all the social changes which take place in England down to the Reformation: the depopulation of towns, the relaxation of the bonds of moral and social law, the solution of the continuity of national development caused by a sort of disintegration in society generally.'² And yet this tremendous visitation must have constituted a very important factor in the working out of those social and political problems with which the life of every great nation is concerned. Such problems, however, are not simple ones; rather they are infinitely complex; and he who would set himself to analyse the processes by which the ultimate results are arrived at will blunder hopelessly if he takes account of only a single unknown quantity.

1. It is obvious that the sudden exhaustion of the large reserve force of clergy must have made itself felt at once in every parish in England. In the diocese of Norwich a considerable number of the parsons who died belonged to the gentry class. Then, as now, there were family livings to which younger sons might hope to be presented, and were presented, as vacancies occurred; but, in the face of the

² Bishop Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. II. chap. xvi. p. 399, § 259, edit. 1875.

sudden and widely extended mortality, it was inevitable that appointments should be made with very little reference to a man's social grade or intellectual proficiency. Patrons had to take whom they could get. This of itself would tend to a deterioration in the character of the clergy; but this was not all. The clergy died; but other holders of offices, civil and ecclesiastical, were not spared. There was a sudden opening out of careers in every direction for the ambitious and the unemployed: young men who ten years before would never have dreamt of anything but 'resorting to holy orders,' turned their eyes to other walks and adopted other views; and it is plain that a large number of those who presented themselves for admission to the clerical profession as we now understand it in many instances belonged to a lower class than their predecessors. Some were devout and earnest, such country parsons as Chaucer described—he does not turn aside to caricature *them*—but others were mere adventurers, hirelings whose heart was not in their work. These clerical scamps gave Archbishop Simon Islip a great deal of trouble. The smaller livings were forsaken, the curate market rose, the chaplains would neither take the country vicarages nor engage themselves as regular helpers to the parish priests. London swarmed with itinerants who preferred picking up a livelihood by occasional duty, when they could make their own terms, to binding themselves to a cure of souls.³ The primate denounced these greedy ones again and again, but it was all in vain; the bishops found it impossible to draw the reins of discipline as tightly as they wished, and found it equally impossible to prevent the extortionate demands of such curates as could be got. The evil grew to such a height that the faithful commons took the matter up and petitioned the King to interfere, inasmuch as '*les chappeleins sont devenuz si chers*' that they actually demanded ten or even twelve marks a year as their stipend—'*a grant grevance & oppression du poeple*.' The usual methods were resorted to, and if people could be made good by act of parliament the evils complained of would have disappeared. They did not disappear, and the evil grew. Unhappily the increased stipends did not serve to produce a better article, and it is only too plain that the religious convictions and the religious life of the people suffered seriously. Ten years after the Black Death the Archbishop expresses his deep sorrow at the neglect of Sunday, the desertion of the churches, and the decline in religious observances. Yet we must be cautious how we attribute this break-up in the old habits of the

³ Compare Chaucer's words—

'He sette not his benefice to hire,
And lette his sheep acoombred in the mire,
And ran unto London, unto Seint Pauls
Tooken him a chanterie for Soules'—

with Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 1.

people to the plague exclusively, or even mainly. Some of the evils complained of had already begun to be felt before the plague came, and may fairly be attributed, not to the falling short of the numbers of the clergy, but exactly the reverse.

Already a strong reaction had set in against the friars, their influence and their teaching had begun to be regarded as menacing to the stability of existing creeds and existing institutions. Langland hated them. Chaucer held them up to scorn. Wickliffe denounced them with a righteous wrath. FitzRalph, archbishop of Armagh, carried on open war against them. All these leaders of the chosen bands that fight the battles of God had arrived at man's estate when the Black Death came, and all survived it. They certainly were not the product of the great visitation; they were the spokesmen and representatives of a generation that had begun to look at the world with larger, other eyes than their fathers. That which was coming would have come if there had been no plague at all, and so far from its being certain that that calamity was in any great degree the cause of the upheaval that ensued, it is at least as probable that the sudden decrease in the population served to retard the action of forces already working mightily in the direction of revolution—revolution it might be for the better, or it might be for the worse.

2. Whoever else may have been losers or sufferers by the plague, there was one class which emerged from that dreadful year very much richer than before. The lords of the manors, the representatives of what we now call the country gentry, were great gainers. Not only did the extraordinary amount paid in heriots and fees make up an aggregate which in itself constituted a very large percentage upon the capital embarked in agriculture, but the extent of land which *escheated* to the lords was very considerable. Moreover, the manors themselves or as we should say, the landed property of the country, came into fewer hands; the gentry became richer and their estates larger. Knighton draws attention to the fact that in the towns a large number of houses became ruinous for want of occupants, but he adds that in the hamlets and villages the same effects followed, and that everywhere. Here again, the rolls of Parliament corroborate the assertion, and inform us that not only the dwellings of the homagers, but the capital mansions themselves, were deserted and falling to decay. When in the next reign the manor of Hockham came into the possession of Richard, Earl of Arundel, in right of his wife, he took the precaution of having a careful survey made of the condition of the estate as it came into his hands. The manor-house had not been tenanted for thirty years. It had been a mansion of considerable pretension and two stories high; on the ground-floor the doors were all gone; on the upper floor the windows were open to the air; the chamber '*vocata ladies chambre*' was roofless, the offices were too dilapidated to be

worth repair. The enclosing walls and the moat had been utterly neglected. The offices had formerly been adapted for a large establishment; there had been extensive farm buildings, and at least six substantial houses for the bailiff and other farm servants. Among other buildings there were two *fish-houses* built of timber and *daubur*, in which apparently the keeper of the fishponds lived, and some elaborate arrangements had existed for keeping up the supply of fish in the ponds by methods of pisciculture to us unknown. The wind-mill had long ceased to be used, its very grinding stones had disappeared. Worse than all, there was no more any gallows or pillory, or even stocks, *pro libertate servanda*, as the jurors quaintly remark. Yet the records show that at Hockham things had gone on pretty much as before since the big house was deserted. The courts were held with exemplary regularity, the fees had been exacted with unwavering rigour, the homagers settled their own affairs in their own way; but there was this difference, that for a generation the tenants had been living under an absentee landlord, who so far from being the poorer because the big house had been tumbling down, was the richer, inasmuch as he had one mansion the less to keep up out of his income. What happened at Hockham must have happened in hundreds of other parishes; there must have been large tracts of country during the latter half of the reign of Edward the Third where a resident landlord was the exception to that which aforesaid had been the rule.

3. In the present condition of our knowledge, any estimate of the actual numbers who perished in the plague must be the merest guesswork. It may be that two millions were carried off; it may be there were three. It is undeniable that a very large proportion of the inhabitants of this island died in a few months—employers and employed. We must, however, remember that England in the fourteenth century was incomparably more self-supporting than it is in the nineteenth century; that there were no great centres of industry then; that the rural population was largely in excess of the urban population; that we exported the wool which the Flemings manufactured into cloth; and that if there were fewer hands to till the soil, there were fewer mouths to feed. No one can doubt that the labour-market must have been seriously disturbed, but it is very easy to exaggerate this disturbance; and whether it were less or more than has been asserted, we shall certainly err by attributing the rise in wages, which undoubtedly took place after the Black Death, to it, and to it alone—*post hoc ergo propter hoc* is not a safe conclusion. Granted, as we must grant, that the plague accelerated the rise in wages, it is certain the upward movement had already begun before the population had been seriously lessened. The number of clergy, to be sure, was largely in excess of the needs of the country; the

clerical profession had become 'choked' by the influx of young men presumably with *some* private means to fall back upon; among them there must have been, and there was, serious competition for every vacant post. When the reserve of supernumeraries became absorbed, the competition turned the other way, and the surviving clergy could make their own terms. It was otherwise with the masses, especially with the peasantry. If there were an insufficient number of labourers to till the land heretofore in cultivation, the worst land fell out of cultivation, and no one was much the worse. It was all very well for some landlords to complain that their rents had fallen off. Yes! Then—as now, as always—the small proprietors suffered severely, and needy men are wont to be clamorous. Then—as now, as always—the sufferers looked about them for a cause of their distress, and found it in any event that was nearest at hand. But we know that the style of living after the plague was incomparably more luxurious and extravagant than it was before. The country was producing less, it may be; but the people, man for man, were much richer than before.

When we find ourselves confronted with the rhetorical stuff which the literature of preambles and parliamentary petitions in the fourteenth century flaunts so liberally before our eyes, we must learn to accept the statements of draughtsmen *cum grano*, and to read between the lines. The Commons were quite equal to making the most of any calamity that occurred. When the Parliament, which had not met since mid-Lent, 1348, assembled once more in February 1350, the plague was not forgotten. In the petitions presented to the King, the havoc wrought is dwelt upon and deplored, *not* with a view to remedy any of the distress that had ensued, but in the hope that the arrears of taxation due from the dead might be excused to the survivors who had succeeded to the others' property. If they complain of the scarcity and dearness of corn, this is to give point to their protest against the King's servants taking it for the victualling of his army and the town of Calais. If, again, they sound a note of alarm at the outrageous insolence of the labourers who presumed to demand a large increase of wages, and would not work at the old scale of pay, there is no pretence that the employers could not afford to accede to the increased demand; the '*grand meschief du poeple*' consisted in this, that the tillers of the soil should have dreamt of asserting themselves in any way whatever. Moreover, when it came to legislating against the mutinous labourers, King and Parliament, while sternly setting their faces against the rise in wages, *do not take the twenty-third year of the King as the standard year* by which to settle what the normal rate of wages should be. They go back to the twentieth year, *ou cynk ou sis ans devans*. That is to say, the wages had been steadily rising for ten years before the plague; the labourers had been getting their share of the increased prosperity of

the country ; and the Statute of Labourers was only one of the clumsy attempts to interfere with the action of a great economical law which had been working silently for the advantage of the operatives long before the Black Death had come to perplex and confuse men's minds and disturb their calculations.

Some of us remember when the science of geology was young—and we were young too—we remember how there was a certain romance and fascination about those fearless and richly imaginative theories which explained all the great changes in the crust of the earth by magnificent cataclysms, upheaving, exploding, overwhelming. The crack of doom meant something after all! What had been should be again. Old time had stories to tell of sublime catastrophes, the crash of systems, and the swallowing up of chains of cloud-capped mountains in the yawning abysses of a world that might at any moment turn itself inside out. Alas! the cataclysm theories had to die the death, and we had to comfort ourselves with a dull prosaic dream of forces acting with infinite slowness, grinding, and evolving through unnumbered ages, the great laws working themselves out without haste or any tendency to those picturesque paroxysms which have a certain charm for us in our nonage. When Sociology shall have risen to the dignity of a science—and that day may come—I think she too will be chary of resorting to the cataclysm theory ; she and her handmaid History will hardly smile approval upon pretenders who are anxious to discover a single efficient cause for results which a million influences have combined to bring about, or who assume that every new phenomenon must disturb the equilibrium of the world. To take up with theories first in the hope, and sometimes with the determination, that facts shall be found to support them at last, is the vice—I had almost said the crime—of too many of those who now are styled historians.

If at this point I leave to others the further pursuit of a subject which deserves a more comprehensive treatment than it has yet received, it is not because I have not much more that I could tell. If it be true that the proper study of mankind is man, it is at least as true that the proper study of Englishmen is the history of England ; that, however, means a great deal more than is usually understood by the words. It means the history of English institutions, of the social, the intellectual, and the religious life of our forefathers—it means a great deal more than the life of our sovereigns, their wars, their virtues or their follies. Unhappily historic studies in England, notwithstanding the splendid impetus that has been given to them of late by the brilliant achievements of Sir Henry Maine and the far-sighted sagacity of Mr. Seebohm, receive but scant encouragement, and for the most part a man's labour must be his own reward.

In our elementary schools History is almost utterly ignored. A whole people is rapidly breaking with the past from sheer ignorance that there is any past that is worth knowing. Who shall estimate the immeasurable harm that must be wrought to a nation that has lost touch with the past? Let men but believe to their shame

The glories of our birth and state are shadows, not substantial things,

and what becomes of patriotism? Granted, if you will, that English history has been made too often a dry and repulsive study by those who have undertaken to teach it and write it; need it remain so? It must remain so as long as we keep to the old lines and content ourselves with the old methods. What is wanted to make any science *interesting* is that it should push its inquiries into new fields of research. The means and appliances, and opportunities for pursuing historical researches open to those whose youth is not all behind them, are such as we their seniors never dreamt of when we were in our early manhood. There are whole worlds as yet unexplored and waiting to be won. Do men whimperingly complain that there is no longer a career for genius? Tush! It is enthusiasm that is wanted. Give us that, and the career will follow. But the enthusiasm must be of the real sort—not self-asserting, self-conscious, self-seeking; but earnest, patient, resolute, and reticent: for science, too, needs heroism no less than war.

In the domain of Physical Science there has been in our own time no lack of intelligent co-operation, and volunteers have been many and earnest, nor have they spared themselves or shrunk from sacrifices. In the domain of Historical Science the labourers are few and far between; there research proceeds with lagging steps. No one sneers at a philosopher who travels to Iceland to investigate the habits of a gnat, or who counts it the pride of his life to have discovered a new fungus, but simpletons are pleased to make themselves merry with caricaturing any student of his country's institutions who is 'always poring over musty old parchments.' And yet these minute researches will have to be made sooner or later, and till we can bring ourselves to study the structure and the tissues and the comparative anatomy of Institutions, and to go through all the drudgery which sluggards loathe and fools deride, the light of truth will be dim for us all; our Ethical, equally with our political Philosophy, must remain in a condition of hopeless sterility. Nevertheless it will not always be that the past will be to us 'as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed; and the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.'

No! It will not be always so.

AUGUSTUS JESSOP.

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GHOST STORIES.

WE seem to need a name for a new branch of the science of Man, the Comparative Study of Ghost Stories. Neither sciology, from *σκιά*, nor idolology, from *εἰδωλον*, appears a very convenient term, and as the science is yet in its infancy, perhaps it may go unnamed, for the time, like a colt before it has won its maiden race. But, though nameless, the researches which I wish to introduce are by no means lacking in curious interest. It may be objected that the comparative study of ghost stories is already well known, and practised by two very different sets of inquirers, anthropologists and the Society for Psychical Research; but neither Mr. Tylor and Mr. Herbert Spencer nor 'those about' Mr. Gurney and Mr. Myers work, as it seems to me, exactly on the topics and in the manner which I wish to indicate. Mr. Herbert Spencer, as we all know, traces religion to the belief in and worship of the ghosts of ancestors. Mr. Tylor, again, has learnedly examined the probable origin of the belief in ghosts, deriving that belief from the phenomena of dreams, of fainting, of shadows, of visions induced by hunger or by narcotics, and of death. To state Mr. Tylor's theory briefly, and by way of an example, men reasoned themselves into a theory of ghosts after the manner of Achilles in the *Iliad* (xxiii. 70-110). The unburied Patroclus appeared to his friend in a dream, and passed away, 'And Achilles sprang up marvelling, and smote his hands together, and spake a word of woe: "Ay me, there remaineth then even in the house of Hades a spirit and phantom of the dead, albeit the life be not anywise therein; for all night long hath the spirit of hapless Patroclus stood over me, wailing and making moan, and charged me everything that I should do, and wondrous like his living self it seemed."'

Here we find Achilles in the moment of inferring from his dream the actual existence of a spirit surviving the death of the body. No doubt a belief in ghosts might well have been developed by early thinkers, as Mr. Tylor holds, out of arguments like these of Achilles. It is certain, too, that many of the social and religious institutions of savages (if writers in the English language are to be

allowed the use of that word) have been based on the opinion that the spirits of the dead are still active among the living. All this branch of the subject has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*. But I do not observe that Mr. Tylor has paid very much attention to what we may call the actual ghost stories of savages—that is, the more or less well-authenticated cases in which savages have seen the ordinary ghost of modern society. Here, for the purposes of clearness, I will discriminate certain kinds of ghost stories, all of them current among races as low as the Australians, and lower than the Fijians, all of them current, too, in contemporary European civilisation. First, let us place the well-known savage belief that the spirits of the dead reappear in the form of the lower animals, often of that animal which is the totem or ancestral friend and guardian of the kinship. This kind of ghost story one seldom or never hears in drawing-rooms, but it is the prevalent and fashionable kind among the peasantry, for example, in Shropshire. In the second class, we may reckon the more or less professional ghosts that appear obedient to the medium's or conjurer's command at *séances*. These spirits, which come 'when you do call them,' behave in much the same manner, and perform the same sorts of antics or miracles, in Australian *gunyehs*, in Maori *pahs*, and at the exhibition of Mr. Sludge, or of the esoteric Buddhists. Thirdly, we arrange the non-professional ghost, which does not come at the magician's call, but appears unexpected, and apparently irresponsible. This sort also haunts houses and forests; other members of the species manifest themselves at the moment of death, or become visible for the purpose of warning friends of their own approaching decease. Such phenomena as a sudden flash of supernatural light, or the presence of a white bird, or other ghostly creatures prophesying death, may perhaps be allotted to this class of apparitions.

These things are as well known to contemporary savages as they were to the classical people of Lucian's day, or as they are, doubtless, to the secretaries of the Society for Psychical Research. Once more, we ought to notice the 'well-authenticated' modern ghost story, which on examination proves to be really a parallel to the William Tell myth, and to recur in many ages, always attached to different names, and provided with fresh properties. To look into these ghost stories cannot be wholly idle. Apparently there is either some internal groundwork of fact at the bottom of a belief which savages share with Fellows of the Royal Society, or liability to certain recurring hallucinations must be inherited by civilised man from his untutored ancestors, or the mythopœic faculty, to use no harder term, is common to all stages of culture. As to habits of hasty inference and false reasoning, these, of course, were bequeathed to us by our pre-scientific parents, and these, with our own vain hopes and foolish fears, afford the stuff for most ghosts and ghost stories. The

whole topic, in the meanwhile, has only been touched at either end, so to speak. The anthropologists have established their own theory of the origin of a belief in ghosts, without asking whether the actual appearance of apparitions may not have helped to start or confirm that belief. The friends of psychical research have collected modern stories of the actual appearance of apparitions without paying much attention, as far as I am aware, to their parallels among the most backward races, or to their mediæval and classical variants.

It is not necessary to occupy much space with the savage and modern ghosts of men that reappear in the guise of the lower animals. Among savages, who believe themselves to be descended from beasts, nothing can be more natural than the hypothesis that the souls revert to bestial shapes. The Zulus say their ancestors were serpents, and in harmless serpents they recognise the dead friend or kinsman returning to the family kraal. The Indian tribes of North-Western America claim descent from various creatures, and under the shape of these creatures their dead reappear. The lack of distinction, in the savage mind, between man and beast makes ghost stories of this species natural among savages. But it is curious, in Miss Burne's volume on *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, to find that almost all the Shropshire ghosts, even of known persons recently deceased, display themselves in the form of beasts, while ghosts in human guise are comparatively rare exceptions. Thus (p. 111) the wicked squire of Bagley, after his death, *came* as a monstrous and savage bull. He was 'laid' in church, where he cracked the walls by the vigour of his resistance. 'There are believers in this story who affirm that, were the stone to be loosened, the bull would come forth again by many degrees worse than he was at the first.' 'It is not an invariable rule that ghosts should take the form of animals. . . . A road near Hodnet is haunted by the ghost of a farmer who, for no known reason, comes again with a horse's head,' like the Phigalian Demeter! The ghost (limited) of seven illegitimate children *came* as a cat! A man drowned in the Birmingham and Liverpool Canal appears (p. 107) as a monkey; and so on. So common, in France, are human ghosts in bestial form, that M. D'Assier has invented a Darwinian way of accounting for the phenomena. M. D'Assier, a Positivist, is a believer in ghosts, but not in the immortality of the soul. He suggests that the human *revenants* in the guise of sheep, cows, and shadowy creatures may be accounted for by a kind of Atavism, or 'throwing back,' on the side of the spirit to the lower animal forms out of which humanity was developed!

The chief or only interest of these bogies in bestial shape lies in the proof they afford of the tenacity of tradition. It is impossible to imagine the amount of evidence capable of proving that what seems a bull is really the ghost of a wicked squire, as people think in Shropshire. But the prevalence of a superstition like this demonstrates

that ideas originally conceived by savages, and natural or inevitable in the savage mental condition, may survive in the rustic peoples of the most civilised nations.

The second class of ghost stories, tales of what we may call 'professional' spirits that come and go at the sorcerer's command, need not detain us long. This branch of the subject has been examined by the anthropologists. Mr. Tylor has provided many examples of the savage *séance*, the Shaman or medicine man bound and tied in a darkened room, and then released by the spirits whose voices are heard chattering around him. 'Suppose a wild North American Indian looking on at a spirit *séance* in London. As to the presence of disembodied spirits manifesting themselves by raps, noises, voices, and other physical actions, the savage would be perfectly at home in the proceedings, for such things are part and parcel of his recognised system of nature.' I doubt if any modern medium could quite rival the following feat of an Australian Birraark or sorcerer, as vouched for by one of the T . . . tribe. 'The fires were allowed to go down,' the Birraark began his invocation. At intervals he uttered the cry, *Coo'ee!* 'At length a distant reply was heard, and shortly afterwards the sound as of persons jumping on the ground in succession. This was supposed to be the spirit Baukan followed by the ghosts. A voice was then heard in the gloom asking in a strange intonation, "What is wanted?" Questions were put by the Birraark, and replies given. At the termination of the *séance*, the spirit voices said, "We are going." Finally the Birraark was found in the *top of an almost inaccessible tree, apparently asleep*. It was alleged that the ghosts had transported him there at their departure.'¹ If as good a *séance* could be given in Hyde Park, and if Mr. Sludge could be found at the close in the top of one of the Scotch pines in Kensington Gardens, we might admit that the civilised is on a level with savage spiritualism. Yet even this *séance* was very much less impressive than what the author of *Old New Zealand* witnessed in a Maori pah, when the spirit of a dead native friend of his own was present and 'manifested' rarely.

The curious coincidences between savage and civilised 'spiritualism' have still to be explained. Mr. Tylor says that 'the ethnographic view' finds 'modern spiritualism to be in great measure a direct revival from the regions of savage philosophy and peasant folklore.' But in a really comparative study of the topic, this theory would need to be proved by historical facts. Let us grant that Eskimo and Australian spiritualism are a savage imposture. Let us grant that peasants, little advanced from the savage intellectual condition, retained a good deal of savage spiritualism. To complete the proof it would be necessary to adduce many examples of peasant *séances*, to show that these were nearly identical with savage *séances*,

¹ *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 254.

and then to demonstrate that the introducers of the civilised modern *séance* had been in touch with the savage or peasant performances. For the better explanation of the facts, the Psychical Society might send missionaries to investigate and test the exhibitions of Australian Birraarks, and Maori Tohungas, and Eskimo Angekoks. Mr. Im Thurm, in Guiana, has made experiments in Peayism, or local magic, but felt no more than a drowsy mesmeric sensation, and a headache, after the treatment. While those things are neglected, psychical research is remiss in attention to her elevating task.

In the third class of ghosts we propose to place those which are independent of the invocations of the sorcerer, which come and go, or stay, at their own will. As to 'haunted houses,' savages, who have no houses, are naturally not much troubled by them. It is easy to leave one *gungeh* or bark shelter for another; and this is generally done after a death among the Australians. Races with more permanent habitations have other ways of exorcising the haunters—by feeding the ghosts, for example, at their graves, so that they are comfortable there, and do not wish to emerge. Two curious instances of haunted forests may be given here. To one I have already referred in a little volume, *Custom and Myth*, recently published. Mrs. Edwards, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, printed a paper called 'The Mystery of the Pezazi.' To be brief, the mystery lay in the constant disturbing sounds of nocturnal tree-felling near a bungalow in Ceylon, where examination proved that no trees had been felled. Mrs. Edwards, her husband, and their servants were on several occasions disturbed by these sounds, which were unmistakable and distinct. The Cingalese attribute the noises to a Pezazi or spirit. I find a description of precisely the same disturbances in Sahagun's account of the superstitions of the Aztecs. Brother Sahagun was one of the earliest Spanish missionaries in Mexico, and his account of Aztec notions is most intelligently written. In Mexico, too, 'the Midnight Axe' is supposed to be a phenomenon produced by woodland spectres. A critic in the *Athenæum* suggested that the fact of the noise, attested by English witnesses in Ceylon who knew not Sahagun, was matter for the Psychical Society. Perhaps some physical examination would be more likely to discover the actual origin of the sounds of tree-felling. I was not aware, however, till Mr. Leslie Stephen pointed it out, that the Galapagos Islands, 'suthard of the line,' were haunted by the Midnight Axe. De Quincey, who certainly had not heard the Ceylon story, and who probably would have mentioned Sahagun's had he known it, describes the effect produced by the Midnight Axe on the nerves of his brother, Pink:—

So it was, and attested by generations of sea-vagabonds, that every night, duly as the sun went down and the twilight began to prevail, a sound arose—audible to other islands and to every ship lying quietly at anchor in that neighbourhood—of a woodcutter's axe. . . . The close of the story was that after, I suppose, ten or

twelve minutes of hacking and hewing, a horrid crash was heard, announcing that the tree, if tree it were, that never yet was made visible to daylight search, had yielded to the old woodman's persecution. . . . The woodcutter's axe began to intermit about the earliest approach of dawn, and, as light strengthened, it ceased entirely, after poor Pink's ghostly panic grew insupportable.²

I offer no explanation of the Midnight Axe, which appears (to superstitious minds) to be produced by the *Pollergeist* of the forests.

A much more romantic instance, savage and civilised, of a haunted woodland may perhaps be regarded as a superstition transmitted by French settlers to the natives of New Caledonia. The authority for the following anecdote is my friend and kinsman, Mr. J. J. Atkinson, of Viewfield, Noumea, New Caledonia.

Mr. Atkinson has lived for twenty years remote from books, and in the company of savage men. He informs me that a friendly Kaneka came to visit him one day, and seemed unusually loth to go. After one affectionate farewell he came back and took another, and then a third, till Mr. Atkinson asked him why he was so demonstrative. The native then replied that this would be their last meeting; that in a day or two he would be dead. As he seemed in perfect health, the Englishman rallied him on his fears. But he very gravely explained that he had met in the woods One whom he took for the girl of his heart. It was not till too late that he recognised the woman for a forest-haunting spirit. To have to do with these is death in three days, and their caresses are mortal. As he said, so it happened, for the unlucky fellow shortly afterwards died. I do not think my informant had ever heard of Le Sieur Nann and the Korrigan, the well-known Breton folk-song of the knight who met the forest fairy, and died in three days. A version of the ballad is printed by De la Villemarque, Barzaz-Breiz (i. 41). Variants exist in Swedish, French, and even in a Lowland Scotch version, sung by children in a kind of dancing game. In this case, what we want to know is whether the Kaneka belief is native, or borrowed from the French. That there really exist fair and deadly women of the woods perhaps the most imaginative student will decline to believe. Among savages men often sicken, and even die, because they consider themselves bewitched, and the luckless Kaneka must have been the victim of a dream or hallucination reacting on the nervous system. But that does not account for the existence of the superstition.

The ghosts which at present excite most interest are ghosts beheld at the moment of their owner's decease by persons at a distance from the scene of death. Thus Baronius relates how 'that eximious Platonist, Marsilius Ficinus,' appeared at the hour of his death on a white horse to Michael Mercatus, and rode away, crying 'O Michael, Michael, vera, vera sunt illa,' that is, the doctrine of a future life is true. Lord Brougham was similarly favoured. Among savages I

² *Autobiographic Sketches*, p. 337.

have not encountered more than one example, and that rather sketchy, of a warning conveyed to a man by a ghost as to the death of a friend. The tale is in FitzRoy's *Voyage of the 'Adventurer' and the 'Beagle'* (ii. 118). Jemmy Button was a young Fuegian whom his uncle had sold to the 'Beagle' for a few buttons.

While at sea, on board the 'Beagle,' about the middle of the year 1842, he said one morning to Mr. Byno, that in the night some man came to the side of his hammock, and whispered in his ear that his father was dead. Mr. Byno tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously.

Another kind of ghost, again, that of a dead relative who comes to warn a man of his own approaching decease, appears to be quite common among savages. In his interesting account of the Kurnai, an Australian tribe, Mr. Howitt writes:—

Mr. C. J. Du Vé, a gentleman of much experience with the Aborigines, tells me that, in the year 1860, a Maneroo black fellow died while with him. The day before he died, having been ill for some time, he said that, in the night, his father, his father's friend, and a female spirit he could not recognise, had come to him, and said that he would die next day, and that they would wait for him.

To this statement the Rev. Lorimer Fison appends a note which ought to interest psychical inquirers. 'I could give many similar instances which have come within my own knowledge among the Fijians, and, strange to say, the dying man, in all these cases, kept his appointment with the ghosts to the very day.' A civilised example recorded by Henry More is printed in the *Remains* of the late Dr. Symonds. In that narrative a young lady was awakened by a bright light in her bedroom. Her dead mother appeared to her, exactly as the father of the Mancroo black fellow did, and warned her that she was to die on the following midnight. The girl made all her preparations, and, with Fijian punctuality, 'kept her appointment with the ghosts to the very day.' The peculiarity of More's tale seems to be the brilliance of the light which attended the presence of the supernatural. This strange fire is widely diffused in folk-lore. If we look at the Eskimo we find them convinced that the Inue, or powerful spirits, 'generally have the appearance of a fire or bright light, and to see them is very dangerous. . . . partly as foreshadowing the death of a relation.'³ In the story repeated by More, not a kinsman of the visionary, but the visionary herself was in danger. In the *Odyssey*, when Athene was mystically present as Odysseus and Telemachus were moving the weapons out of the hall (xix. 21-50), Telemachus exclaims, 'Father, surely a great marvel is this I behold! Meseemeth that the walls of the hall, and the fair spaces between the pillars, and the beams of pine, and the columns that run aloft

³ Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 43.

are bright as it were with flaming fire. Verily some god is within of them that hold the wide heaven.' Odysseus answers, 'Lo, this is the wont of the gods that possess Olympus.' Again, in Theocritus, when Hera sends the snakes to attack the infant Heracles, a mysterious flame shines forth, *φῶς δ' ἀνὰ οἶκον ἐρύχθη*.⁴ The same phenomenon occurs in the saga of Burnt Njal when Gunnar sings within his tomb. Philosophers may dispute whether any objective fact lies at the bottom of this belief, or whether a savage superstition has survived into Greek epic and idyll, and into modern ghost stories. Into Scotch legend, too, this faith in a mysterious and ominous fire found its way—

Seemed all on fire that chapel proud,
Where Roslin's chiefs unconfined lie,
Each baron, for a sable shroud,
Sheathed in his iron panoply.

Scott derives the idea from the tomb fires of the Sagas, but we have shown the wide diffusion of the belief.

By way of ending this brief sketch of the comparative study of ghost stories, an example may be given of the recurrent tale which is told of different people in different ages and countries. Just as the anecdote of William Tell and the Apple occurs in various times, and among widely severed races, so, in a minor degree, does the famous Beresford ghost story present itself in mythical fashion. The Beresford tale is told at great length by Dr. F. G. Lee, in his *Glimpses of the Supernatural*. As usual, Dr. Lee does not give the names of his informants, nor trace the channels through which the legend reached them. But he calls his version of the myth 'an authentic record' (p. 51). To be brief, Lord Tyrone and Miss Blank were orphans, educated in the same house 'in the principles of Deism.' When they were about fourteen years of age their preceptor died, and their new guardians tried to 'persuade them to embrace revealed religion.' The boy and girl, however, stuck to Deism. But they made a compact that he or she who died first should appear to the survivor 'to declare what religion was most approved by the Supreme Being.' Miss Blank married Sir Martin Beresford. One day she appeared at breakfast with a pale face, and a black band round her wrist. Long afterwards, on her death-bed, she explained that this band covered shrunken sinews. The ghost of Lord Tyrone, at the hour of his death, had appeared to her, had prophesied (correctly) her future, and had touched her wrist by way of a sign.

He struck my wrist; his hand was as cold as marble; in a moment the sinews shrank up, every nerve withered. . . . I bound a piece of black ribbon round my wrist. The black ribbon was formerly in the possession of Lady Betty Cobb, who, during her long life, was ever ready to attest the truth of this narration, as are, to the present hour, the whole of the Tyrone and Beresford families.

⁴ 'And all the house showed clear as in the light of dawn.'—Theoc. xix. 30-40, ed. Ahrens.

Nothing would induce me to dispute the accuracy of a report vouched for by Lady Betty Cobb and all the Tyrones and Beresfords. But I must be permitted to point out that Lord Tyrone merely did what many ghosts had done before in that matter of touching Lady Beresford's wrist. Thus, according to Henry More 'one' (bogie) 'took a relation of Melanchthon's by the hand, and so scorched her that she bore the mark of it to her dying day.' Before Melanchthon the anecdote was 'improved' by Eudes de Shirton in a sermon (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1877). According to Eudes, a certain clerk, Serlon, made with a friend the covenant which Miss Blank made with Lord Tyrone. The survivor was to bring news of the next world. Well, the friend died, and punctually appeared to Serlon, 'in a parchment cloak, covered with the finest writing in the world.' Being asked how he fared, he said that this cloak, a punishment for his love of Logic, weighed heavier than lead, and scorched like the shirt of Nessus. Then he held out his hand, and let fall a drop which burned Serlon to the bone—

And ever more that Master wore
A covering on his wrist.

Before Eudes de Shirton (1081–1153) William of Malmesbury knew this anecdote, which he dates about 1060–1063, and localises in Nantes. His characters are 'two clerks,' an Epicurean and a Platonist, who made the usual contract that the first to die should appear to the survivor, and state whether Plato's ideas or Epicurus his atoms were the correct reply to the conundrum of the universe. The visit was to be paid within thirty days of the death. One of the philosophical pair was killed, a month passed, no news of him came. Then, when the other expected nothing less, and was busy with some ordinary matter, the dead man suddenly stood before him. The spectre explained that he had been unable to keep his appointment earlier; and, stretching out his hand, let fall three burning drops of blood, which branded, not the wrist, but the brow of the psychical inquirer. The anecdote recurs later, and is attached by certain commentators on Dante to one Siger de Brabant. Now this legend may be true about Lady Beresford, or about William of Malmesbury's two clerks, or about Siger de Brabant, or about Serlon; but the same facts of a compact, the punctual appearance of the survivor, and the physical sign which he gave, can scarcely have occurred more than once. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that the narrative vouched for by two noble families is accurate, and that the tales of William of Malmesbury, Henry More, Eudes de Shirton, and Siger de Brabant are myths—

Or such refraction of events
As often rises ere they rise.

Though this sketch of a new comparative science does not perhaps prove or disprove any psychical or mythological theory, it demonstrates that there is a good deal of human nature in man. From the Eskimo, Fuegiâns, Fijians, and Kurnai, to Homer, Henry More, Theocritus, and Lady Betty Cobb, we mortals are 'all in a tale,' and share coincident beliefs or delusions. What the value of the coincidence of testimony may be, how far it attests facts, how far it merely indicates the survival of savage conceptions, Mr. Tylor and Mr. Edmund Gurney may be left to decide. Readers of the *Philopseudes* of Lucian will remember how the Samosatene settled the inquiries of the psychical researchers of his age, and in that dialogue there are abundant materials for the comparative student of ghost stories.

ANDREW LANG.

IN CASE OF INVASION.

SUCH a paper as that on 'The Volunteers in Time of Need,' contributed to this Review,¹ by so weighty an authority as Sir Edward Hamley, is nothing short of an important national benefit. The truths it tells with a plainness so refreshing are unchallengeable; the suggestions which it makes are full of practical utility; the objects for which it so forcibly contends are attainable at a cost the smallness of which renders the neglect of them inexcusable on the part of the most economically inclined Government.

In reading that article, I have been struck by the fact that certain of the proposals which its author puts forward as relating to matters of extreme urgency have already, at all events in some degree, been anticipated, and his desiderated preparations actually in a great measure carried out. Sir Edward Hamley asks for the completion beforehand of the plans necessary for preparing to meet an invasion. Predicating that the area is not extensive within which a hostile landing is practicable, he postulates that since the groups of roads which an enemy must use for his march upon London can be foreseen with exactitude, the whole country between the coast and the capital, divided into possible theatres of operations, must be carefully reconnoitred, and all its military features thoroughly recognised. The position wherein to oppose the invader selected, the movement of all the troops in the district, of all kinds and of all arms, upon that position should, he urges, be laid down, and every march by road or rail, every order for the transfer from the depôts and magazines of the necessary material, should be anticipated.

This kind of work, much resembling in its nature, as it does, that constantly undertaken and elaborated by the great General Staff of the Prussian army, is to be carried out in its entirety only by military experts. General Hamley tells us that students of the Staff College and officers of the Intelligence Department have been engaged upon it in perhaps a somewhat piecemeal fashion for many years; and he urges with obvious force the greater wisdom of confiding it to a permanent and adequately equipped staff under the direction of an experienced and specially qualified chief. In the task of defending our island against an invading force, General Hamley points out the

¹ February 1885.

important advantage that the facility of communication would be all in our favour. The invader must depend entirely on his own seaborne transport; whereas we have railways, roads, and the whole vehicular carrying power of the country at our command. But, continues General Hamley, emphasising inferentially the condition of unpreparedness which he regards as existing, 'to render these available, it is indispensable that the exact use to be made of every item of rail, road, and transport should be laid down beforehand, with reference to the identical troops which in the first instance are to use it.' Arrangements to this end would of course be among the duties devolving on the permanent Defence-elaboration Staff, whose appointment and maintenance is one of Sir Edward Hamley's most valuable recommendations. Something, indeed, already being done in the direction of working out such details, General Hamley appears to be rather vaguely cognisant of. 'I believe,' remarks the veteran professional officer, 'that the data for plans for railway transport of troops in given districts have been submitted to members of the Corps of Engineer and Railway Transport Volunteers to be worked out. These gentlemen,' he continues, with something of the *de haut en bas* inflection, 'are very eminent civil engineers bearing military rank—gentlemen whose names we are all familiar with in connection with the most important and remarkable public works of the time; but I do not know what special opportunities they may have had (unless when one may be a director of a company) of mastering the details of the regulation and service of trains on particular railways, which is the essential matter, and which I should have been inclined to entrust to the railway officials on whom the actual execution will devolve.'

The names of the officers of the 'Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps' (the whole corps consists of officers) are printed in the *Monthly Army List*. The corps is a somewhat remarkable body. Its honorary colonel is General Sir W. M. McMurdo, to whom the Volunteer force owes so much. The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding is Sir John Hawkshaw, the eminent engineer. Its officerhood comprises twelve managers and managing directors of our principal lines of railway, exactly the persons whom General Hamley desiderates; eight of our most eminent civil engineers, and nine of our leading contractors. Such men as Messrs. Grieson, Fenton, Knight, Oakley, Noble, Findlay, Underdown, Forbes, Thorley, and Thompson can scarcely be said to lack 'special opportunities of mastering the details of the regulation and service of trains on particular railways,' and are the precise 'railway officials on whom the actual execution would devolve.' They are the experts whose combined exertions are of unique value, when they unite to concern themselves with the elaboration of detailed time-tables for the connected and systematic conveyance over our complex railway system of great masses of troops.

The civil engineers of the corps—such men as the Hawkshaws, Sir John Coode, John Fowler, and Sir C. Gregory—belong to it in the patriotic hope that, in case of need, their ready services and their special and varied experiences may be found available in the designing and carrying out of great systems of defensive operations in accordance with the suggestions of the military engineers. The great contractors of the country—such men as Sir John Kelk, the Messrs. Lucas, and Mr. Aird, have attached themselves to it because of their knowledge that they wield what I may style the ‘navvy power’ of the nation—are the organisers and disposers of great cohorts of civilian labourers, the owners of vast stocks of readily applied implements, the potential constructors of leagues of earthworks and miles of inundation dams, just as they are the actual compilers of railway embankments and the borers of railway tunnels.

All busy men, these; concerned with multitudinous responsibilities; each man in his way an Atlas, bearing on his shoulders a world of no light weight. Yet they make time, somehow, to contribute in no small degree to the elaborate and professional fulfilment of those undertakings for whose execution Sir Edward Hamley so vigorously calls aloud. The students of the Staff College, the skilled *employés* of the Intelligence Department, can but reckon contingent possibilities, calculate theoretical combinations, conjure up the ghosts of works. They can invent the best method of making bricks, but they have no straw. This Volunteer Staff Corps can reckon and calculate, and invent and devise; but it can do far more. Within its grasp lie the power and means to execute. Let the British equivalent for Moltke, if there be one, push the bell-knob of his bureau, that shall give the signal for active operations. The Staff College students, the Intelligence Department, take out of their pigeon-holes their plans, and contemplate their elaborateness rather helplessly. While they gaze, the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps, at a word from the military authorities, are smoothly whirling trainful after trainful of troops—if only, which is not a matter under their control, those troops are forthcoming—from Aberdeen, from Bangor, from Exeter, to the given points of concentration. Their trained labourers are deftly building detraining platforms; the brawny arms of five thousand stalwart navvies are plying the construction of defensive works.

This is no fancy sketch; and the unchallengeable truthfulness of it is at once a reassurance to the nation, and a grand tribute to the patriotic exertions of the group of men who, working quietly and unostentatiously—for the result of their labours never goes out to the public—impart to it its truthful character. It has been the practice of the military authorities from time to time to propound ‘exercises’ to this Volunteer Staff Corps, each exercise embodying a certain ‘general idea,’ involving the concentration of a given force on a given defensive line, and calling for an ‘answer’ in the

shape of carefully calculated details as to appliances for and speed of transport. The 'exercises' occasionally involve replies in regard to engineering requisites, such as the construction of a line of positions, or the formation of an entrenched camp with its supplementary defences. Five of those 'exercises' in all have been issued and answered, and their character is such that the replies to them meet almost categorically every point of General Hamley's postulates in the quotations from his article with which I commenced this paper. In proof of this, and also to show the readers of this Review what a range of practical knowledge, and how much of clear-headed perspicuity a handful of Volunteer experts can bring to bear on a matter of national interest and safety, I propose to deal somewhat in detail with three of those exercises, illustrative as are these three of the work done by the corps.

Exercise I. was propounded so early as 1865. Its main proposition is a threatened invasion of the coast between the Thames and the Wash, consequent on circumstances having left that coast unguarded at sea. The main requirement of the exercise, and the only part of it which I propose to follow is the railway system under which a grand total of 203,795 troops of all arms, comprising 22,900 cavalry and 338 guns, drawn from various specified points (extending all over the country), can be thrown into a certain strategical position with the greatest rapidity and certainty. The position prescribed—the line of assembly—extends from March Junction (its extreme left) by Ely, Norwich, Cambridge, Bishop's Stortford, Broxbourne Junction, Epping, to Brentwood; and again, in advance to Colchester, on the Great Eastern line; with reserves at Sandy Junction, Bedford, Hitchin, and Hampstead; the appropriation of the railways for military purposes to be considered in reference to the supply of food for the population of London and other large towns that are wholly dependent on the railways for their supply.

'The number of troops to be moved under this exercise is undoubtedly large,' is the quiet comment of the Council of the corps undertaking the answer, but they go at the task in a refreshingly methodical fashion. Commencing, then, with the assumption that the earliest duty, on the recognition of the approaching necessity for the movement, would be to convey to the front the Commissariat Staff, to organise a local transport service and the means of supply, and also to despatch the Engineer corps for the superintendence of the construction by navvies and platelayers of the debarkation platforms, they take up the consideration of the means at command for the railway conveyance of this great mass of men and horses. They first set forth a return of the entire rolling stock of each company and the carrying capacity of the same, which I need not extract, since twenty years have rendered it quite obsolete. They reckon that the movement would require in all about 640 trains, which estimate may still hold good.

After levying this vehicular contribution *pro rata* on each company, it is estimated that a proportion of rolling stock, now very much larger than then, would remain over for carrying on a proportion of the ordinary traffic. They urge the importance for military as well as commercial purposes of continuing to run at least one train daily on the main lines and principal branches; and if this were practicable then, much more of ordinary traffic would be possible now, and much less disturbance of the routine of communications need be created. No serious inconvenience, it is contended, would be entailed on London and the great towns by the partial and very temporary arrestment of railway conveyance of food supplies; and if the transport of live cattle should wholly be stopped (as perhaps need not now be the case), London would get along as well as she did during the cattle plague, when the conveyance of beasts was stopped for a lengthened period. At the larger stations, and where empty stock was available, the loading of the troops might be commenced within six hours of the receipt of orders, and in some cases, indeed, in less time, providing, it is significantly added, the troops were at the station in time, a matter in other hands; but it would require longer time to collect sufficient stock to load the whole, and in some cases from twelve to fourteen hours would be necessary for the withdrawal of rolling stock from the ordinary traffic and its conveyance to the required points. The railway companies possess at all their stations appliances for the embarkation of all arms; at the respective points of debarkation, however, a considerable amount of temporary accommodation would be requisite, which could be prepared while the process of conveyance was in execution. At the large towns and dépôts, where the embarkation would be large and where there are several adjacent stations and probably also several lines of railway, the distribution of portions of the troops to suburban or neighbouring stations is recommended, where they would be embarked and despatched more rapidly and smoothly than were all the trains loaded at the main stations. Each train is calculated to run at a speed of twenty-five miles per hour, with fifteen minutes' halt after four hours, and one hour's halt after eight hours, and so on. The debarkation difficulty fully recognised, it is suggested that trains, when necessary, should be stopped by telegraph short of their destination, and that the troops should be disembarked and march up the short remaining distance to their respective points. Tables were prepared showing minutely each of the movements necessary for the conveyance of the troops, giving the number of trains and of vehicles required for each train, with the number of men, horses, guns, &c., contained therein, and the time necessary for performing each journey; and a set of time-tables similar to those in general use by railway companies for their general traffic was also elaborated, giving still further details of the movement of each train from the commencement to the end of the journey.

It is impossible (write the Council) to state with perfect accuracy the exact time within which the whole extensive movements entailed in the proposal could be carried into effect and completed, in consequence of the possible difficulties that might arise in the collection of carriages and other vehicles from the various railways spreading over the whole of Great Britain, and their conveyance to the various points where they would be required for loading with troops and materials; but this difficulty (this was written, it will be remembered, in 1865) will yearly decrease as railway companies keep adding to their rolling stock. But this we can state with general accuracy, that all the men, with their horses, guns, and material, could be collected in their respective positions on the indicated line between Colchester and Norwich, within EIGHTY HOURS after commencing to load.

This as to the completion of the gigantic undertaking, but it by no means must be understood that the position would stand naked for the three days following on its inception.

By far the largest portion of the movement (proceeds the report) would be effected within a less time, as the summary of the train service will show that the longest time required for any portion of the movement is forty-two hours, and the difference between that time and eighty hours consists in an allowance of time considered necessary for six hundred and odd trains to arrive within the theatre of concentration, converging as they all do on a limited area; but it is estimated that at least one-fourth, or about 45,000 men and 6,700 horses, could be conveyed to points of that theatre within twelve hours, and one-half within about thirty-six hours.

The above is but the baldest summary of a paper that goes into the minutest detail on every conceivable point. It dilates on the purposeful utilisation of alternative routes, so as to prevent overcrowding on one; it meets and disposes of the break of gauge difficulty; it gives the result of actual experiments of the time, labour, and material required for the construction of temporary platforms of various dimensions; it apportions to each train, indeed to each vehicle and class of vehicle, its computed complement of freight, whether that freight be officers, men, horses, guns, or material. It recognises the necessity for throwing troops first into the advanced positions at Colchester and Norwich, and details the means for the accomplishment of this desideratum. In fine, it leaves no loose ends, no detail of the whole vast and complex operation, unprovided for. The corps furnishes the machine; it remains for the military authorities to feed that machine punctually and promptly with material to be dealt with in the shape of troops. Let the authorities gather in to the appointed railway stations throughout the country the local detachments—here a battalion of Volunteers, there a battery of artillery, yonder a squadron of cavalry—and the great transportation machinery swayed and managed by the Engineer and Railway Corps undertakes to concentrate the scattered items within three days on a given position, to constitute it a serried army 200,000 strong. I venture to hold that a comprehensive and elaborate piece of work such as this is somewhat inadequately described by the expression of a belief 'that the data for plans for railway transport of troops in given districts have been submitted

to members of the corps of Engineer and Railway Transport Volunteers to be worked out.'

The brunt of the requisition made by the exercise sketched above was borne by the railway experts of the corps. It comprehended engineering operations, but those were subsidiary, and I have not thought it necessary to refer to them, when so illustrative a specimen of this kind of work lay to my hand in Exercise III. The military situation involved in the hypothesis of that exercise is the retreat of a defending force from the coast between Brighton and Hastings to a position on the heights above Reigate, and having its centre in the neighbourhood of that place. The exercise demands that entrenchments of specified extent are to be thrown up between Park Hill on the west and Tilburstow Hill on the east, with redoubts and profile as detailed; abattis to be constructed in front of the position where practicable; hedges and other cover to an advancing enemy to be levelled to a range of eight hundred yards; hollows in roads within that distance to be filled up and buildings made defensible; obstacles, such as wire entanglements, military pits, &c., to be formed where desired; and communications to be opened up along the defensive position and to the rear. The exercise assumes that the enemy will attempt to force his way by the roads running through Redhill and Reigate; and demands consequently that preparations be made for breaking up, barricading and obstructing, at a suitable time, all roads leading up to a running parallel with the position, say for ten miles in its front. It further requires arrangements to be set forth for the destruction of bridges on the enemy's line of advance within the above limit, and also for the destruction of railway bridges and the obstruction of railway tunnels within wider specified limits. And yet further, the exercise exacts details of transport arrangements for the bringing up and distribution along the position of a certain specified strength of troops. The last stipulation may be dismissed with the remark that elaborate schedules, drawn up in accordance with the forms of the general tables compiled by the corps, are annexed to the answer. In Exercise I. the railway experts, as we have seen, had their innings; the gravamen of the answer to Exercise III. is contributed by the engineer and contractor element of the corps.

Its Council, when visiting the prescribed position to be entrenched, were accompanied officially by an officer of Royal Engineers, whose province it was to specify the dimensions of each earthwork and its amount of armament in guns of position. He laid down that the earthwork defences must have a gross length of 730 yards, with battery emplacements for 113 guns of position. On the data supplied by him the calculation made was that the total quantity of earthwork to be moved would amount to 11,000 cubic yards. To perform this piece of pick-and-spade work, to have the defences ready for the guns, and to clear the country over half a mile in front, within forty-eight

hours from the commencement of the operation, the labour of 2,000 navvies would be required. The contractors of the corps undertake promptly to supply this force of labour. 'Certainly,' says the purposeful answer, 'within three days of the alarm being given, all these batteries could be completed, and the country in front of them cleared to any extent which the authorities might deem advisable; as, upon authority being given, the whole of this part of the work, including the transport and commissariat involved, would be undertaken by the corps, and within three days the labourers would retire from the theatre of operations,' leaving the positions to the occupation of the military forces. If it were judged advisable to extend the line of defences, the position could obviously be doubled in forty-eight hours more. The construction of all entanglements and obstructions, and the supply of the materials for that purpose, the contractors who belong to the corps are prepared to undertake and carry out. But the request is put forward that a margin of time well in advance of the hostile advance should be accorded for this and kindred work; and that it should not be delayed until after the main body of the defensive force shall have fallen back. It is pointed out that the services of the corps are not contemplated to include operations within the circle of the enemy's action; and that 'to place any great body of navvies between the retreating force and the advancing enemy would create an element of confusion on the line of retreat.' This is very clear; navvies cannot be expected to act as a rear-guard, or even to work under the somewhat precarious protection of a rear-guard. Their function would be to prepare the obstructions in such fashion as to admit of their being traversed without difficulty by the retiring force; on whose working parties it would devolve to complete the network of obstructions—to close the door, so to speak, behind the army retiring on its prepared defensive position.

The means specified for the accomplishment of what defensive preparations might be judged advisable, the answer proceeds to the consideration of the question in what direction a hostile advance is most feasible, with a view to the nature of the operations best calculated to obstruct that advance. By a process of reasoning which need not be closely followed, but which is argued out in a fairly convincing way, the answer concludes that the hostile landing, if effected, must be on the shore west of the cliffs at Brighton. Assume the enemy to have made good his debarkation there, there are three lines of advance open to him. He might march northward over the Downs between Brighton and Shoreham, or up the valley leading to the Preston Tunnel, or round the spur of the hills up the valley of the Adur, on Shoreham. Subject to the higher strategic knowledge of the military authorities, the framers of the answer regard it probable that the valley of the Adur would be the route chosen for the advance.

of the invading force. They put forward this opinion simply for the sake of pointing out that they are quite prepared to obstruct the railways, inundate the lowlands, and render the roads impassable. Carrying out the assumption that the enemy shall have reached Shoreham, they discuss the likeliest routes by which he would attempt a further advance into the interior. Two roads offer, either or both of which he might use—the road *viâ* Capel to Dorking, and that through Three Bridges to Merstham. The former, the answer points out, passes through a wooded country, with thick hedges called ‘shaws,’ and the soil is chiefly of strong yellow clay, which has the double advantage of rendering the march of troops off the roads very heavy and wearisome, and of being well adapted for the formation of earthworks. Such earthworks the corps are prepared to throw up, as also to effect what levelling and what destruction of hedges to secure a clear fire-range the military authorities should prescribe. As for the Three Bridges road, its character is more level, the country it traverses is opener, and it therefore offers tempting facilities to the advancing enemy. But while his approach would be covered by the batteries on the Merstham Hills, the framers of the answer discern obstructions, the preparation of which should impede an advancing enemy before he should come within range of the Merstham position. The road traverses the flat country drained by the river Mole and its tributaries, and the Council recognise that there are many points where the streams might be dammed and the water thrown back, so as to inundate a considerable part of the district through which the invading force would have to march. The corps is ready to build the dams, and to throw up the batteries which should hinder attempts at their destruction. The preparations for other obstructions they are willing to undertake; the tunnels, viaducts, and bridges, especially the bridge over the river at Preston and the tunnel at Balcombe, might all be prepared, so that at the last moment they might, if necessary, be effectually destroyed in the face of the enemy. Problems such as those discussed in this answer have no doubt occupied the attention of military men, but the most professional of staff officers will hardly sneer at practical suggestions for specific operations made by experts in a craft that embraces the scientific accomplishment of such operations, or at the quiet, purposeful, unobtrusive offer to furnish the means for the prompt and efficient execution of the surely useful work.

It may be inferred from General Hamley’s article that his chief uneasiness in reference to a possible hostile landing is as regards the southern shore of our island, along which he points out there exist wide spaces of beach where large forces might be landed at once. ‘Except along the southern shore,’ says he, ‘the points of possible landing are well marked and not numerous.’ One point there is, which indeed, may be well marked, but the unprotected character of

which has long been apparent to men pondering the possibilities. I refer to that stretch of shore extending along the Essex coast from about Shoeburyness in a north-easterly direction toward Foulness. The communications available for a force concentrating to confront an enemy landing thereabouts are curiously defective. For the present, into the forlorn dead-angle of Essex to the eastward of the Great Eastern line to Colchester *viâ* Brentwood and Chelmsford, there projects but one railroad, the Tilbury and Southend, and that, from its course complying with the bends of the estuary, is not of satisfactory utility. The key-point of the defence against an invading force landing on the section of coast indicated, is what is known as the Basildon position; and its prompt occupation in force would be a matter of supreme moment. The recognition of the importance of this operation suggested to the War Office authorities the theme of the latest exercise set to the Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps (Exercise V.), the answer to which was given in only in February of the present year. The assumption of this exercise is that an invading force numbering 150,000 men has begun to disembark between Shoeburyness and Southend early in the morning of a given date, and that hostile vessels are ascending the river Blackwater to disembark a strong detachment at Stangate Abbey. At 7 A.M. on the same morning instructions are issued by telegraph for the concentration of certain specified troops on the line of Stanford-le-Hope, Billericay, and Chelmsford, with a view to the occupation of the Basildon position; one-half of this force to be brought up as rapidly as possible, and the other half to arrive at the respective destinations within forty-eight hours from the receipt of the orders to move.

Ten years ago some Head-quarter Staff officers in an access of barren zeal worked out the allocation of the British Army, including the Reserve forces, existent and non-existent, into eight army corps. This arrangement seemed to have drifted into limbo; once it figured in the *Army List*, but it has long since been swept out of that publication. The army corps to-day are ghostly nonentities, mere *nominum umbrae*. But they are evoked from the dustbin for the purposes of this exercise; and six of them constitute the theoretical force for whose transport to the Basildon position it calls on the railway experts of the Volunteer Staff Corps to tabulate the arrangements. It does not rest on them to create this army of 130,000 men; their function is simply to perfect the appliances for its swift transport. Five hundred and fifteen trains are requisite for this task, which has to be accomplished, as has been said, in forty-eight hours from the receipt of the order to move. In the twenty years since 1865, the railway experts have achieved an economy of thirty-four hours. In that year they timed the completion of the operation in eighty hours; in 1885, they undertake to have it accomplished in forty-five hours fifty minutes—two hours and ten

minutes within the time allowed them by the requisition of the exercise. The work is not materially lighter now than it was then. True, the localisation of three of the specified corps is not widely distant; the first has its nominal head-quarters in Colchester, the second in Aldershot, the third in Croydon; but the fifth, with head-quarters in Salisbury, rakes the West of England; the sixth, with head-quarters in Chester, has to be gathered up all over the Western Midlands; and the seventh, with head-quarters in York, covers an area stretching from Northampton to Newcastle.

The 1st corps, the scene of operations being on its own ground, marches into position on the Rayleigh Heights, save only the Colchester division, whose conveyance (in twenty-three trains) to Chelmsford is completed in nine hours fifty-seven minutes, reckoning from 7 A.M. The railway objective of the 2nd corps is Brentwood, its movement whither is completed in thirty-two hours fifty minutes. The 3rd corps has Stanford-le-Hope and Pitsea prescribed as its destinations. The mass of it is conveyed by rail to Gravesend, where the last man is detrained in seventeen hours—at midnight on the first day of the transportation operation. The 5th corps, from the far west, has to be trained to Chelmsford and Ingatestone, and the movement of it is completed in forty-five hours fifty minutes. The 6th corps leaves the railway at Brentwood, at which place its last trainful is timed to arrive at 3.10 A.M. on the third day, completing its movement in forty-four hours ten minutes. The 7th corps goes bodily to Stanford-le-Hope, where its final train arrives at 12.30 on the second day, completing the movement of the corps in twenty-nine hours thirty minutes. The requisition of the exercise is thus more than complied with, in spite of the difficulties of the gut at Brentwood station, and of the short throat between Stratford and Forest Gate. It should be said that the operation entails the suspension of all ordinary traffic while it is in course of execution.

How valuable for purposes of national defence is the loyal, zealous, and practical co-operation with the military authorities of such a body of men as those who compose the Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps, what has been written seems to me to prove up to the hilt. Students of the great American Civil War will readily recall the persistent obstructiveness of certain powerful railway functionaries in the earlier days of that struggle, and the consequent detriment to the Northern preparations.

ARCHIBALD FORBES.

THE PROPER SYMPATHY BETWEEN
FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

I.

WHEN the national independence of a thoroughly patriotic country is menaced by any foreign enemy, its various political parties merge their internecine rivalry or hatred in the general weal, and enter into a truce in order to stand with serried ranks against the common foe. It has been always my opinion that civilisation, analogically speaking, constitutes in itself a species of country when it is threatened in one or other of its vantage points by any of its savage enemies.—Every party that allies itself with the alien at a moment when that alien invades its native land is a detestable faction whose treachery will be for ever reprobated by the impartial voice of history. When any civilised nation is struggling with a barbarous one, or with savage tribes, as France is to-day with the Black Flags and their Chinese confederates, or as England is with the fanatical negroes of the Soudan, it is, in my opinion, unquestionable treason on the part of any civilised man to sympathise with barbarians against those who, no matter what they may be, nevertheless represent the civilisation of Christianity or that of the Western climes. Have the English people on the occasion of our campaign in the Far East understood in this sense what I consider a primary duty of a civilised race? To simply put the question will suffice for my purposes, in the present paper. On the other hand, I can affirm that all Frenchmen, with the exception of a few revolutionists who are as lost to common sense and moral feeling as the Fenians are, understand that the ultimate triumph of the Mahdi would be much more than a mere shame and disgrace for England. In their eyes it would be a disaster to civilised peoples in general.

What, I ask, is the foundation of this feeling of *solidarité* which we would wish to see triumphant in the hearts of all civilised races without exception when they have to deal with barbarians? Is it only a noble and chivalrous feeling striking its roots down deep in those religious passions which of yore welded all Europe together in the wars of the Crusades, at a time, however, when the Mussulmans of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were neither more nor less given up

to barbarity than the soldiers of Peter the Hermit or the belted knights of Richard Cœur de Lion? I do not think so; and people in general will agree with me, after having analysed this feeling, which exists in the innermost souls of Occidental races, even when they follow different political policies. It would, of course, be folly to deny that a belief in the same religious creed had much to do with this feeling; it has been, in fact, one of the keystones of the arch, as history itself demonstrates. There is, however, something else to be considered in connection with it. I refer to the instinct reasoned out and confirmed by experience, that the cause of civilisation cannot be compromised and brought to bay all over the globe without causing a very appreciable detriment to the material interests as well as the honour of civilised races.

And this is so true that, whether we be English or Germans, Spaniards or Italians, Russians or French, in vain do we seek to deny and denounce among ourselves this pact of *solidarité*; it is not on that account considered a less living reality by the races that live outside the confines of Occidental or Christian civilisation. The Mussulmans of Asia and Africa were able to take advantage at various intervals of the differences of opinion that prevailed among European nations; but they have not, nevertheless, ceased to pour out on all the Roumi the vials of their hatred and contempt. The Chinese, and every barbarous race and people without exception, follow the same course of action, and are imbued with similar sentiments. Several ill-informed politicians in London lent a helping hand to the Marquis Tseng and the bellicose members of the Tsong-li-Yamen in the Celestial intrigues against France; but such a show of sympathy did not protect English residents at Amoy, Ningpo, Canton, and Shanghai from native animosity which, it was thought, would be directed exclusively against the French. Relatively subtle minds, like those of mandarins and Chinese diplomatists, can make some distinction between France and England; but, in the eyes of the Celestials generally, we, English and French, are none other than the barbarians of the sea—you who have smiled benignly on China, and we who have just driven the Chinese out of Tonkin, and are now chastising them in their own naval harbours. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Admiral Courbet or General Brière de l'Isle suffered a reverse of arms in the present campaign at the hands of the Celestials—what, think you, would be the consequence? It should be well understood that in such an eventuality the frenzied populace of the Chinese towns and cities would, where there was an opportunity for pillage, make no distinction between French and English commercial establishments, or, in case of massacre, between merchants of French and merchants of English nationality. Some people have tried in vain to break with this pact—nevertheless, in the eyes of the common enemy, we stand united and identified with the same cause.

This intellectual and moral *solidarité* is therefore a fact; but it is not enough, I freely admit, to record the existence of such a fact—it is necessary to specify the precise manner in which this *solidarité* ought to manifest itself. Does it follow that, because a nation, whose tenets are those of Christian civilisation, should find itself—be it for offensive or defensive purposes—struggling with a nation with different or inferior civilisation (a nation, in fact, which, like the Greeks of old, we are pleased to call a ‘barbarous nation’), that Western nation ought to count everywhere and always on the assistance of its co-religionists? Such a pretension would be utterly absurd. The business affairs of each nation are, as a matter of fact, its own, and its own exclusively. We have adopted a policy of colonial enterprise at Madagascar and at Tonkin; you have interests of vast import to uphold in Egypt, Afghanistan, and India; the Russians anxiously desire to reach Herat; the Italians believe that the possession of Massowah would be profitable to them; Prince Bismarck ambitions establishing colonies on the shores of Old Guinea in Africa, and along the coast of New Guinea in Oceania. Well, it is evidently the business of Prince Bismarck, Signor Mancini, Count of Giers, Mr. Gladstone, and M. Ferry—each in the province which immediately concerns himself—to turn to advantage or disadvantage the enterprise he has undertaken. An eventuality might of course arise when it would be the interest of one of these Powers to aid another against any given colony or tribe; nay, more, it could be its strict and absolute duty on such or such an occasion, seeing that the struggle takes place in Asia or Oceania, and not in Europe. If, however, rendering effective aid, and lending war material, by no means constitute a duty (at least in every case), the duties of neutral nations are changed when a civilised and a barbarous nation, and not two nations of the same civilisation, are combatants. In the first place, so far as the Governments themselves are concerned, the neutrality laws are always and necessarily observed in a more or less rigid fashion; and consequently, as the balance must lean to one side, it ought not to lean to that of barbarity, but rather to that of civilisation. The English Government has acted in quite a contrary spirit in Madagascar, where it permitted the transport of arms and ammunition to the capital of the Hovas, and in the extreme East, where the Enlistment Act was put in force against our navy. In the second place, so far as we have to do with public opinion—than which no other influence of our time equals its influence on home and foreign Governments—that public opinion, at the risk of incurring the charge of treason and a forfeiture of its rights, ought to stand up for civilisation against barbarity; for Sir Colin Campbell against Nana Sahib; for Brière de l’Isle and Négrier against Tu-Phuoc and Tzo; for Gordon and Lord Wolseley against the Mahdi and Osman Digma.

I do not seek to disguise the fact that, if public opinion in England

has too often failed in the accomplishment of the duty I have referred to, public opinion in France has also failed in the same way on one or two occasions. And I must frankly add that when public opinion failed in the accomplishment of this duty on both sides of the Channel, it was not alone morally, but practically wrong. I have already explained how England would be affected by a French defeat in the Chinese waters: I will now endeavour to state, with no less sincerity, the results that would accrue to France if the Soudanese became definitively victorious in the valley of the Nile. What, I ask, is there particularly grave and alarming in the taking of Khartoum by the Mahdi's troops? Does it merely imply the loss of the large and thriving town which is the capital of Nubia, and one of the chief ports of Egypt? By no means. What should be taken into account is the echo of the Mahdi's victory over the Christians resounding throughout Islam, and the fashion in which that victory will be exploited. What certainly strikes one at first sight, and casts a gloom over all true hearts, is the disappearance of Gordon from the scene of action—this admirable soldier (whom I knew personally, as well as loved and admired) having been either made prisoner by the blacks or killed. But, in the estimation of those who have some knowledge of Mussulman countries and races, the real cause for alarm is the lightning rapidity with which the news of the False Prophet's victory was circulated by the Mussulman scouts. This triumph is everywhere regarded as that of the Crescent over the Cross; of the Koran over the Gospel; of the Mussulman East over the Christian West; everywhere it will be sure to arouse that Mussulman fanaticism which is always ready to explode at the contact of a lighted fuse. Is it for Algiers or for Tunis that we Frenchmen ought to be apprehensive? I do not think so, because our domination in Algiers is, in fact, built on a solid foundation; *le Sud Oranais* is protected by excellent battalions, and the Tunisian temperament is peculiarly sedate. In Algiers as well as in Tunis the comments on the taking of Khartoum will vanish in the noisy murmurings of Arabian politicians in the cafés and at the bazaars. It will not, however, have the same insignificant effect at Tripoli in Barbary, in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Afghanistan, India, or even at Constantinople; and, consequently, every nation that has interests at stake in Mussulman climes—France, of course, as well as England—will find itself affected thereby. I will even go so far as to add—for under such circumstances there is no reason whatsoever for dissimulation—that the spread of the news in question was more rapid than even many pessimists imagined in their wildest anticipations. At Tripoli and in Syria there is as yet but a smouldering agitation, revealed by the reunions of the Senoussis and dervishes, and the secret conclaves of the Bedouin chiefs intoxicated by the news

from the Soudan. In Arabia, however, the revolt of the Yemen has assumed very grave proportions, and this growing insurrection on the eastern shores of the Red Sea, while the Mahdi is marching upwards through the valley of the Nile, is a symptom which it would be the acme of blindness to overlook. Even the Sublime Porte, which is usually so frivolous in such matters, has become alarmed about this outbreak, and is facing the danger by sending forward its troops, who also, like Stewart's, may arrive too late on the scene of action. Arabia and the Soudan are far—far away, say the optimists. So far as I am concerned, I have always read that Arabia is the very heart of the Islam world, and I shall never forget what Gordon wrote me on the subject in his usually figurative style in a letter dated the 24th of January, 1880: 'The proper government of the Soudan is as important an undertaking as the proper government of Egypt; for one is the head and chest, and the other the legs and stomach.' Should the Mahdi, on the one hand, continue his victorious descent from Khartoum to Ouaddy Halfa, and, on the other hand, should the insurrection of the Yemen approach nearer and nearer the towns of the Moslem Holy Land, the fire that smoulders everywhere under the ashes will break out into one vast conflagration. Taking into consideration this hypothesis, which is by no means an improbability, it cannot be doubted that England—a nation which has assumed direct responsibility for the affairs of Egypt, and is now rather imprudently drawing off some of her troops from the Indian Empire—will suffer more severely than France from an Islam revolution. When, however, your neighbour's house is on fire it is time to look out for your own. The only difference is that your own will burn a little later on. Moreover, even though the conflagration should not spread to Tunis, which is placed under our political protectorate, or to Palestine and Syria, where our patronage has been solemnly recognised by the Berlin Congress, have we not interests in Egypt itself of sufficient importance, and of a sufficiently remote origin, to warrant us in not looking with indifference on the Black Crusade which threatens them?

I may therefore state unequivocally that every Frenchman, even though he might not be imbued with feelings of admiration and pity for the valiant troops who have thrown down the gauntlet in so many hard-fought fights in Nubia, ought to remember that the struggle which is now taking place on the borderland of Upper Egypt interests the entire civilised world of the West; and it is, consequently, to the soldiers of civilisation that he ought to and does wish success. If we examine the origin of this startling episode in contemporary history, we shall merely find in the North, I am well aware, the victors of Tel-el-Kebir intoxicated by their cheaply-won triumph, who were anxiously striving to extirpate French influence from Lower Egypt,

and in the South a syndicate of slave-dealers encouraged in their enterprises by the maladministration of affairs in Cairo, who wished to take advantage of existing difficulties to proclaim free trade in human flesh throughout the length and breadth of Nubia. A change, however, has been wrought through the force of circumstances, and owing to the progress of events. On the one hand the insurrection of slave-dealers has become the revolt of Islam, and on the other hand the English cause in Egypt has become the cause of the whole of Christian Europe in the basin of the Mediterranean.

II.

How has this happened? It is not the readers of this Review who should be reminded by what a series of deplorable events these changes have been brought about. Others have learned to know these errors, and recognised them as they followed one upon the other. My readers are well aware that everything which has occurred since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and the relations of England with the other Powers which resulted therefrom, were foretold seven years before they happened; and by whom? By Mr. Gladstone himself, in the remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten article in reply to Mr. Edward Dicey, entitled 'Aggression in Egypt and Freedom in the East.' We find by this article, written on the 1st of August, 1877, that Mr. Gladstone was able to read the future like an open book; and it is with a feeling of admiration, not unmixed with regret, that we read again to-day, after so many errors have been committed, such a clear and profound expression of opinion.

'Nations,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'are quite as much subject as individuals to mental intemperance; and the sudden flush of wealth and pride which engenders in a man arrogant vulgarity, works by an analogous and subtle process upon numbers who have undergone the same exciting experience.' It is unquestionably this sudden ebullition of thoughtless pride which showed itself the day after Arabi's fall that may be regarded as the precursor to the fall of Khartoum.—'I, nevertheless, incline to believe that every scheme for the acquisition of territorial power in Egypt, even in the refined form with which it has been invested (by Mr. Dicey), is but a new snare laid in the path of our policy.' It is into this snare that you have fallen.—'Foreign Powers, and Russia in all likelihood among them, would with pleasure see us engaged in this operation.' What was foreseen has exactly come to pass. Russia, Germany, and Austria supported the policy decided upon in the months of October and November 1882. Russia lent a helping hand, because she had her eye on Herat; Germany, because of the colonial expedition of hers already mapped out by M. de Bismarck,

but not as yet known save to the initiated few ; and Austria, because she covets the shores of the *Ægean Sea*.—‘It is my firm conviction, derived, I think, from my political pastors and masters, and confirmed by facts of much experience, that, as a general rule, enlargements of the Empire are for us an evil fraught with serious, though possibly not with immediate, danger. Is the aggression upon Egypt attended with less serious dangers than those foreseen by the eminent publicist? One subject remains which fills me with a real alarm. It is the fewness of our men ; ample in numbers to defend our island home, they are, with reference to the boundless calls of our world-wide dominion, but as a few grains of sand scattered thinly on a floor.’ Is it not evident that, owing to the paucity of numbers, and the weakness of the *effectif*, the battles fought around Suakim did not result in the deliverance of Gordon, despite the prowess of officers and men, which won the admiration of the world? Was not Lord Wolseley, after reaching the gates of Khartoum, obliged to evacuate the whole of Nubia?—‘I fear that we should be making a very dangerous experiment on the common susceptibilities of Islam. . . . The susceptibilities which we might offend in Egypt are rational and just. And it is worthy of remark that at this very moment Mahommedan sympathies appear to be operating in Egypt with great force. Viewing all the facts, I for one am inclined on prudential grounds to say, “Hands off!”’ The hands have not been taken off, and Egyptian fanaticism has been aroused from the mosques of El Obeid, where the Mahdi was for the first time acclaimed, to the university at El Azbar, where the hum of the hornets is making itself heard once more.—‘But, if this be so with reference to the confined area of Egypt proper, much more must we be moved to *abstain* when we consider that Egypt proper is not alone in question. The rulers of a narrow country have striven hard to extend their authority over a space proportioned to its primæval dignity, and to the day when it contested with Assyria for the empire of the world. From the seat of their recognised dominion they have directed the eye and stretched out the arm over all Nubia to Dongola, and beyond it into the Beled-es-Soudan, or country of the blacks, which stretches without a boundary away beyond Abyssinia, and as far as the frontier of Zanzibar. As relations of some kind have been contracted by the Khedive with this vast region and large population, the questions must press upon us with relentless force—first, whether, to protect a few score miles of canal, we are to take the charge of two thousand miles of territory ; and if not, then, secondly, at what point and by what process we are to guard the relations of superiority and subordination already formed, and to repudiate the obligations they entail?’ And Nubia, with the Soudan, are lost to civilisation.—‘My belief is that the day which witnesses our occupation of Egypt will bid a long farewell to all cordiality of political

relations between France and England. There might be no immediate quarrel, no exterior manifestation; but a silent rankling grudge there would be. . . . Nations have good memories.'—And, as a matter of fact, the *entente cordiale* has been, if not broken, at least considerably weakened.

Thus we find Mr. Gladstone predicting events years and years before their accomplishment, and we find none other than himself the chief agent in their accomplishment. Yes; somewhat more than seven years ago Mr. Gladstone warned the readers of this Review of all the political, religious, military, and maritime disasters which might be looked out for, and in terms clearer and more unmistakable than have been used by any statesman before him, if we except, perhaps, some prophetic remarks contained in a speech or two of Lamartine's, and a few despatches from Talleyrand. No statesman of our own time has at any rate shown such marvellous foresight. But the words '*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*,' are as true as they are old; and everybody is now in a position to judge, if England has not been obliged to assume a rôle of a worse and gloomier character than that which Mr. Gladstone had in view when he wrote his remarkable article in 1877. If Mr. Gladstone were really right, and if Lord Beaconsfield's hankerings after the loaves and fishes of the East were indeed 'fatal' and 'immoral,' what could be worse indeed than that the 'fatal' and 'immoral' policy of the latter should be pursued by the former? A policy which, though bad in itself, is pursued by an energetic statesman who believes in that policy, does not become a whit the better on that account; but yet, if the policy in question be carried out with energy and decision, it is capable of producing better effects than it otherwise could have done. On the other hand, a policy repugnant to the innermost feelings of him whose duty it is to carry it out, though in itself not altogether bad, must end in failure, and bring with it the most deplorable results. Now, unfortunately, Mr. Gladstone for the past two years has found himself in that false position. Like the sluggard of the Scriptures, he wished and did not wish to do. As he knew that the straight path was the one he had just abandoned, he never made a single step in the other direction without a pang of regret at having ever taken it—looking wistfully towards the road he had deserted, not daring to go forward, and fearing still more to turn backwards, always lagging on his journey, even at moments when it would have needed all the pluck and daring of an unscrupulous adventurer, like the author of *Tancred*, to reach the goal.¹

But a truce to retrospective considerations. The deeds of the

¹ Might I ask the reader to consult an article entitled 'The Egyptian Question and the French Alliance,' which appeared on the 2nd of December, 1884, in the pages of this Review? He will there find ideas set forth which subsequent events have not controverted.

past are irrevocable. The future now only remains to occupy the attention of politicians. The question as to the remedies which should be applied to past evils is of a triple character. Egypt proper, being utterly disorganised from an administrative and financial point of view, what means must be employed to put an end to such disorganisation? Nubia and the Soudan being practically lost to the civilised world, what shall be done in order to bring them back into the fold? England being now in an isolated position in Europe, to which of the European Powers should she look for a true and for a devoted ally? To my mind the rupture of the Anglo-French alliance has been the cause of the damage done to England and to civilisation in general; and, consequently, it is only in the re-establishment of this alliance that we can find a remedy for existing ills. Which of the nations, in the matter of this rupture, has been the most culpable? My answer is that both have been. France was culpable when M. de Ring encouraged Arabi in his incipient sedition, and M. de Freycinet refused to send two brigades to Tel-el-Kebir. England was culpable when Lord Granville offered a tardy opposition to the identical note proposed by M. Gambetta, and when Lord Dufferin, after Arabi's discomfiture, was eager to carry out Disraeli's egotistical projects. However, inasmuch as both nations have been equally wrong, I may conclude that to-day, in this hour of universal danger for all nations having subjects and interests to protect in Mussulman countries, it is imperatively necessary that France and England should simultaneously take the first steps to a general understanding on the subject.

I have already stated that the chief cause of the present unfortunate situation was the rupture of this cordial alliance; and nothing is easier to demonstrate. What occurred in the case of Arabi's insurrection occurred also in that of the Mahdi. What, as a matter of fact, was the origin of both revolts? It was simply a spark which subsequently attained the proportions of a conflagration, because, instead of extinguishing it in its original condition, those who ought to and could have quenched it left no means untried to intensify its force and violence. It was, as his trial clearly demonstrated, the spectacle of the disagreement prevailing between the London and Paris Cabinets which encouraged Arabi in his efforts against the constituted authorities of Egypt. What, moreover, heightened the ~~anarchy~~ ^{anarchy} and raised the pride of the Black Prophet was that, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, not only was Egypt not reorganised by the joint action of the two greatest Powers of the West, but disorder and anarchy remained in full swing in the country under the auspices of a bungling and feeble administration; while everybody in Islam soon learned to know of the isolated position of England in the Christian world. Now it may be well to note that I do not refer to

the question of Control, or to the re-establishment of the old Control; I have occasion simply to speak of the sincere and cordial Franco-English alliance, and the fashion in which it operated in Egypt, where it was a prosperity without parallel, an unexpected justice, and a delicious peace for four years in the valley of the Nile. *Cessante causâ, cessat effectus*. The English people have some rare and valuable qualities, but they have no administrative capacity, while Frenchmen are better administrators than persons of any other nationality on the face of the globe. The result was that the persistent disorder reigning paramount in Upper and Lower Egypt had the same effect on the Soudan insurrection as the proximity of a hayloft would have on a rising conflagration—the inflammable materials attracted the flames. If, towards the close of 1882, France and England had made their appearance before the Arabian world as two indissolubly united guardians of the kingdom of Mehemet Ali, the Prophet of the Soudan would never have become the redoubtable enemy he is to-day. The Mahdi at first was nothing more than a False Prophet, but it was the disunion of France and England which raised him to the level of a real one.

The repeated faults of resident Governments have constituted the Mahdi's greatest strength. Is it necessary to state that, in order to reduce the Mahdi to his state of original nothingness, it suffices to renew the alliance between both countries? It would be childish to believe so, and we are not paid to play the part of children. What, however, is in absolute conformity with truth and logic may be resolved from the following points. In the first place, on the day when the Mussulman world, aroused to greater activity at the present hour than it has ever been for the past three centuries, learns that France and England have forgiven and forgotten the mutual mistrusts and misunderstandings of the past, in order to make the olden union once more a living reality—on that day, I repeat, the Panislamist chiefs will think twice before raising the standard of sedition. I do not mean that the Mahdi will lay down his arms, but that the Senoussi of Tripoli, the doctors of the mosques of El Azbar, the Bedouins of Syria, and the Wahhabites of Arabia, will wait the course of events in place of hastening them to a *dénouement* in order to fall in with the current. In the second place, on the day when the accord between France and England, together with the other European powers, relative to the financial affairs of Egypt and the neutrality of the Suez Canal is the starting-point of the peaceful reorganisation of the lower valley of the Nile—on that day the barbarian hordes who infest the country from El Obeid to Khartoum, and from Khartoum to Metemneh and Berber, will clearly understand that they have no longer England alone to deal with, but the allied forces of civilisation itself. I do not mean to say that the Mahdi or Osman Digma will

appreciate the particular character of the financial arrangement to be entered into; but I may be permitted to lay stress on the fact that this arrangement, bearing on matters of secondary importance, would be regarded by the Soudanese, thanks to the mirages of the far-off desert, as a pact of real union and reconciliation.

It may be objected that the conclusions of my argument are in favour of a Joint Control. This is not so; and, speaking frankly and unequivocally on this question, such a combination is now for ever impossible. The Joint Control was for four years, in our opinion, the best system for the wise administration and government of the valley of the Nile; but Roland's mare had also every commendable quality: she lacked only the essence of vitality, and was dead. The Joint Control is like Roland's mare; it had every imaginable virtue; but, as M. Gambetta could not save it from death's doom, and as none of his successors—M. Duclerc, M. Challemel-Lacour, or M. Jules Ferry—could galvanise its lifeless remains into anything like vigour or activity, we must only make the best of circumstances, and frankly mourn its decease. It is not worthy of a politician to spend his time uselessly in calling on a corpse to fling aside its cerements and start into life once more. The wise matron of Ephesus said that a live hodman was preferable to a dead emperor. As the emperor is dead, let us make an effort to replace him by something else—by a something, I admit, which will be less commendable by reason of its transcendental virtues, but which will have the fluid of vitality in its system; for life itself is worth more than all the possible virtues combined.

III.

It is for the very reason that the interests at stake are those of civilisation that France should in my opinion select this hour when England is smarting from her defeat in the Soudan in order to extend to her the hand of good-fellowship, and renew the alliance to which I have referred. An *entente* with France is in my estimation the only method by which England can effectively prevent her rivals from developing their national pride and schemes of colonial conquest; and I therefore believe that her Parliament ought to satisfy the preliminaries of such an *entente*, and proclaim the neutrality of the Suez Canal. Even, however, if the wished-for understanding be effected, England's position in the Soudan and Afghanistan will still doubtless be one of difficulty; but should both countries not arrive at a common accord, we must only tremble at the bare idea of the inevitable catastrophes which must ensue as so many natural consequences. The good and evil destinies sleep on the knees of Time,

as the poet says, and woe betide him who awaketh the evil fiends from their slumber.

Which of the two nations has really suffered from the rupture of the mutual alliance? Certainly it is not France; for since the date of that rupture France has consolidated her strength and influence in Tunis, conquered Tonkin, annexed an important portion of Madagascar, and has profited by every error committed by others in Egypt. In connection with the question at issue it must be moreover noted that our action has been, and is, quite different from that taken by Germany, and in particular by Russia, whose slow march to the Himalayas is becoming day after day more ominous and menacing. We have not sought, nor are we seeking, to turn to our own advantage the troubles of a neighbouring nation, whose population is friendly to us and our country, by assuming any threatening attitude or making any threatening movements whatsoever. Calmly and quietly we have held the even tenor of our way, and never swerved from the part of justice, save perhaps for a passing moment. We cannot be reproached on the score of our relations with foreign Powers. How, for instance, did Russia act when the news of the fall of Khartoum reached her? However she may seek to disguise the fact, she turned her gaze once more to Afghanistan, and her troops of fearless Cossacks were ordered to march to Herat. How did Germany act on the same occasion? By commissioning Count Herbert Bismarck to exact from Lord Granville that the latter should recognise Germany's new possessions, against the acquirement of which the British statesman protested with such vigour not very long ago, but to which he now consents with such evident humility. On the other hand, what course of action do we pursue? We simply say to England: Great dangers are threatening you, but put us in a position to become your useful allies in order to assist in obviating any disasters that might possibly overwhelm you if you remain in your present isolated condition.

Would conditions, such as the carrying out of a financial scheme based upon principles of justice and equity, the recognition of the neutrality of a large and splendid Canal, be considered too exorbitant in return for a French alliance, with all its concomitant benefits in Europe, Asia, and Africa? Is it not moreover evident that such conditions are in perfect conformity with England's own interests? The *sine quâ non* of wise and stable government in Egypt is an equitable financial programme. The neutrality of the Canal, or, in other words, its free access in times of war as well as of peace, can lend to the interests of no nation more than to those of England herself. When Mr. Dicey imagined a situation of things analogous to that which exists to-day, stating that Russia would invade Asia as a countermove to the annexation of Egypt by England,

Mr. Gladstone said in reply : ' Still it will be perhaps admitted that this all-conquering, all-devouring Russia, will have to make, at any rate, a portentous effort when she has to leap from Constantinople to Calcutta ; and when, in order to do it with more security, she stops the Suez Canal, to cripple our power and secure her own safety there, a heavy blow will have (then) been inflicted on the commerce, the prosperity, the comfort of the world. We, as the great carriers and as the first commercial nation of Christendom, shall be the greatest losers.' Now it is this communication, this blow to civilisation, which we propose to avert.

This, however, is far from being all ; for if it is possible to see at a glance what England has to gain from an alliance with France, it is quite as impossible even to guess at any possible advantages which might accrue from an alliance with other powers, if we suppose diplomacy capable of bringing about such a result—a circumstance which seems somewhat problematical. What ! I might be told, you ignore altogether the Anglo-Italian alliance. Such an alliance has never existed, and never can, because Italy, the worthy daughter of Machiavelli—young and avaricious as she is—is a thorough flirt among the nations, because she never considers any interests save her own, and would scorn to make herself ridiculous by acting the part of a friend in need. An alliance with Russia was never dreamt of save in a mystical hour of Turcophobia ; for on the shores of the Mediterranean as in Asia (Talleyrand prophesied to Napoleon the First that it would be so), England's hereditary foes are the Muscovite hordes. An alliance with Prussia would be contrary to the nature of things, as liberty and despotism could not for any length of time harmonise with each other ; and such an alliance, with Bismarck at the head of affairs at Berlin, would be still more unstable than was formerly the Franco-Prussian alliance during the reign of Frederick the Great.

What course of action, then, remains for England to pursue ? She has to choose between utter isolation amongst the nations—an isolation which would serve the interests of none save of despots—or an alliance with France, which would in itself be the most powerful agent of liberty and civilisation. France for her part has already made her choice, and she now speaks, and in no feeble or faltering tones, calling on Great Britain 'to go and do likewise.' There must be no delay ; every moment is precious, and time lost now can only serve the cause of the great Islam insurrection. Let the two powerful nations of the West extend to each other once more the hand of friendship ; and the Mahdi, Mohammed Ahmad, must dwindle down to his proper dimensions, and be consigned at length to his legitimate place as one if not the last of the False Prophets. But should the policy of discord continue—a policy which is taken advantage of by Russia in Asia, as it is all over the globe by Germany,

it may be reserved for the nineteenth century to see an extraordinary necessity arise for a new and universal crusade against the followers of Mohammed, who will start to their feet all along the provinces of two immense continents in order to realise those Messianic dreams of theirs, which they cherish with all the ardour and all the fanaticism of their race and traditions.

JOSEPH REINACH.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

IN the present paper it is attempted to prove that two of the three figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, commonly called the Fates, are personifications of the sea and land, and that all the figures belonging to the angles of this pediment (in fact all the extant figures excepting one) are personifications of nature.

When we review the numerous interpretations of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon tabulated in Michaelis's *Der Parthenon* and in the *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon in the British Museum*, we must hesitate before adding a twenty-second to the twenty-one already existing interpretations proffered by eminent archæologists since the year 1821.

Considering the importance of the sculptures of the Parthenon, and the fact that of all works of Greek art they are the most widely known among the public, we must fear lest the great difference of opinion which exists among archæologists as to the simple meaning of the figures may weaken the faith which the general public might have in the archæologist's exactness of knowledge and the soundness of the methods of his study.

Yet upon closer examination it will be seen that the paucity of information and data in the case of these very sculptures is proportionate to the importance which these remains of antiquity have in our eyes, and the attention which they have attracted. In every science, even the most exact, there are subjects resting upon hypotheses concerning which the authorities differ, and these subjects are often of the greatest importance and generally belong to the fundamental stages of the science.

The paucity of our information concerning these works is due to the fact (a fact never to be forgotten) that, though to us they are supreme works of Greek art, they were not to the Greeks the representative works of Pheidias, the real statues by the master; they were not temple-statues (*ἀγάλματα*) nor athlete statues, but works of architectural decoration. And accordingly, the ancient authors who devote page upon page to the description of the Olympian Zeus or the Athene

Parthenos, pass by the Metopes, the Frieze, and the Pediments of the Parthenon without a word of comment.

The two short passages in Pausanias referring to the pediments are the only written description concerning the decoration of the Parthenon which ancient writers have handed down to us.

Furthermore, the comparatively few figures and fragments from the pediments still extant (not forming in the case of the eastern pediment the central or important part of the scene represented) are deprived of the arms and hands and the attributes which they held. These attributes were, however, the plainest and most commonly understood language for indicating the special meaning of each figure. The absence of attributes in the case of pictures and statues of saints in mediæval or modern art would, I believe, make it as difficult, nay, more difficult, to recognise their individual nature, than in the case of Greek art.

As the simpler means of ascertaining the nature of the figures do not exist, we must turn to the less immediate indications with which the general progress of the study of archæology has furnished us and is rapidly supplying us in greater number, and must apply them to the existing data without overvaluing the convincing power of our conclusions, and yet with full faith in a correct method conscientiously applied.

The data concerning the eastern pediment of the Parthenon which may be considered to be definitely certain are the following: (1) There are five figures or fragments of figures belonging to the left or southern angle of the pediment, and four to the right or northern; and these are given in Carrey's drawings (1674). (2) Pausanias tells us that the front (or eastern) pediment contained a representation of the birth of Athene, as the western represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic soil. (3) From analysis of other representations of Pheidias, such as that of the birth of Pandora on the base of the Athene Parthenos and the birth of Aphrodite on the base of the Olympian Zeus, as well as from the typical meaning of such representations in Greek art, it has been universally recognised that in the head, arms, and shoulder of the male figure rising at the left or southern angle and driving towards the centre the horses whose heads and necks appear before him, we have the sun-god Helios driving his horses; while in the descending female figure, driving the horses whose heads are just visible as they descend to the right or northern angle, we have Selene, the moon-goddess, driving her horses. (4) It is furthermore universally admitted that the centre of the composition, of which no complete figure is now extant, nor was at the time that Carrey made his drawings, contained the chief gods and goddesses, including Zeus, Athene, Hephaistos, Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes.

Here the facts end, and what remains rests upon inference.

Of the whole of this composition but small portions remain, and these portions are the least important part. There are five figures (more or less fragmentary) of the left or southern angle of the pediment, and four figures of the right or northern angle. The whole of the centre of the pediment, containing the most important part of the composition, the action itself, is wanting, except one torso of a male figure. I do not desire to enter upon the hypothetical ground of a conjectural restoration, nor even shall I attempt a complete account and criticism of the conjectural restorations that have been made by several archaeologists.

We may assume that in the centre was represented the moment immediately following the birth of Athene, in which Athene stands fully armed before her father and the admiring gods and goddesses.

Beginning at the left or south angle, the first figure is the upper part of Helios, his head, neck, arms and shoulders rising out of the water. The action as expressed in these limbs is that of energetic rising, fresh and vigorous. This powerful ascending impetus is most forcibly expressed in the upper part of this figure and in the necks and heads of the horses which he leads. As has been said, the interpretation of this figure as the sun-god Helios rising with his steeds has been disputed by no authority. The next figure towards the centre is that of a nude youthful male figure, generally called Theseus, half reclining, half-seated upon the skin of some animal spread over a rock. As we must dwell more specially upon the interpretation of this figure below, we will leave it for the present and turn to the other figures. We must, however, remain content to enumerate shortly the various names assigned to them. The two draped female figures seated side by side have been considered to be Demeter and Persephone, Peitho and Aphrodite, two daughters of Kekrops, and the two Hours guarding the gates of Olympus. The latter of these interpretations as put forward by Brunn seems to me to have most in its favour.

The next erect figure towards the centre with drapery flying in the wind, is considered by nearly all interpreters to be Iris, the fleet messenger of the gods.

Nothing more remains on this side of the pediment, though another female figure has been ascribed to it. I hold this figure, which was not found *in situ*, to belong to the western pediment. At all events its attribution is contested, and this is not the place to enter upon the discussion.

At the other angle we have, corresponding to Helios with his horses, the upper part of a female figure driving a horse of which but a head and neck are remaining. Here again there is no divergence of opinion that the female figure represents Selene.

The remaining three female figures have generally been supposed to form one group, and have been interpreted accordingly as either

the three Fates,¹ or as the three sisters, the daughters of Kekrops,² personifying the morning dew, or finally, by Brunn, as personifications of clouds. But it appears to me beyond a doubt that the three figures do not form one group, but that the seated figure towards the centre is distinctly separated from the other two figures which belong together, and my opinion has not been altered by Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's paper on this subject which appeared in the *Portfolio* (April, 1883). Friedrichs was the first to recognise this separateness of the upper seated figure from the lower two; while Michaelis still holds the three figures to form one group.

In the first place, the whole action of the upper figure is directed away from the others, who, on their part, are not immediately affected by the action of the upper one, nor is their action (entirely centred within the two as it is) directed towards the upper one.

But above all, in endeavouring to recognise and appreciate such fragmentary remains of a great composition by the master sculptor, we must never lose sight of the chief features of the art of Pheidias—in this case, of his composition of pedimental groups. One of these main features in the pedimental sculpture of Pheidias, is the manifest symmetry of composition obtaining between the two halves of the pediment. This symmetry, however, is not absolute, as in the purely conventional decoration of architecture; but is strongly modified by the life and variety which belongs to a work of sculpture as such. A pedimental composition is a plastic work which is to fit into and to contribute to the decoration of the architectural structure. Both these elements, the plastic as well as the constructive and decorative, have to be regarded and to receive due share in their claims to consideration, and neither must obtrude itself to the detriment of the other. The symmetrical correspondence of the two halves of the composition must not be so absolute as to rob the whole scene and the individual figures of the flow of actual life and movement, and the rhythmical variety of general distribution and grouping, as well as the attitudes and lines of single figures within the two halves of the pediment, must not be so pronounced as to suggest onesidedness in the front of an edifice in placing more figures, fuller lines, greater movement, or even deeper moral significance on either half of what is the very brow of the structure.

In studying Carrey's drawing of the western pediment this 'varied symmetry' shows itself clearly. We see there, for instance, how either extreme angle is symmetrical, in that it contains a river-god and a nymph, the reclining figures at either end; but this symmetry is varied and made rhythmical, in that in the one angle we have the

¹ Visconti, Combe, Wilkins, Reuvsen, Bröndsted, Cockerell, Millingen, Müller, Gerhard, Falkener, and Lloyd.

² Welcker, Overbeck, Michaelis, who retains Pandrosos, but calls the two others Thallo and Karpo.

river-god first, followed by the nymph, while in the other the nymph is first, and the river-god is nearer the centre: in the one case the male figure is reclining; in the other, the female.

The same principles are clearly manifested in the remains of the eastern pediment. In perfect symmetry we here have in either angle four human figures together with horses, and the space they occupy in either half of the pediment is the same almost with mathematical accuracy. On each side we have a deity driving the horses which complete the composition at either end; then follow three figures on either side. Of these three figures, on both sides, one is reclining, and two are seated.

So far the symmetry. The same obtains in earlier compositions, such as the pediments of the temple of Athene at Ægina. But here it is that Pheidias makes a great step in advance of his predecessors, in that he breaks in upon the absolute correspondence which makes the Ægina pediments conventional, at least with regard to the composition, and introduces, within the symmetry, elements of variety and change in distribution, which give all the flow of artistic life to his symmetrical and reposeful compositions. In the left wing it is Helios who is in the extreme angle with his horses in front of him. In the right wing the horses are in the extreme angle with Selene behind them. In the one side, the figure is a man; in the other, a woman.

The next stage after Helios and Selene, on both sides, consists of three figures. But here again is variety within symmetry. On the left side the reclining figure is male, and independent of the upper two female figures which are associated together, while on the right side the reclining figure is female and rests upon the lap of the nearest female figure above; and it is here the uppermost figure which is independent of the lower two. It may be noticed, too, that the very facts of the workmanship point to the same view. On the left, the reclining figure forms one block, and the two seated figures above are carved from another; while, on the right, it is the uppermost figure which forms one block, and the other seated figure with the one reclining in her lap are together carved from another.

Thus, from the general composition of the pediment we are driven, whichever way we look at it, to the natural conclusion that, on the right-hand side, with which we are at present concerned, the uppermost seated figure is independent, and that the lower seated figure and the one reclining in her lap are in close relationship to one another.

When once we conceive of these three female figures as not connected with each other in interest and attitude, but subdivided, so that the two towards the extremity are more closely and intimately connected with one another than they are with the third seated one, all those interpretations in which a mutual relation in meaning

and weight between the three figures is the essential idea, where threeness is the basis of the mythological personality of each one in the group, appear to me to be untenable.

Petersen sees in the upper seated figure Hestia, the personification of the human hearth; while in the two others he sees Aphrodite reclining in the lap of Peitho, her subordinate companion. Of all the interpretations given of the upper seated figure, this one of Petersen's seems to me to have most in its favour, and to be most in keeping with the firm, stately and quiet attitude of the figure; and as regards the other figures (excepting the reclining male figure from the other side and, of course, Helios, and Selene) I can only choose among the existing interpretations those that seem most probable to me, and are most in keeping with my conception of the meaning and composition of the pedimental group as a whole.

Before proceeding to the examination of these two female figures with a view to establishing a new interpretation, we must return to the examination of the reclining male figure from the other side of the pediment; for its correct interpretation will afford one of the strongest supports of the view I promulgate concerning the female figures from the right side of the pediment.

This famous figure presents a perfect type of youthful strength, without any exaggeration, in which each part and limb of the body stands in harmonious proportion to the other parts and to the whole of the figure, and all give the picture of harmonious physical life.³

For a god, his position, thus severed from the main scene and placed at the utmost end, would be out of keeping with the method of clearly conveying the artist's meaning adopted in such compositions.

Against all the interpretations of this figure as a hero I can but urge one objection, which appears to me all important. I cannot conceive Pheidias, or any great artist committing a breach of good sense in a flagrant anachronism, though the scene be in the region of the wonder-working gods of Greek mythology. How can the heroes and demi-gods, whose relation to Athene is that of enjoyers of her patronage, be present at her birth as full-grown men? Surely the absurd cannot take shelter under the mythical and miraculous, and not only a genius like Pheidias but also the clear-thoughted Greek people would recognise its ludicrous face even under its hiding of myth and religious faith.

Brunn was the first to see in this figure a personification of nature, and it was he who carried out systematically this class of interpretation in the case of the western pediment of the Parthenon. Though I cannot subscribe to the detailed definite attributions given to the various figures of that pediment, I feel thoroughly convinced of the

³ Some consider him a god (Dionysos, Pan, or Ares); others, a hero like Hercules or Theseus. The figure is more generally known as Theseus.

correctness of his principle. In the case of this eastern pediment the general principle of the interpretation which I hold, and its application to this nude male figure, will become evident in the course of this investigation.

It was in studying a large number of ancient monuments from all periods and all parts of the ancient world, with a view to the elucidation of the interpretation of this pediment as a whole, and more especially of the group of two female figures from the other side of the pediment, that I was fortunate enough to come upon a number of instances which appear to me to prove conclusively the correctness of Brunn's interpretation of this male figure as a mountain-god, in this case the personification of Mount Olympos, upon whose side the rising Helios is driving his horses, and on whose summit are the seat of the gods and the scene of the action represented in the pediment.

It was on a number of late reliefs, especially sarcophagi, that I found the typical representation of mythical scenes evidently having these pedimental groups as their prototypes, and that I found the scenes defined in their locality by means of personifications, male and female, youthful and old figures, and in typical attitudes. These were the mountain or river gods, nymphs of fountains or streams. Among these mountain-gods there were a number bearing, in attitude and general type, a strong resemblance to the figure from the eastern pediment. Of course in these small works, many of inferior workmanship and of late date, the original type had undergone modifications; but to the practised eye the unity of an underlying prototype is easily recognisable. But the immediate dependence of these types upon the figure in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon becomes, I venture to believe, actually demonstrable when we compare with the Parthenon figure the mountain-god from the mural painting of the Esquiline.⁴ This picture represents the arrival of Odysseus in the country of the Læstrygons according to Homer.⁵ There are the ship, the harbour, the mountain at the foot of which the followers of Odysseus (with their names inscribed) have landed and are received by the daughter of Antiphates. There is a male personification of the shore, with the inscription *Ακται*, and a reclining nymph at the well with the inscription *Κρηνη*, and above on the mountain is the mountain-god. It appears to me that, after what has already been said by Brunn as to the interpretation of the figure (commonly known as Theseus) as Olympos, and after the study of these few instances, this interpretation will be accepted by most unprejudiced archaeologists. An Arcadian coin with a nude male figure seated on a rock has the inscription *ΟΑΤ*. Modern numismatists consider this to be the name of the die-sinker.⁶ When we take into considera-

⁴ Woermann, *Die antiken Odyssee-Landschaften vom esquilinischen Hügel zu Rom*, pl. i. p. 5.

⁵ *Od.* x. 80-132.

⁶ Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. viii.

tion the above personifications of nature, a great number on statues, in paintings and on coins not here mentioned, I believe numismatists will have to reconsider this explanation and return to the former—that OAT stands for Olympos.

When once we feel convinced that this figure from the left angle of the pediment is a mountain-god, a personification of nature, we shall (if we are at all familiar with the laws of pedimental composition) of necessity see in the corresponding figure of the other side of the pediment a figure partaking of the same character—that is, a personification of nature. And to this conclusion, as we shall now see, we are led, from whatever side we approach the study of these two draped female figures at the right angle of the pediment.

If we begin with the style of the reclining female figure, we shall notice in it clear indications of her special nature. We must ever bear in mind that a statue (especially one belonging to a group demanding so much thought and consideration) is not the outcome of a hasty inspiration; but that an artist like Pheidias used all the means his art supplied to express clearly his definite meaning.

The whole body of this reclining figure appears elongated and more lightly put together than that of the other female figures in this pediment. I was pleased to hear this remark made to me quite spontaneously by one who had no preconceived notions concerning the special interpretation of this figure, while standing before the statue in the British Museum. The nature of the reclining attitude (recalling that of the local nymphs), the junction of the limbs, and even the texture of the nude, indicate a greater flaccidity than is to be found in the other statues. But when further we examine the drapery with regard to the lines of the folds, we notice a distinct principle which is not to be found in the other figures. Instead of the large and comparatively straight lines of the greater masses of folds as they are to be found in the upper seated figure, or the long simple curve of the folds in the drapery of Iris, or those that run over the thigh and knee of the upper seated figure in the left half of the pediment, we have in this reclining figure complex masses that intertwine restlessly, and even in the larger folds present a series of folds in various directions. Thus a line is taken up in the drapery covering the breast, twines its way down to the waist, is interrupted there by the girdle; slightly checked, it resumes its course, till it is stopped by and merged into the broader lines of the mantle that crosswise lead over the rounded thigh to the other leg, where all the lines seem lost in a raised mass like the spray of a wave dashed against a rock. But this peculiarly restless, surging, and fluent quality of the drapery is chiefly manifest in the abundance of the smaller lines and folds and their treatment. It is true that in the under-garments of the other figures we have small lines, but they are comparatively straight and simple. In this

figure, however, they appear to glide over the breast and ripple over the limbs in small undulations that suggest the fluid. Nay, even in the thick material of the cloth upon which she is reclining, with its larger masses, there is a suggestion of the fluid rhythm as of the lapping of waves. This general impression of the whole figure has been best summed up by Petersen,⁷ in these words: 'The body is full of glowing life, as fresh and warm as marble can be, and the folds—the stronger ones of the mantle as well as the more delicate ones of the under-garment—play about the forms with thousandfold movement, especially over lap and bosom, like softly-trembling waves of limpid water over its clear and lucent bed.'

Recognising this marked character which the sculptor has given to this figure by means of the language of his art, we must not be blind to it when we desire to ascertain the meaning of the representation as a whole. And if we wish to find the direction in which we are to utilise these facts, we need but turn to a similar case among the works of Pheidias and compare the nude reclining male figure from this eastern pediment, the Olympos, with the reclining youth from the western pediment, the Kephissos. In the attitude and modelling of the Olympos we have firmness and largeness of line, as in the Kephissos we have fluency and comparative restlessness of line. The artistic skill with which Pheidias has been able to indicate in the treatment of the nude figure in the western pediment the nature of a river-god in contradistinction to the solid stability of the nude figure from the eastern pediment has always been a matter of admiration. I would maintain that in the case of this female figure these indications are almost clearer than in the case of the Kephissos, even as drapery is an additional and more facile means of suggesting the personification of the fluid element. We have already seen, from the fact that the corresponding figure on the other side of the pediment is such a personification, that this figure must be of the same nature, and the study of the style shows us that the personification is of the fluid element. What personification of the liquid element this figure represents is determined again by the nature of the whole subject represented in this pediment and the mode of the composition of the scene as here adopted. The results of our examination will point to the one conclusion that the two female figures are personifications of nature, of Thalassa and Gaia, the Sea and the Earth. Let us, then, test the principles of pedimental composition as manifested in the works of Pheidias.

From the indications of the extant figures of this eastern pediment, as well as from the principles of composition which we learn to recognise in studying the western pediment, of which Carrey's drawings give us so fair an idea, we are able to perceive the main divisions within this representation of the birth of Athene.

⁷ *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 31.

Pheidias, the true artist, realises in his works the fundamental principle of art, which leads to the production of works in which there is perfect harmony between form and matter. The study of his single figures will show how he realises this principle in them. In the combination of single figures as in the composition of a pedimental group, the realisation of this principle demands, in addition to the principles of pure plastic art applied to single statues, that the disposition of the single figures within the prescribed space should correspond to the meaning and spirit of what is represented in the composition as a whole. The prescribed space which is to contain the scene depicted by a combination of statues is that encompassed by a triangle in which the highest and most central part is that above the perpendicular from the centre of the base, the space diminishing gradually towards either end as we leave the centre. The most important part of the scene represented will therefore correspond to the highest space and the most central position in the pediment; and the less important or less closely connected with the central action a part of the scene may be, the smaller will be the height assigned to it, the more it will be removed from the centre and towards either angle. So, too, as we normally begin with the less important and gradually rise to the more important, we naturally here begin at either low angle and rise to the centre of the pediment.

In the western pediment, according to Pausanias, was represented the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic soil. In the eastern pediment was represented the birth of Athene. As in the western pediment the chief event is placed in the centre, so in the eastern pediment the chief and immediate participators in the action are also placed in the centre of the composition; and the further the figures are removed from the centre, the less immediately are they concerned with the great event. Or, to begin from the ends (where there are no signs of an immediate interference in, or even reflection of, the chief events), we rise gradually and organically through the stage of awakening and growing interest up to the participators in the action and the action itself. And the organic growth of interest and action, as starting from the angles we near the centre, is manifested from the more technical side, in that the lines of the statues lead and drive directly to the centre the further we proceed away from the angles, and in that the personalities represented in the statues, by means of their attitude and action as well as (when they were extant) by means of their attributes, which clearly showed their relationship to the central event, manifest greater interest and more active participation in the chief event the more we near the centre.

Within this gradual and organic growth in the interest of the action, as borne out by the individual figures and their treatment, we can, however, distinguish broad and definite divisions. It is well for us to examine these from the point of view of the subject repre-

sented, and also the more purely artistic features of the composition as such.

With regard to the subject represented, we find that in the scene of the birth of Athene there are three main divisions: first, the immediate participators in the action; secondly, the passive participators—namely, those who are present at the event and are affected by it, but do not immediately influence it; and thirdly, those not immediately participators in the event, who are not present at the action, yet who, as they approach the centre, become indirectly affected by it. Within these three groups the most marked division, the one which puts the greatest tax upon the imagination of the spectator, is that existing between the third group and the two others. For the first two groups, the actors and immediate spectators, are strongly bound together, in that the latter are immediately affected by what they perceive with their senses, and in that they are all in the same place. In the third group, however, the individuals do not physically participate in the action, even passively, and they are in a different locality. To produce any connection between these figures (which form as it were the background of the composition) and the chief event, as well as to bridge over the greater gaps in this division and to make the meaning clear to the spectator, intermediary figures had to be introduced on either side. These figures, Iris and probably Hermes, bring the news of the event from the seat of the gods to the figures at either angle, thus assisting in producing the gradual shading-off of the prominent colours of the foreground of the action itself to the gradually receding background, so that the scene which the first group acts and the second group sees dies away into oral transmission of what has happened to those affected by the event merely through reflected speech. The mere presence of these messengers itself shows most distinctly that the figures to whom they are communicating the news belong to a different sphere from the gods in the centre. As we start from either angle, which may be looked upon as the background of the whole scene, the figures are comparatively indifferent to the proceedings in the centre, until they are seen beginning to be affected by the neighbouring figures, the highest of whom is roused by the tidings conveyed by the messengers from the seat of the gods. Here, as it were, we pause to hear the news, and then as in the western pediment, with a rush, we are immediately brought into the presence of those who witnessed the event, and we see the actors before us.

In the same way in the more formal aspect of the composition as such, these broader divisions within the whole group are distinctly marked by means of certain pauses in the outline rhythm of the composition, as well as in the change of line, attitude and inner rhythm, marking each of these new stages. These indications of subdivision by means of the more formal treatment in compositions

of sculpture are analogous to the subdivision in works of poetry by means of stanzas and changes in metre; in music, by means of pauses and transitions from one key and time to another; in books, by means of paragraphs and chapters. All these subdivisions do not detract from the unity of the whole work, but, on the contrary, add to the organic variety and life of the work as a whole.

In order that the interpretation we have thus far hazarded of the two female figures from the right half of the eastern pediment may rest upon a sound basis, we must first study and answer the question, whether personifications of nature by means of human figures were at all common among the ancient Greek people, and whether the Earth and Sea were thus personified, or, still more, whether they are found in connection with Helios and Selene. And this again will have to be examined with regard to ancient literature, to accounts of works of art in ancient authors, to extant works of Greek art, and, finally, to pedimental compositions.

It is chiefly with regard to this part of the work that the remarks in the introduction to this paper apply; necessary limitation of space will not allow of justice being done to the interpretation here maintained. It would be out of place, even if space permitted, to give a cumbrous list of the instances which a prolonged examination of the literature and art, with regard to this point, has enabled me to supply.

Though ancient literature of all periods contains numerous instances of personifications of nature, or even of the Earth and Sea (Gaia as distinct from Demeter), I consider this evidence of less importance for purposes of mythological representation in art. I think this a point which archaeologists have frequently ignored to the detriment of clear interpretation. It must be borne in mind that as Pheidias did not slavishly follow the poet when he took a subject from him, so Greek art, in its mythological representations, did not closely and slavishly follow the mythology of Greek literature and religion; but often, out of the constructive character and inner nature of its own mode of expression, introduced new types into mythology, modified old ones, and brought less important ones into prominence, thus vitally reacting upon the mythological system of religion and literature. And if this independent development of mythology in art is manifest throughout the whole history of Greek sculpture, it is essentially so with Pheidias, who, it has been remarked, was gifted with the innate independence and originality of genius, and was the child of a time which in itself marked a great change and advance in life and thought, religious, social, political and domestic. If we depended upon Greek literature alone, we could hope but for little support for the well-founded interpretation of figures in mythological scenes, as Helios distinct from Apollo, and Selene from Artemis, as the river-gods Kephissos and Kladeos, and many similar personifications, who, nevertheless, without a doubt form prominent

parts in the scenes representing the birth of Athene, the strife between Athene and Poseidon, the race between Pelops and Oinomaos.

Still, it is important to know that such personifications do occur with frequency in ancient literature, nay, that Gaia and Thalassa had altars and were worshipped in antiquity, and that Pausanias makes definite mention of single statues of Ge and of Thalassa.

In the accounts of ancient works of art the personifications are most numerous. We need but read through Pausanias and the *Imagines* of the two Philostrati to appreciate this fact, and it is astonishing that it is not realised more generally. It must never be forgotten that Greek art, especially in the fifth century before our era, was above all sculptural and plastic, and that even pictorial art partook of this character and stood under the influence of sculpture. Landscape in painting was not developed till later, and nature was represented by human figures personifying it. This was the case even with regard to definite localities. I need but remind the reader of Marathon appearing as a human figure in one of the pictures by Polygnotos. But of this even the extant works give abundant proof.

The extant works, especially large compositions of the nature of the Parthenon pediment, are but few in number from the best period of Greek art. But of larger compositions a great number have come down to us in later Greek and Græco-Roman reliefs, which, as has been shown in several instances, manifest their dependence upon the earlier great compositions, which acted as prototypes and formed an artistic tradition for such compositions. These works, chiefly reliefs on sarcophagi, often bear the immediate traces of the influence which pedimental compositions exercised upon them. An interesting instance of this is furnished by representations repeating the pediment of the temple of the Capitoline deities, which again, as has been shown, is influenced more or less directly by the Parthenon pediments. These reliefs represent all kinds of mythological scenes, and it is not only common, but almost the rule, that they should contain personifications of nature, sometimes definite localities, or broader personifications such as sea and earth, the Olympos, the heaven and the lower world, the sun and the moon. In the comparatively few greater compositions of the best period that have come down to us these personifications occur with great frequency, considering their number. On the smaller reliefs heading public inscriptions the personification of a town, a country, or a people is most frequent. But what is most to the point is the fact that in the few pedimental compositions, and moreover those of Pheidias, these personifications occur in almost every instance. So in this very pediment without a doubt we have Helios and Selene, the personifications of nature's sun and moon; the river-gods and nymphs in the western pediment, and probably other personifications of Attic localities. Through Pausanias we know, as has been said above, that the representation of the birth of

Aphrodite on the base of the statue of the Olympian Zeus by Pheidias also contained Helios and Selene. The same author tells us that Helios and Selene were also figured in the pedimental group of the temple at Delphi. Finally, in the recently discovered pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia by Paionios and Alkamenes, the scenes are bounded on either side by the river-gods Kladeos and Alpheios (and, as I believe, by other personifications of nature) and by local nymphs. Thus the study of the extant earlier works and the numerous later reliefs lead us to the conclusion that it was the typical method of representing a scene in a sculptured group like that of a pediment or the relief on a sarcophagus, to fix the locality by means of the personifications of nature. The nature of these personifications will in each case be defined by the nature of the subject represented. To ascertain this in our case we must review the import of the representation in the eastern pediment as compared with the scene depicted in the western pediment.

In the western pediment was depicted the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic soil. It is thus an illustration of the prowess of Athene in an Attic patriotic significance—an Attic myth with a purely local significance. And thus the scene is bounded at either angle by personifications of nature of a purely local and Attic character: on the one side, the river Kephissos; on the other, the river Ilissos. The temple is in honour of Athene, the great goddess. But the great goddess is particularly the patroness of the Attic people, and is associated with the foundation of the Attic state and the local history of the country. Thus the one pediment impresses this Attic side of the goddess. But still the temple is dedicated to the virgin daughter of Zeus, the goddess as such. And thus the representation in the front of the pediment shows Athene, not in her relation to the Attic people, but to the whole world, mankind and nature, or rather nature and all it contains. It is the birth of the clear atmosphere out of the heaven. And it has been recognised that while the western pediment represents the local and Attic conception of Athene, the goddess and the scene represented in the eastern pediment are cosmical in character; and while the scene in the western pediment is bounded by Kephissos and Ilissos and personifications of Attic localities, the representation in the eastern pediment is bounded by Helios and Selene, the sun and moon, the abode of the gods and of man, Olympos, Gaia, and Thalassa. This characteristic distinction between the eastern and western pediments has already been admitted as also the characteristic difference between the figures at the angles—namely, in the one case, Attic river-gods, in the other the sun and moon. But if the figures following Helios and Selene towards the centre form a distinct subdivision from the groups filling the centre, if they are ‘on the same logical plane’ with them, and if the figure next to Helios has been shown to be Olympos, then the figures

beside Selene on the other side are in all probability the Sea resting in the lap of the Earth.

But let us finally clench the arguments already adduced by a study of the source from which Pheidias most probably drew his inspiration, which, at all events, is a type of the traditional conception of the birth of Athene prevalent in his time. It is well known from ancient authors that Pheidias drew his conception of the Olympian Zeus from the *Iliad*—namely, the passage in which Zeus accedes to the prayer of Thetis to protect her son Achilles. There is no doubt that after the age of Peisistratos the Homeric poems were much read and studied. Even without the direct information we have of Pheidias's inspiration from the Homeric poem in the case of the Olympian Zeus, the sculpturesque character of these poems, apart from their popularity, would naturally before all others suggest themselves to the sculptor. The character given to the birth of Athene in the Homeric hymn to Athene is thus thoroughly cosmical. I give the passage here in Shelley's translation :—

‘ . . . Wonder strange possessed
The everlasting gods that shape to see,
Shaking a javelin keen, impetuously
Rush from the crest of the ægis-bearing Jove.
Fearfully heaven [Ὀλύμπτος] was shaken, and did move
Beneath the might of the cerulean-eyed;
Earth dreadfully resounded, far and wide,
And, lifted from his depths, the sea swelled high
In purple billows; the tide suddenly
Stood still; and great Hyperion's son long time
Checked his swift steeds; till, where she stood sublime,
Pallas from her immortal shoulders threw
The arms divine. Wise Jove rejoiced to view.’

If we were to translate into sculpture this poetic description in the hymn we should have the composition of the eastern pediment. This does not mean that Pheidias slavishly followed the poet, any more than he did so in his representation of the Olympian Zeus, in which he was inspired by a passage in the *Iliad*. The description of the event in the hymn is full of powerful, violent action and movement. But Pheidias was in practice too conscious of the essential principles of his art to make any attempt to reproduce great effects by employing the same means as the poet. He knew that while poetry grew in the strength of its impressiveness with the thrilling vigour of its action, sculpture was most impressive when most monumental; therefore, his Olympos, his sea and earth are not trembling, quaking, and roaring with the violence of a moment, but are softened down to a great rest by the monumental treatment of the human forms given them.

Accepting, then, Brunn's interpretation for the two seated female figures in the left half of the pediment, and Petersen's interpretation of the upper seated female figure in the other half, the succession of

figures would be the following: on the left side, Helios, Olympos, the two Horæ, Iris, four or five gods (not extant); on the right side, Selene, Thalassa, Gaia, Hestia, Hermes (?), and four or five gods (not extant); the centre occupied by Zeus and Athene, with Hephaistos on the one side, and a corresponding figure on the other. I have accepted the interpretation of the Horæ and of Hestia from other archæologists, and do not feel myself responsible for these interpretations to the same degree as that of Gaia and Thalassa. I must candidly confess that I have been unable to supply interpretations which I could conscientiously uphold, and so have followed the only course I think justifiable: to accept from among the existing interpretations those that corresponded most to the central idea I have formed of the composition as a whole, and which therefore seemed to me most probably the true ones.

Let us now again attempt to complete the interpretation of the eastern pediment. As in the Homeric hymn, the birth of Athene is conceived, not only in a purely mythological, but also in a cosmical signification, so that it affects, not only the personal gods, who wrapped in wonder are the immediate spectators, but also the whole of the universe, the celestial spheres, the earth and sea; so in the plastic expression of the same event, we shall expect to find besides the witnessing gods the personifications of nature, whose presence is undoubtedly warranted by the extant figures of Helios and Selene.

The whole composition evidently has its beginning at the left angle of the pediment, and its end at the right. This has been most clearly and forcibly indicated by the sculptor in the arrangement of the figures at either end: Helios turned towards the centre, and ascending at the one angle, and Selene, whose horses are turned away from the centre, descending at the other. This is not the case in the western pediment, which contains a scene not cosmical but definitely local. Here there is no simple point of beginning, but both ends, with equal force, drive towards the centre. In the eastern pediment, then, the sculptor has most clearly indicated that our eye is to begin at the angle containing Helios, and the direction of the movement of the composition is again most clearly given in the action of Helios and the impulse of his horses. It is an upward movement, one of ascent towards the higher regions where the scene takes place and the gods dwell, the summit of Mount Olympos. The first rays of the sun strike the mountain; the horses of the sun-god's chariot rear and start back at the great scene of the birth of the clear-eyed daughter of the sky, which takes place on the summit. But the mountain-god is still unaffected by the great event which is just being transmitted by Iris to one of the two Horæ who watch at the gates of the heavenly abode. Here Iris, the fleet messenger of the gods, has just imparted the news of the birth of Athene; she has come

from the centre of action, where Hephaistos has just dealt the blow, and the virgin goddess, fully armed, brandishing her spear, stands before her father, the king of the gods, and the assembled deities, and all are wrapped in wonderment. Hera and Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis, Aphrodite and Ares, Dionysos and Hermes—all are there. We have reached the highest point, the centre of action, the abode of the gods, and we now descend (as is indicated by the movement of the figure which bounds this side of the composition, Selene with her descending horses) to the lower cosmical spheres. Not only to the wonderment of gods is Athene born, but also to the welfare of mankind, the whole of the terrestrial sphere, earth and sea. So a messenger of the gods (probably Hermes) brings the news to this terrestrial sphere—to Hestia, the personification of the human hearth, the first of the seated female figures, and then to the Earth and the Sea reclining within her lap. And far at the end, where the last lines of this composition die away like the *finale* of a great symphony, Selene (reminding us of the *motive* at the beginning) turns back to give one more look over the sea and land to the heights where the beautiful scene has taken place, and by the sea her horses descend into the lower realms of night.

I have more than once drawn attention to the fact that the scene in the eastern pediment is cosmical in import and character, as the western pediment contains a local myth; and so we must also expect cosmical personifications in the one, as we have local personifications in the other. It is interesting to note how in a relief from the Borghese collection, now in the Louvre, representing the fall of Phaëthon, the whole slab is divided into two compositions, the one representing the local aspect of the myth, as the other conveys the broader physical significance. So we have in the one composition the river Eridanus (the spot where Phaëthon fell), while in the other half, Zeus and Hera have descended from Olympos, personified by a youth, and are advancing towards the Earth and the Sea, personified by two reclining female figures. In the same way, guided by the clear indications of the treatment of the figures in the description of the eastern pediment, by the birth of Athene in the Homeric hymn, and by the customary representation of this class of subjects in ancient literature and art (so far as it has been preserved) which correspond to the distribution, succession, and typical representation of the figures in the pediment, we are led to see in this work, besides Helios and Selene, in the extant figures in the angles, Olympos, Gaia, and Thalassa.

The grandeur of the surroundings in which Pheidias has placed the central scene of this great event in the history of the universe, is unrivalled for the depth and breadth of the conceptions coupled with the clearness and simplicity of expression. There are time and space, the celestial and the terrestrial sphere, gods with mankind,

and all put (especially when the attributes were extant) into recognisable, tangible form, no less grand and monumental than they are graceful and harmonious. The whole scene is bounded by the ascending sun and the descending moon, fixing the time to the early dawn, and indicating the limits of the universe and the infinite course and duration of time.

If to some it may appear that I attribute to Pheidias thoughts and works too 'philosophical,' I would but record the fact that all great and deep thought, whether in common life, in art, or in science, may be termed philosophical, because it is great and far-seeing; and that all great men either have great thoughts, live great thoughts, act great thoughts, or create them. In so far they might all be called philosophers. And I might furthermore call attention to the fact that Pheidias lived in a community and in an age which was not chiefly characterised by partition of labour and specialisation, so that the artist no less than the statesman Pericles was the friend and pupil of a philosopher like Anaxagoras, and studied, and was conversant with, the higher pursuits of philosophy and literature. And, still further, we must remember that the time in which Pheidias lived was one open to the introduction of new ideas into the religious no less than the political life of the people, so that the highest conceptions of things divine and human were spontaneously introduced into his religious works. But here is the chief distinctive feature of Pheidias as a Greek and as a sculptor. His thoughts as a Greek, and still more as a sculptor, immediately took plastic shape and form, and were not theoretical 'philosophical' speculations. He lived and felt with his inner and outer eye as much as with his intellect. Whoever has stood on the Acropolis, and has seen the sea resting in the arms of the gulf, clinging to the land which clasps it round in its embrace, and has seen the moon rise over that sea, can vaguely feel how in the imagination of a Pheidias standing on the same spot the scene of the birth of Athene took shape: sun and moon, and the earth and the sea, and, all they tell us, grew into the harmonious forms of visible and tangible human figures. For to such a mind thought and sight, form and matter, become one in the harmony of art.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN

THE SUN'S CORONA.

STRAIGHT are the gates and narrow are the ways by which the motions which come to us from what is without can reach our consciousness. Of the many octaves of vibrations which go forth from such a body as the sun, not more than one octave can so affect our eyes as to result in sight. Further, the very conditions of sight forbid us to see, even with the aid of instruments, those smaller parts of nature of which all things are built up, and upon which their properties depend. We cannot become spectators of atoms and molecules. Considered under this aspect of things our eyes are dull, not keen. A like limitation holds true of our other senses. But besides this excessive straitness of the gates of our consciousness there exist many external barriers about us: we are walled around. The external barrier which concerns us chiefly now presents itself in the circumstances in which we find ourselves in relation to all nature outside the earth.

We live at the bottom of a deep ocean of air, and therefore every object outside the earth can only be seen by us as it looks when viewed through this great depth of air. Professor Langley has shown recently that the air mairs, colours, distorts, and therefore misleads and cheats us to an extent much greater than was supposed. He considers that the light and heat absorbed and scattered by the air, and the minute particles of matter floating in it, amount to no less than 40 per cent. of the light falling upon it. In consequence of this want of transparency, and of the presence of finely divided matter always more or less suspended in it, the air when the sun shines upon it becomes itself a source of light. Professor Langley says :—

Roughly speaking, we may say that we receive on the average at the sea level as much light from the sky as we do from the sun itself; getting more light from the sun at midday than from the sky, but more in the morning and afternoon from the sky than from the sun. All my investigations, whether through observations at the sea level or at an altitude of nearly 15,000 feet, lead me to believe it probable that the mean absorption of light (and of heat also) by our atmosphere is at least double that which is customarily estimated, and also to conclude that fine dust particles, both near the surface and at a great altitude, play a more important part in this absorption, both general and selective, than has been hitherto supposed.¹

¹ *American Journal of Science*, September, 1884.

This illuminated aerial ocean necessarily conceals from us, by overpowering them, any sources of light less brilliant than itself which are in the heavens beyond. From this cause the stars are invisible at midday. If the air could be withdrawn, then the heavens above us, even at noonday, would be black, except as they were spangled by the brighter stars, and were illuminated by the clustering smaller stars and nebulae which are not separately visible to us.

The illuminated air also conceals from us certain surroundings and appendages of the sun which become visible on the very rare occasions when the moon coming between us and the sun cuts off the sun's light from the air where the eclipse is total, and so allows the observer to see the surroundings of the sun through the cone of unilluminated air which is in shadow. It is only when the aerial curtain of light is thus withdrawn that we can become spectators of what is taking place on the stage beyond. The magnificent scene never lasts more than a few minutes, for the moon passes, and the curtain of light is again before us. On an average, once in two years this curtain of light is lifted for from three to six minutes. It is not needful to say how difficult it is from these glimpses at long intervals even to guess at the plot of the drama which is being played out about the sun.

The purpose of this article is to give an account of a method of observation by which it is possible to overcome the barrier presented to our view by the bright screen of air, and, this bright screen notwithstanding, to watch from day to day the changing scenes taking place behind it in the sun's surroundings. The object of our quest is to be found in the glory of radiant beams and bright streamers intersected by darker rifts which appears about the sun at a total solar eclipse. The corona about the sun at these times is seen to possess, especially in the photographs taken at an eclipse, a structure of great complexity, which is indeed the more puzzling in its intricate arrangement of rays curved in different directions, and varying greatly in brightness and extent, because, though we seem to have a flat object before us, the corona exists really in three dimensions. If we were dwellers in Flatland, and the corona were a kind of glorified catherine-wheel, the task of interpretation would seem less difficult. But as we are looking at an object having thickness as well as extension, the forms seen in the corona must be more or less modified, according to their position in relation to the line of sight, by the effects of perspective. This consideration tells also that the increase of intrinsic brightness of the corona towards the sun's limb is much less than that of the apparent brightness, of which no inconsiderable part must be due to the greater extent of corona in the direction of sight as the sun is approached. We know from the strongly diverse appearances which the corona has presented at different eclipses that the corona has not a permanent structure, but is an object subject to great, and

probably continual, change. These particulars will suffice to show how true are the words of Professor Young: 'Unless some means be found for bringing out the structures round the sun which are hidden by the glare of our atmosphere, the progress of our knowledge (concerning them) must be very slow.'

The previous attempts which have been made from time to time to observe the corona without an eclipse have been based mainly upon the hope that if the eye were protected from the intense direct light of the sky, and from all light other than from the sky immediately about the sun, then the eye might become sufficiently sensitive to perceive the corona. These attempts at producing an artificial eclipse have failed because it was not possible to place the screen where the moon comes, outside our atmosphere, and so keep in shadow the part of the air through which the observer looks. The latest attempts have been made by Professor Langley at Mount Etna, and at Mount Whitney, 15,000 high, and also by Dr. Copeland, astronomical assistant to Lord Crawford, on the Andes. Professor Langley says in a letter to the writer: 'I have tried visual methods under the most favourable circumstances, but with entire non-success.' Dr. Copeland observed at Puno, at a height of 12,040 feet. In his report he says: 'It ought to be mentioned that the appearances produced by the illuminated atmosphere were often of the most tantalising description, giving again and again the impression that my efforts were about to be crowned with success.' There are occasions on which the existence of the brighter part of the corona may be visually detected without an eclipse. The brightness of the sky near the sun's limb is due to two distinct factors—the air-glare, and the coronal light behind it, which M. Janssen considers to be brighter than the full moon. When Venus comes between the earth and the sun, it is obvious that the planet as it approaches the sun comes in before the corona, and shuts off the light which the corona sends to us. Now at such a time the observer sees the sky at the place behind which the planet is to be darker than the adjoining sky—that is to say, that the cutting off of the coronal light by the planet has caused a sensible diminution in the brightness of the sky at that spot. It follows certainly that the part of the sky about the sun behind which the corona is situated is in a small degree brighter than the adjoining parts; and very near the sun in a degree not far removed from the eye's power of distinguishing areas which differ by very small degrees of brightness. It would be perhaps not too much to say that the corona would be always visible when the sky is clear, if our eyes were more sensitive to small differences of illumination of adjacent areas. Mention should be made of one exception, unique so far as the writer knows: his friend Mr. John Brett, A.R.A., tells him that he is able to see the corona in a telescope of low power.

The spectroscopic method, now so well known, by which the

bright prominences, or flames at the sun's limb, may be seen without an eclipse, fails for the corona, because a part only of the coronal light is resolved by the prism into bright lines, and of these lines no one is sufficiently bright and coextensive with the corona to enable us to see the corona by its light, as the prominences may be seen by the red, the blue, or the green line of hydrogen. The corona sends to us light of three kinds: (1) Light which the prism resolves into bright lines and which has been emitted by luminous gas. (2) Light which gives a continuous spectrum and which has come from incandescent liquid or solid matter. (3) Reflected sunlight, which M. Janssen considers to form the fundamental part of the coronal light.

The problem to be solved was how to disentangle the light of the corona from the air-glare which is mixed up with it, or, in other words, how by some means to give such an advantage to the coronal light that it might be able to hold its own sufficiently against the air-glare for our eyes to distinguish the corona from the bright sky.

When the report reached this country in the summer of 1882 that photographs of the spectrum of the corona taken during the eclipse in Egypt showed that the coronal light at the earth, as a whole, is strong in the violet region of the spectrum, it occurred to the writer as probable that if by some method of selective absorption this kind of light were isolated, then, when viewed by this kind of light alone, the corona might be at a sufficient advantage relatively to the air-glare to become visible. Though this kind of light falls within the range of vision, the eye is less sensitive to small differences of illumination near this limit of its power. This consideration and some others led the writer to look to photography for aid, since it is possible by certain technical methods to accentuate the extreme sensitiveness of a photographic plate for minute differences of illumination. As an illustration it may be mentioned that a cardboard was painted with a picture of the corona with so thin a wash of Chinese white that it was invisible to the eye unless the card was held obliquely. A photograph taken from the card in front showed the painted corona strongly.

Such a cardboard represents the state of things in the sky about the sun. The painted corona is brighter than the cardboard, but our eyes, dull in this respect as compared with a photographic plate, fail to see it. In like manner the part of the sky near the sun, where the corona, so to speak, is painted—that is to say, where there is a background of corona—is brighter than the adjoining parts where there is no corona behind, but not in a degree sufficiently great for our eyes to detect the difference. One other consideration which tells strongly in favour of the use of photography is the enormous advantage which a photographic plate possesses over the eye, in that it can retain a permanent record of the most complex forms from an instantaneous exposure.

In his early experiments the writer obtained the necessary isola-

tion of the violet light by interposing a screen of coloured glass, or a cell containing a solution of potassic permanganate. The possibility of false light coming upon the sensitive plate from the glass sides of the cell, as well as from the precipitation due to the decomposition of the solution under the sun's light, led to the inquiry whether the necessary light-selection could not be obtained by some modification of the sensitive film. Captain Abney and others had shown that argentic bromide, iodide, and chloride differ greatly in the kind of light to which they are most sensitive. The chloride is most strongly affected by the kind of violet light in which the corona is rich. It was found possible by making use of this selective action of argentic chloride to do away with the need of interposing an absorptive medium. To prevent false appearances from reflection from the second surface of the glass plate, technically known as halation, the back of the plate was covered with asphaltum varnish. Frequently a small metal disc, a little larger than the sun's image, was placed in front of the plate to cut off the sun's direct light from the sensitive surface. For several reasons, in order to produce upon the plate an image of the sun as free as possible from all instrumental imperfections, a mirror of speculum metal was employed. The first experiments were made with a fine Newtonian telescope, by Short, in the summer of 1882. About twenty plates were obtained, on which appearances resembling the corona were seen. From a critical examination of these plates, in which the writer was greatly helped by the kind assistance of Professor Stokes and Captain Abney, there seemed to be good ground to hope that the corona had really been obtained upon the plates.

In the following summer, 1883, the attack was carried on by means of a very perfect seven-foot Newtonian telescope made by Mr. Lassell, and kindly placed in the hands of the writer by the Misses Lassell. This instrument was so arranged that the image of the sun, formed by the great mirror, was thrown directly upon the plate, without undergoing reflection from a second small mirror, as is usually the case. Images of the sun exquisitely defined and free from all sensible trace of instrumental imperfections were obtained upon the plates. When the sky was free from clouds, but presenting a whitey aspect from a large amount of scattered light, on these days the sun's image was seen surrounded by uniform illumination, but without any sudden increase in the photographic action close about the sun. On the few occasions when the sky was clear and blue in colour, then coronal appearances presented themselves with more or less distinctness. Of course, in our climate, on the most favourable days such appearances must be necessarily faint. The superiority of illumination, where there is a background of corona, is so small that any increase of development or exposure brings in strongly the air-glare.

Fortunately the occurrence of a total solar eclipse on the 6th of May furnished the opportunity of putting this new method to a crucial test, by the comparison of the coronal appearances on the writer's plates with the photographs of the undoubtedly true corona which were taken at Caroline Island by Messrs. Lawrence and Woods, the photographers sent out by the Royal Society. On the day of the eclipse the weather was bad in this country, but plates taken before and after the eclipse were placed in the hands of Mr. Wesley, who is well known for his drawings from the photographs taken during former eclipses. Mr. Wesley drew from these plates before any information had reached this country as to the results obtained at Caroline Island: he was, therefore, wholly without bias in the drawings which he made from them. When these drawings were afterwards compared with the Caroline Island plates, the general resemblance of the corona was unmistakable; but the identity of the object photographed in England and at Caroline Island was placed beyond a doubt by a remarkably formed rift on the east of the north pole of the sun, which is seen in the same position in the writer's plates and in those taken during the eclipse. This rift, slightly modified in form, was found to be present in a plate taken about a solar rotation period before the eclipse, and also on a plate taken about the same time after the eclipse.² The permanence of this great rift as to its main features extended certainly over some months, but no information is afforded as to whether the corona rotates with the sun. For, from the times at which the writer's plates were taken—one plate about a rotation period before, and the other a little over a rotation period after, the eclipse—it is obvious that the rift may have gone round with the sun, or it may have remained unaffected in position by the sun's rotation. There is no positive evidence on this point.

Though the plates which were obtained in England during the summer of 1883 appeared to be satisfactory to the extent of showing that there could remain but little doubt that the corona had been photographed without an eclipse, and therefore of justifying the hope that a successful method for the continuous investigation of the corona had been placed in the hands of astronomers, yet, as the photographs were taken under the specially unfavourable conditions of our climate, they were necessarily wanting in showing the details of the structure of the corona. The next step was obviously to have the method carried out at some place of high elevation, where the large part of the glare which is due to the lower and denser parts of our atmosphere would no longer be present. A grant from the fund placed annually by the Government at the disposal of the Royal Society was put into the hands of a committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Society for this purpose. The committee selected the Riffel, near Zermatt,

² See Plates XI. and XI. A, *British Association Report*, 1883, p. 348.

in Switzerland—a station which has an elevation of 8,500 feet, and the further advantages of easy access and of hotel accommodation. The committee was fortunate in securing the services, as photographer, of Mr. Ray Woods, who, as assistant to Professor Schuster, had photographed the corona during the eclipse of 1882 in Egypt, and who, in 1883, in conjunction with Mr. Lawrence, had photographed the eclipse of that year at Caroline Island.

Mr. Woods arrived at the Riffel in July 1884. Captain Abney, who had made observations on the Riffel in former years, had remarked on the splendid blue-black skies which were seen there whenever the lower air was free from clouds or fog. Unfortunately, during the last year or so, a veil of finely divided matter of some sort has been put about the earth, of which we have heard so much in the accounts from all parts of the earth of gorgeous sunsets and afterglows. This fine matter was so persistently present in the higher regions of the atmosphere that Mr. Woods did not get once a really clear sky. On the contrary, whenever visible cloud was absent, then, instead of a blue-black sky, there came into view a luminous haze, forming a great aureole about the sun, of a faint red colour, which passed into bluish-white near the sun. Mr. Woods found the diameter of this aureole to measure about 44° . This remarkable appearance about the sun has been seen all the world over during the summer of 1884, but always with greatest distinctness at places of high elevation. The relative position of the colours—blue inside and red outside—shows that the aureole is a phenomenon of diffraction produced by minute particles of matter of some sort. Mr. Ellery, Captain Abney, and some others consider this matter to be water in the form probably of minute spicules of ice; others consider this matter to consist of particles of volcanic dust which were projected into the atmosphere during the eruption at Krakatowa; but whatever it is, and whencesoever it came, it is most certainly matter in the wrong place, so far as astronomical observations are concerned, and in a peculiar degree for the success of photographing the corona. Indeed, as science opens our eyes, we see the ‘mountain covered with horses and chariots of fire,’ but arrayed against us; hosts innumerable and invisible which lay siege to every pore. We are only beginning to learn the might and ever-presence of the powers of the air, and that in our persons and in our works it is by the invisibly minute chiefly that we are undone. So injurious was the presence of this fine matter in the upper air that photographs could not be obtained in England last summer which show the corona. The great diffraction aureole went far to defeat the object for which Mr. Woods had gone to the Riffel, but fortunately the great advantage of being free from the effects of the lower eight thousand feet of denser air told so strongly that, notwithstanding the ever-present aureole, Mr. Woods was able to obtain a number of plates on which the corona shows

itself with more or less distinctness. But, in consequence of the presence of the aureole, the negatives show less detail than we have every reason to hope would have been the case if the sky had been as blue and clear as in some former years. This circumstance makes great care necessary in the discussion of these plates, and it would be premature to say what information is to be obtained from them.

The observations and photographs of the solar eclipses of the last twenty years show that, great as are the changes between different eclipses, the corona is substantially permanent about the sun in its most fundamental characteristics, the divers changes of form and relatively greater extension at certain parts being obviously but modifications introduced by altered circumstances of some kind. Besides these real changes in the corona itself—the state of the air at the time, the kind of sensitive surfaces employed, the length of exposure, whether the sun's image has been formed by a lens which shortens and enfeebles the extent of the ultra-violet light, or by a mirror which furnishes an image more nearly normal in the nature of the light existing in it—all these instrumental and technical conditions affect in no small degree the appearance which the photographed image of the corona presents upon the plate. A peculiarity of form, consisting of the greater relative extension of the corona in the equatorial direction, was observed during the eclipse of 1878, and the suggestion has been put forward that this peculiarity of greater equatorial extension was connected with the then comparative state of inactivity of the sun's surface, at a minimum sun-spot period, especially as equatorial extension was observed in the corona at the eclipse of 1867.

The principal hypotheses which have been put forward as to the nature of the corona are six in number:—

1. The corona consists of a gaseous atmosphere resting upon the sun's surface, and carried round with it.
2. The corona is made up, wholly, or in part, of gaseous and finely divided matter which has been ejected from the sun, and is in motion about the sun under the forces of ejection, the sun's rotation, and gravity—and even possibly by a repulsive force of some kind.
3. The corona resembles the rings of Saturn, and consists of swarms of meteoric particles revolving with sufficient velocity to prevent their falling into the sun.
4. The corona is the appearance presented to us by the unceasing falling into the sun of meteoric matter and the débris of comets' tails.
5. The coronal rays and streamers are, at least in part, meteoric streams strongly illuminated by their near approach to the sun, neither revolving about nor falling into the sun, but permanent in position, and varying only in richness of meteoric matter, which form part of eccentric comet-orbits—a view which has been supported by

Mr. Proctor on the ground that there must be such streams crowding richly together in the sun's neighbourhood.

6. The view of the corona suggested by Sir William Siemens in his solar theory.³

It has been suggested even that the corona is so complex a phenomenon that there may be an element of truth in every one of these hypotheses. Anyway, this enumeration of hypotheses, more or less mutually destructive, shows how great is the difficulty of explaining the appearances which present themselves at a total solar eclipse, and how little we really know about the corona.

An American philosopher, Professor Hastings, has revived a prior and altogether revolutionary question: Has the corona an objective existence? Is it anything more than an optical appearance arising from diffraction, not more real than the colours of a soap bubble, or the coloured corona seen round a street lamp in a fog? Professor Hastings has based his revival of this long-discarded negative theory upon the behaviour of a coronal line which he saw, in his spectro-scope, change in length east and west of the sun during the progress of the last eclipse at Caroline Island. His view appears to rest on the negative foundation that Fresnel's theory of diffraction may not apply in the case of a total eclipse, and that at such great distances there is a possibility that the interior of the shadow may not be entirely dark, and so to an observer may come the appearance of a bright fringe around the moon.

Not to speak of the recent evidence of the reality of the corona, from the photographs which have been taken when there is no intervening moon to produce the phenomena of diffraction, there is the adverse evidence afforded by the peculiar spectra of different parts of the corona, and by the complicated and distinctly peculiar structure seen in the photographs taken at eclipses. The crucial test of this theory appears to be, that if it be true, then the corona would be much wider on the side where the sun's limb is least deeply covered; that is to say, the corona would alter in width on the two sides during the progress of the eclipse. Not to refer to former eclipses, where photographs taken at different times, and even at different places, have been found to agree, the photographs taken during the eclipse at Caroline Island show no such changes. M. Janssen says: '*Les formes de la couronne ont été absolument fixes pendant toute la durée de la totalité.*' The photographs taken by Messrs. Lawrence and Woods also go to show that the corona suffered no such alterations in width and form as would be required by Professor Hastings's theory during the passage of the moon.

We have, therefore, a right to believe in an objective reality of some sort about the sun corresponding to the appearance which is presented to us by the corona. At the same time, very small part

³ See *Nineteenth Century* for April 1882.

of what we see must be due to a scattering of the coronal light itself by our air, but the amount of this scattered light over the corona cannot exceed, but must be in some degree less than, what is seen over the dark moon.

That the sun is surrounded by a true gaseous atmosphere of relatively limited extent there can be little doubt, but many considerations forbid us to think of an atmosphere which rises to a height that can afford any explanation of the corona, which streams several hundred thousand miles above the photosphere. For example, gas at that height, hundreds or even thousands of times lighter than hydrogen, would have more than metallic density near the sun's surface—a state of things which spectroscopic and other observations show is not the case. The corona does not exhibit the rapid condensation towards the sun's limb which such an atmosphere would present, especially when we take into account the effect of perspective in increasing the apparent brightness of the lower regions of the corona. There is, too, the circumstance that comets have passed through the upper part of the corona without being burnt up, or even sensibly losing velocity.

There can scarcely be doubt that matter is present about the sun wherever the corona extends, and further, that this matter is in the form of a fog. But there are fogs and fogs. The air we breathe, when apparently pure, stands revealed as a dense swarm of millions of motes if a sunbeam passes through it. Such a fog even is out of the question. If we conceive of a fog so attenuated that there is only one minute liquid or solid particle in every cubic mile, there would still be matter enough, in all probability, to form a corona. That the coronal matter is of the nature of a fog is shown by the three kinds of light which the corona sends to us. Reflected solar light scattered by small particles of matter, liquid or solid; and, secondly, light giving a continuous spectrum, which tells us that these solid or liquid particles are incandescent; the third form of spectrum of bright lines, fainter and varying greatly at different parts of the corona, and at different eclipses shows the presence also of light-emitting gas. This gas existing between the particles need not necessarily form a true solar atmosphere, which the considerations already mentioned make an almost impossible supposition, for we may well regard this thin gas as carried up with the particles, or even to be to some extent furnished by them under the sun's heat.

Let us see first what probable origin can be ascribed to the coronal matter, and by what means it can find itself at such enormous heights above the sun. There is another celestial phenomenon very unlike the corona at first sight, which may furnish us possibly with a clue to an answer to these questions. The head of a large comet presents us with luminous streamers, rifts, and curved rays

which are not so very unlike, on a small scale, some of the appearances which are peculiarly characteristic of the corona.⁴ We do not know for certain the conditions under which these cometary appearances take place, but the hypothesis which seems on the way to become generally accepted attributes them to electrical disturbances, and especially to a repulsive force acting from the sun, possibly electrical, which varies as the surface, and not like gravity as the mass. A force of this nature in the case of highly attenuated matter can easily master the force of gravity, and, as we see in the tails of comets, blow away this thin kind of matter to enormous distances in the very teeth of gravity.

If such a force of repulsion is experienced in comets, it may well be that it is also present in the sun's surroundings. If this force be electrical it can only come into play when the sun and the matter subjected to it have electrical potentials of the same kind, otherwise the attraction on one side of a particle would equal the repulsion on the other. On this theory, coronal matter and the sun's surface must both be in the same electrical state, the repelled matter negative if the sun is negative, positive if the sun is positive. The grandest terrestrial displays of electrical disturbance, as seen in lightning and the aurora, must be of a small order of magnitude as compared with the electrical changes taking place in connection with the ceaseless and fearful activity of the sun's surface, but we do not know how far these actions, or the majority of them, may be in the same electric direction, or what other conditions there may be, so as to cause the sun to maintain a high electrical state, whether positive or negative. A permanence of electrical potential of the same kind would seem to be required by the phenomena of comets' tails.

If such a state of high electrical potential at the photosphere be granted as is required to give rise to the repulsive force which the phenomena of comets appear to indicate, then, considering the gaseous irruptions and fiery storms of more than Titanic proportions which are going on without ceasing at the solar surface, it does not go beyond what might well be, to suppose that portions of this matter, ejected to great heights above the photosphere, and often with velocities not far removed from that which would be needed to set it free from the sun's attraction, and very probably in the same electric state as the photosphere, might so come under this assumed electric repulsion as to be blown upwards, and to take on forms such as those seen in the corona; the greatest distances to which the coronal streamers have been traced are small as compared with the extent of the tails of comets, but the force of gravity which the electric repulsion would have to overcome near the sun would be enormously greater. It is in harmony with this view of things that the portions of greatest coronal extension usually correspond with the spot-zones, where the solar activity is most fervent;

⁴ See 'Comets,' in the *Nineteenth Century* for August 1882.

and also that a careful examination of the structure of the corona suggests strongly that the forces to which this complex and varying structure is due have their seat in the sun. Matter repelled away from the sun would rise with the smaller rotational velocity of the photosphere, and then, lagging behind, would give rise to curved forms; besides, the forces of irruption and of subsequent repulsion might well vary in direction, and not be always strictly radial: under such circumstances a structure of the character which the corona presents might well result.

The sub-permanency of any great characteristic coronal forms—as, for example, the great rift on the east of the north pole of the sun, seen in a photograph of the Caroline Island eclipse, and also those taken in England a month before the eclipse, and about a month afterwards—must probably be explained by the maintenance for some time of the conditions upon which the forms depend, and not of an unaltered identity of the coronal matter—the permanency belonging to the form only, and not to the matter, as in the case of a cloud over a mountain-top, or of a flame over a volcano. It would be premature to speak at present of the information on this point which will probably be afforded us by photographs of the corona taken without an eclipse, but there seems to be some evidence that while a great form, as the rift referred to, may continue for months, the minor features are in such a state of continual change as would be expected from the known active conditions near the solar surface. It has been mentioned that the dates of the plates taken in England before and after the Caroline Island eclipse were such as to give no positive evidence as to the rotation of the corona with the sun. The times were such as not to make such a rotation impossible, but the same appearances would have resulted if the corona had not rotated, but shifted slightly in position. If the forces to which the corona is due have their seat in the sun, the corona would probably rotate with it. If the corona is produced by forces external to the sun, in this case the corona might not rotate. •

To return to the state of things within the corona. We have seen that the corona consists probably of a sort of incandescent fog, which at the same time scatters to us the photospheric light. Now the behaviour of a gas in the near neighbourhood of the sun would be very different from that of liquid or solid particles. A gas need not be greatly heated, even when near the sun, by the radiated solar energy; the hot gas from the photosphere would probably rapidly lose heat; but, on the other hand, liquid or solid particles, whether originally carried up as such, or subsequently formed by condensation, would absorb the sun's heat, and at coronal distances would soon rise to a temperature not very greatly inferior to that of the photosphere. The gas which the spectroscope shows to exist along with the incandescent particles of the coronal stuff may, therefore, have been carried

up as gas, or have been in part distilled from the coronal particles under the enormous radiation to which they are exposed. Such a view would not be out of harmony with the very different heights to which different bright lines may be traced at different parts of the corona, and at different eclipses. For obvious reasons gases of different vapour-densities would be differently acted upon by a repulsive force which varies as the surface, and to some extent would be winnowed from each other; the lighter the gas the more completely would it come under the sway of repulsion, and so would be carried up more rapidly than a gas more strongly held down by gravity. The relative proportions, at different heights of the corona, of the gases which the spectroscope shows to exist there—and recently Captain Abney and Professor Schuster have shown that, in addition to the bright lines already known, the spectrum of the corona in 1882 gave the rhythmical group of the ultra-violet lines of hydrogen which are characteristic of the photographic spectra of the white stars, and some other lines also—would undoubtedly vary from time to time, and depend in part upon the varying state of activity of the photosphere, and so probably establish a connection with the spectra of the prominences. This view of the corona would bring it within the charmed circle of interaction which seems to obtain between the phenomena of sun-spots and terrestrial magnetic disturbances and auroræ.

Many questions remain unconsidered: among others, whether the light emitted by the gaseous part of the corona is due directly to the sun's heat, or to electrical discharges taking place in it of the nature of terrestrial auroræ. Further, what becomes of the coronal matter on the theory which has been suggested? Is it permanently carried away from the sun as the matter of the tails of comets is lost to them? Among other considerations, it may be mentioned that an electric repulsion can maintain its sway only so long as the repelled particle remains in the same electrical state; if, through an electric discharge, it ceases to maintain the electrical potential it possessed, the repulsion has no more power over it, and gravity will be no longer overpowered. If, when this takes place, the particle is not moving away with a velocity sufficient to carry it from the sun, the particle will return to the sun. Of course, if the effect of any electric discharges or other conditions has been to change the potential of the particle from positive to negative, or the reverse, as the case may be, then the repulsion would be changed into an attraction acting in the same direction as gravity. In Mr. Wesley's drawings of the corona, especially in those of the eclipse of 1871, the longer rays or streamers appear not to end, but to be lost in increasing faintness and diffusion, but certain of the shorter rays are seen to turn round and to descend to the sun.

It is difficult for us, living in dense air, to conceive of the state

of attenuation probably present in the outer parts of the corona. Mr. Johnstone Stoney has calculated that more than twenty figures are necessary to express the number of molecules in a cubic centimetre of air, and Mr. Crookes has shown us in his tubes how brilliant matter, even when reduced to one millionth part of the density of ordinary air, can become under electrical excitement; and yet it is probable that these tubes—perhaps the nearest terrestrial analogue of the thin matter of the corona—must be looked upon as crowded cities of molecules as compared with the sparse molecular population of the great coronal wastes.⁵

Here it is well to stop, especially as new information as to the state of things in the corona may be expected from the daily photographs which will shortly be commenced at the Cape of Good Hope by Mr. Ray Woods, under the direction of Dr. Gill.

WILLIAM HUGGINS.

⁵ For the history of opinion of the nature of the corona see *The Sun*, by Professor Young; and *The Sun, the Ruler of the Planetary System*, and various essays, by Mr. Proctor. See also papers by Professor Norton, Professor Young, and Professor Langley in the *American Journal of Science*.

A SHORT TRACT UPON OATHS.

THE question whether oaths ought to be abolished or retained is one of the greatest which can be submitted for consideration, concerning as it does not merely the civil rights and interests, but the moral condition of the nation.

If oaths are necessary for the elucidation of truth, or to secure the due performance of civil duty, and are not objectionable *in se*, their abolition would be a mistake, and almost a sacrilege. If, on the other hand, they are superfluous, and have ceased to be heeded; if in their practical working they are a clog upon truth; if they detract from reverence for the moral law and its Divine Author; if they do moral harm by their example; if they embarrass and insult the man who has a conscience, and are powerless with him who has none; if they are only retained as venerable reliques of an obsolete and exploded system,—their abolition would be the largest reform and the most permanent boon which Parliament could confer upon the country.

In these days of bitterness and faction it is refreshing to find a great social question in which no party feeling can be involved; and in treating it none of the artifices of party warfare should be employed. It should be argued with calmness and a generous consideration for old prejudices. There should be no *suggestio falsi* and no *suppressio veri*. Its advocacy should be that of honest reasoning and plain statement of facts.

In the following pages I shall not attempt to trace the history of oaths from its origin, or to cite in large detail the examples with which the world's records are filled. If I did, I should expand this little tract into a large volume, interesting and probably amusing, but beyond my present purpose.

Neither shall I argue the question of the lawfulness of oaths from a purely theological point of view by citing and comparing scriptural texts. I mean to confine myself as much as possible to a mere skeleton of the arguments which prove that oaths of all sorts are ethically unsound and practically dangerous, under the circumstances which exist among us, and that, viewed on a large scale, they tend to the obscurisation and not the elucidation of truth. For this purpose I shall consider the several sorts of oaths separately, and seek

to sustain my several positions by practical examples. I do not suppose that much in this essay can have the merit of novelty. The greater part will have probably been better expressed by other writers. Many thoughtful men have been, and are, in favour of the abolition of oaths, and many have probably left a record of their opinion; but every blow upon the heated iron adds to the malleability of the mass.

I am bound to treat with courtesy the opinions of those who differ from me, and to put forward no argument as certain which I do not believe to be so. A few hours' toil will be amply repaid if I can succeed in making one convert to the good cause.

In ancient times international treaties, dynastic renunciations, public charters, solemn contracts between kings and peoples were cemented by oaths. They were further secured by the most fearful imprecations, and were sworn upon reliques whose authority was revered with undoubting faith, and very often upon the Holy Eucharist. Nothing was omitted which could terrify the swearer into a faithful observance of his solemn vow. How many of these treaties and charters were honourably observed? Let the impartial student of history answer the question. I am far from saying that all these obligations were entered into with a dishonest intention. But it was a false and feeble attempt to bind men by the perpetual and unchangeable obligation of a sacramental pledge in matters subject to constant change, and often altering the relations of the contracting parties, and compelling them by some higher antecedent duty to a nominal violation of an oath which thus contained within itself the elements of a future repudiation. Every violated oath is a shock to the heart of morality and religion; nay, more, every oath which comprehends within its own nature the liability to a future violation, rendered righteous and necessary by unforeseen circumstances, is a mockery, and when clothed in a religious invocation may become an impious mockery.

As thought matured, and the rule of right and wrong became better understood, oaths of the sort which I have spoken of fell into gradual disuse and have nearly disappeared: they are for the most part retained only in barbarous communities, where superstition guards the portals of ignorance and shuts out the light of day; nor have we any reason to believe that treaties are worse observed since they have ceased to be fortified by adjurations and imprecations.

In modern and more enlightened times the vicious principle is still to be found in coronation oaths; in oaths sworn by judges, magistrates, members of Parliament, and holders of public offices; in the army and navy, and in the universities and learned professions.

No very deep study of history and no very wide modern experience are required to show how little they have availed for the end they were designed to attain. Some sovereigns have never been crowned,

and consequently have never taken the coronation oath. Were they less bound to be loyal to their people? George the Third, during his long and mischievous reign, imagined himself coerced by his coronation oath to reject the just claims of his Catholic subjects, and was supported in that opinion by Lord Eldon, the greatest lawyer of his day, though not by Pitt, Fox, or Grattan. What has been the result of this long denial of justice? Anarchy, crime, disaffection, military rule, the suspension of the constitution, and possibly at some future time the dissolution of the empire. It is false that a king can be bound by the laws of justice to refuse justice to his people, or to vindicate his own loyalty by making his people disloyal.

Let us suppose that a sovereign has sworn at his coronation to maintain the existing constitution in Church and State. Let us further assume (not an impossible assumption) that after a while the whole nation unites in desiring some constitutional change, and that the sovereign thinks his people right. Is he compelled by his oath to place his veto upon their wish and his own? If he is, he has bound himself by oath to be untrue to his people. If he is not, he has made a solemn promise which is not binding, and has deliberately called down upon himself the vengeance of Heaven if he breaks it. The days have gone by when the liberty to do one's duty can be fettered by a self-inflicted curse. Advancing thought and the development of sounder ethical principles ought to render it impossible. But is no more mischief done by the infraction of an *oath* than by the violation of an analogous engagement not sustained by an oath? Certainly there is. The former is assumed to rest upon a specific religious sanction, and its violation is a blow to religion itself. Its violation! do I say? Let us go back a step: a heavier blow is struck by its inception than by its infraction. The ignorant and thoughtless lose their reverence for the Holy Name when they have seen it carelessly invoked and mocked with impunity.

The case of parliamentary is nearly analogous to that of coronation oaths, because the duties of the senator and of the sovereign are *ejusdem generis*; and here let us look again to History. I do not cite the case of the civil war in the time of Charles the First, as there may in that case be a difference of opinion—though I may observe that the doubt as to the lawfulness of that war is rather based upon the estimate of the king's misconduct to his people than on the denial of a right to rise against gross and unconstitutional tyranny—but let us go to the reign of James the Second. His Parliament, his naval and military commanders, all his great officers of State, were bound to him by an unconditional oath of allegiance. Were they obliged to observe that oath when he betrayed the liberties of England? Were they not bound by a higher, if an unsworn, loyalty—that to their country—to cast him from the throne?

It is unnecessary to ransack history for a thousand other instances.

One is enough to demonstrate the principle that engagements binding men to pursue a course which may become impossible or immoral are in themselves immoral and reprehensible, when invested with the character of perpetuity by the attestation of the Almighty Name.

If the religious anathema attached to oaths had caused them to be observed with undeviating strictness, many revolutionary changes would have been frustrated which have been beneficial to mankind, and religion itself would have sunk under the stigma of having been auxiliary to injustice and falsehood.

I now come to that class of oaths which are so common that they almost escape observation—oaths imposed as a condition to official appointments, oaths to be taken by judges, magistrates, the army and navy, and the learned professions. These oaths create no additional obligation beyond what the swearer is already subject to under the moral law, and he knows it. But is there not a danger that while he trips lightly over what he deems an antiquated and unmeaning formula, he may treat with similar carelessness the unsworn moral obligation? These oaths are superfluous, and, if unnecessary, are criminal. Their only palliation is that they are unmeaning and unreal; and that is but a poor excuse. They give no additional *security*. On the contrary, they weaken allegiance to the paramount law of loyalty and righteous dealing by suggesting that that law is insufficient. Did the oath ever keep clean the hands of a judge or magistrate whose integrity was not assured by honour, conscience, and religion? Does history teach us that the oath of allegiance has ever proved an insuperable bar to disloyalty? What shall we say to oaths to abjure a non-existing pretender; or to observe articles which we cannot understand, and which the most learned commentators have interpreted in contradictory senses; or to sworn declarations that we believe what we do not believe; or solemn engagements to wear none but sad-coloured clothes, and never to be guilty of the enormity of playing marbles in the college courts?

There is nothing so trivial that it has not been made the subject of a solemn oath. No precept of the moral law was considered strong and holy enough to stand unsupported by such aid. I know not how many of these impious trivialities may have been repealed. It is enough for my argument that they existed for many years, and to a recent date, and formed part of a system which has corrupted the pure well-head of Christian law.

It is not enough to say that these formulas of invocation and conditional imprecation are superfluous, and often unjust, or ludicrous; they are also sinful, because they involve without necessity the invocation of the Holy Name to the 'vain thing,' and so partake of the nature of blasphemy. I have shown that they are unnecessary and ineffectual, and daily experience proves that their omission does no

harm. Would any country gentleman think he gained anything by swearing his steward to be honest; or any merchant or banker if the law allowed him to 'put the book' to his clerk or cashier? Solemn adjurations demonstrate a want of trust in the rectitude of others, and a want of faith in the sufficiency of the moral law as the rule of conduct.

It remains for me only to allude to oaths in courts of justice; and here I speak with the greater confidence, because I speak from a very long and varied experience.

An experience of nearly fifty years in courts of justice has convinced me that oaths are not a reliable test of truth, and I deeply regret to be compelled to say that, as litigation becomes more general and oaths multiply, perjury increases in an accelerated ratio. Nor is this a matter for surprise. When oaths are taken frequently and habitually, they become a mere formula; they are taken lightly, and so become blasphemies. Who can witness without pain and disgust the flippant, careless air with which the litigant seizes the book, often kissing it with irrepressible eagerness before half the form has been recited? Who can hear without horror the glaring, shameless contradictions of rival witnesses? This feeling of disgust and horror is strong as long as perjuries are few; but when they become frequent and notorious, repeated and multiplied every day and every hour, they cease to shock, and perhaps are listened to with a smile or extenuated by some good-natured excuse. The callous and unconcerned hearers of lies attested by the invocation of God's Holy Name soon lose their reverence for Him and for truth, and are ready to become perjurers themselves when their turn comes. It is the nature of crime to propagate its own breed. To maintain oaths where in place of sustaining the cause of truth they but add perjury to falsehood is to legislate not religiously but against religion.

I cannot too strongly express my conviction *intus et in corde* that oaths sap the foundations of truth not only by their frequency and example, but by their nature. They make people believe that a lie when not on oath is but a venial offence. If a witness be a Christian, an oath gives no additional weight to his evidence beyond what the law of God and his own conscience afford. A Christian acknowledges the paramount duty of speaking the truth, especially when the lives, properties, or liberties of others depend upon his testimony; and to what is paramount nothing can be added. He believes that Almighty God hears, and reprobates, and will punish a lie without his calling Him into court. If a man has no conscience, or one which is not in working order, he will not be deterred from perjury by any religious motive. If the swearer be an atheist, he does not believe that God is there to hear or to punish. An oath is an empty sound to him.

It has been urged by some who would retain the oath that there are sundry persons whose religious knowledge is so limited, and

whose sense of right and wrong is so feeble, that they are only induced to tell the truth by the terrors of an imprecation. I doubt whether there are many such; and I have already shown that the habitual use of oaths deadens the moral sense and weakens the effect of the anathema; but if there be such persons, it can only be said that the apparent advantage derivable from the oath is comparative and not positive, and must be attributed in reality to the feebleness of the moral sense; and that the best cure for this great evil would be the abolition of a system which tends to weaken and not to instruct the true conscience.

The ignorant witness who is incapable of being influenced by the obligation of religious duty, and by the revealed Word which tells him that God will punish the liar, and who is only induced to tell the truth by the terror of an imprecation which he is made to pronounce against himself, is actuated by superstition and not by any sentiment of religion, as Harold was shocked when he found that, when swearing an oath which he did not intend to keep, he had unwittingly bound himself by reliques surreptitiously placed beneath the altar. It is nothing but a gross superstition to imagine that God will not punish the infraction of His law, but will launch the thunder of His vengeance in obedience to an imprecation pronounced by one who disregard His Divine authority.

If it be advisable, as some believe, to recall to careless witnesses by a solemn admonition their responsibility for the evidence they are about to give, is there no other way in which that end may be attained? The child is often asked at the witness-table, 'What will happen to you if you take a false oath?' Why should not the judge or officer of the court, instead of the usual formula of adjuration, use these or some such serious words, 'Remember that a premeditated lie is a grievous sin, and will be punished by Almighty God; and remember, too, that the law will prosecute you for the falsehood no less than if you had sworn it!' It may indeed be a question whether it is wise to presume by a public act that any person arrived at full age and in complete possession of intellect is ignorant of the moral obligation to be just and true. In legal matters it is presumed that every man knows his obligations under the law. I think, however, that it would be prudent and charitable to employ some such words of admonition.

I have heard it advanced, and that by very religious people, that an habitual verbal reference to the Deity in the affairs of life tends to keep alive the recognition of the Divine governance. This argument I do not think it necessary to answer further than by saying that it is dangerous to make the invocation of God's Holy Name a passport for men's interests or a cloak to their passions; and that there is a wise old proverb, 'Familiarity breeds contempt.'

It has been argued, and not without some apparent force, that the

oath affords an additional security for truth, inasmuch as *the swearer believes* that if he swears falsely he commits a double sin—that of infraction of truth, and that of blasphemy—and *thinks also* that he is liable to a double penalty.*

This argument, though specious, seems to be founded upon two fallacies—first, that we are bound to frame our oath-legislation upon what the swearer believes, no matter how erroneous that belief may be, and not on what he ought to believe; second, upon confounding the crime of perjury with the sin of blasphemy. If the person swearing takes the oath irreverently, or needlessly, or with the intention of breaking it, or if it be an immoral oath, he has committed the sin of blasphemy; but the crime of perjury does not accrue till a later stage, when he actually breaks the oath.

At the risk of repetition I must here reiterate arguments which I have already put forward. If the swearer be a Christian, and is therefore aware of the *paramount* duty of telling the truth, more especially in a matter of grave importance, the invocation of God's Name is superfluous and needless, and therefore forbidden. If he does not recognise that paramount duty, he must either be an infidel or a careless uninstructed believer: if the former, the invocation gives no additional weight to his evidence, and the imprecation has no terror; if the latter, the true remedy would be to instruct him and awaken his conscience.

It has already been shown that the effect of habitual adjurations is to harden and not instruct the conscience, and that the more frequent they are the greater is the paralysis of the moral sense.

When an oath is taken an obligation under penalties temporal and spiritual is publicly acknowledged, and is attested by a declaration professing to be made in the presence of God; but no moralist will deny that a solemn promise has been made in God's presence, whether *His presence* be outwardly invoked or not. The sin of wilfully transgressing God's command, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness,' is an offence one, single, and indivisible, and its nature cannot be altered by splitting it into two, nor is its guilt aggravated by the fact that the swearer makes an open recognition of the Divine presence which he already knew, and which, if he was ignorant or careless, might be soberly and earnestly impressed upon him.

It is not to be denied that, though the use of the oath adds nothing to the essence of the obligation and to the guilt of a falsehood, it may in the minds of some aggravate the heinousness of the offence and the severity of the punishment, and thus in some cases give an additional security for the truth; but we have no right to model our laws so as to suit erroneous opinions, or to trade upon a man's ignorance or superstition, nor should we sacrifice the large and general interests of truth to the culpable recklessness of a few. No real permanent or general advantage can arise from recognising

by a public act the ignorance, recklessness, or moral feebleness of individuals. We have heard of traps for tender consciences, but there are such things as traps for hardened consciences, and this is one of them.

Every oath has a double aspect. It is at once an invocation calling God to hear, and a conditional imprecation by which the swearer devotes himself to the vengeance of the Almighty here and hereafter if he swears falsely. What is the full import of the oath in its second aspect? '*So help me God!*' Those awful words, often so carelessly uttered, mean this: '*May God so help me in this life and the next as I speak the truth; if I speak a lie may He withdraw His mercy from me.*'

Even this fearful self-imprecation will not influence the conduct of a man who attaches no meaning to his words, nor will it affect the hardened sinner who for greed or hatred ascends the witness-table to outrage truth. He has no respect for the obligations of the moral law, and no fear of God's vengeance when he scorns them. He laughs at '*Thou shalt not bear false witness.*' He braves the consequences of robbing, defrauding, or perhaps murdering, by his lies. Will the wretch who does not scruple to trample upon every commandment in the Decalogue be made true by the fear lest his own impious prayer may be heard? If, perchance, he quails before his curse, and is so forced to be true without being honest, it will be through superstition and not through religious awe. Is it for such men that a nation should frame its laws? Even if it were the case that in some instances we might by such means arrive at true evidence, such advantage would be dearly bought by the injury done by telling men that the Divine law is not sufficient by itself to sustain the cause of truth. In the application of ethical principles to social legislation we must look to broad generalisations, and not to isolated instances and a restricted expediency.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the imposition of oaths by law must have an injurious effect by giving a seeming sanction to the use of them in the intercourse of social life. There is abundant evidence to prove that from the twelfth century, if not earlier, to the end of the eighteenth, oaths were the habitual seasoning of ordinary conversation, the precious *fioriture* distilled from the most distinguished lips. They were the language of romance, chivalry, kings, nobles; statesmen, men of fashion, country squires, and even of women, in all ranks of society. This is shown by the old romances and chronicles; by Froissart, Chaucer, the Elizabethan dramatists, the refined and gentle Spenser, and later on by Congreve, Steele, Wycherly, Swift, and many other painters of manners; by the records of nations and churches, and by the unvarying testimony of a long succession of writers from the earliest days of English literature down almost to the accession of our Queen.

The commonalty were not slow in adopting, and trying if possible

to exaggerate, a custom sanctioned by such high authorities as the legislature and the aristocracy.¹

If we find that this odious habit flourished most when Test oaths imposed by the State were most frequent, and that this vile prostitution of God's gift of language became less as swearing by Act of Parliament diminished, we may fairly conclude that there was some intimate connection between the public and the private vice. And so it was. Public taste became somewhat more refined. Oath-fetters were objected to as restrictions upon liberty. The low growl of religious discontent was heard; and the law was altered. The severity, or rather the universal application, of the oaths-law was modified. A ray of better sense and more Christian sentiment burst upon us. The principle of substituting affirmations and statutory declarations for oaths has now been sanctioned by the State, and the relaxation of the swearing code has been accompanied by a marked diminution of conversational execrations. This silly, contemptible, but impious habit is on the wane. Two things have been found out—that men may speak the truth without swearing, and that men may swear and yet speak a lie. It is not of much moment whether the improvement which has already taken place is to be attributed to the change in the law or to the better state of public feeling: if to the latter, let it be hoped that the same cause may operate still further and induce Parliament to expunge the oath from the statute-book. There is good reason to believe that if public oaths were abolished, and their example withdrawn, conversational blasphemy would rapidly diminish.

Another and a very important question remains to be considered—whether the State when it requires the swearer to pronounce an imprecation against himself has not done what it has no right and no power to do. A State has a perfect right, and it is its duty, to forbid certain acts, and to affix a punishment to disobedience; as it may affix the penalty of imprisonment to perjury. But must not the penalty be one which operates within the sphere wherein the powers of the State have jurisdiction? When the State compels the swearer to pronounce the awful anathema, 'So help me God,' it requires him to stake his claim to the Divine protection here and hereafter upon the observance of his promise to speak the truth. Has it not by so doing exceeded its powers, and travelled out of its jurisdiction, dealing with excommunication and not with legal penalty?

The enforceability of a penalty would seem to be the safest test of its being imposed by a competent authority; but the spiritual penalty invoked by the oath cannot be enforced by the law. Can a

¹ I purposely omit all mention of the law or custom of oaths among Pagans or Jews or Continental States, though their history teems with instructive examples. A full inquiry would show the universality of the custom, both public and private, its futility, and the miserable triviality of the occasions upon which it was often exercised.

State impose a spiritual penalty any more than it can create a new sin ?

No sound distinction can be drawn between a hypothetical or contingent and an absolute imprecation, so far as its nature is concerned. Neither can the State shift the responsibility from its own shoulders by *compelling* the swearer to pronounce the anathema against himself. Men must appeal to the law to protect their properties and their lives. They have no choice. They *must* do so. But the State steps in, and says, 'You shall not have the benefit of the law unless you first go through a certain form called an oath.'

The claimant for legal protection is obliged to submit. If he refuses to swear, he is pronounced disqualified, and is ignominiously expelled from the hall of justice, or he may be sent to jail; if he consents he must do an act which he abhors; but perhaps he consoles himself with the thought that the guilt will lie at the door of the *vis major* which forces him to swear. Oaths in courts of justice are in one respect the most objectionable of all, because they are compulsory. Men are not obliged by any necessity to aspire to seats in Parliament nor to any office to which an oath is the key, but they must maintain their rights, lives, and liberty before legal tribunals.

There is too much reason to fear that some perjurers save their conscience by casuistical pleas, which, though morally and logically unsound, have plausibility enough to deceive *illum qui vult decipi*. Some say, 'We are not responsible, we are not free agents;' others, 'The oath is *ultra vires* and therefore invalid;' others argue that 'So help me God' is of ambiguous meaning and is not defined, and that they may apply their own interpretation to the words. Thus the oath is a trap not only to the ignorant, but to those who are too wise in their own conceit.

The question as to the competence of the State to impose the oath is so large, and its roots run so deep, that I do not presume to pronounce a definite opinion upon a point which is not necessary for my argument; I only desire to indicate that it is one which may deserve the consideration of statesmen and theologians.

There are, I am aware, many persons who, with the veneration naturally and rightfully accorded to institutions of great authority and antiquity, do not admit that oaths in their nature and essence are open to the objections which I have urged, and maintain that they were suited to the remote times when they came into use. Such persons, however, admit that as civilisation, social and religious, has advanced, oaths have become gradually less needful and less efficient, as a protection against falsehood, and that their abolition may now be safe and practically beneficial.

I receive such opinions with sincere respect. I am grateful for their expression, though I cannot concur with this view of the abstract principle.

I submit, however, that in the foregoing pages I have laid down practical grounds far more than sufficient for the total abolition; and I hope that no difference of a theoretic character upon a point so abstruse as the ethical philosophy of the principle of oaths will prevent the co-operation of men who desire to see a great practical remedy applied to what they unite in considering a great practical evil.

Many men who have themselves seen the working of the present system will not object to the abolition, particularly with the adoption of the admonitory formula I have already mentioned; and I see no difficulty or danger in carrying out this noble reform.

We have no right to expect that the beneficial results would be immediate. They would be gradually but surely developed. A moral reform must be slow, and is more complete and permanent the slower it is.

I need hardly repeat that the punishment for false evidence should be the same as it is now for perjury.

If, as I most firmly believe, oaths do not strengthen but weaken the cause of truth, often giving to the blackest falsehood an unholy credit by wrapping it in a seeming robe of light, what a fearful responsibility does the State incur by retaining them!

Truth is the basis upon which the whole moral and social fabric is poised. Religious faith rests on truth. Civilisation, international comity, mutual confidence, conjugal love, commercial security, history, science, poetry, the arts, and, greatest of all, the assured repose of unsullied honour and a quiet conscience—all these lie folded and fostered in the arms of truth. Whatever recognises it as the one abiding and eternal law is a benefit for ever. Whatever dishonours it is a sin against light. But truth is as simple as it is strong. It needs no artificial adornments, no extraneous support; *nudaque veritas*. Let us not disfigure its naked but august simplicity by proclaiming that the revealed will and express command of God are not sufficient to impart to it a paramount authority to which human formulas can add nothing, thus practically denying that disobedience to His law is a breach of sacred loyalty, and as such the worst and basest form of falsehood. We may, indeed, instruct and awaken conscience so that men may know and feel their responsibility to the inflexible law of truth. We may awaken the conscience that sleeps, but if it be dead we cannot bring it to life—no, not by a hundred formulas of invocation or execration.

When the legislature sanctioned affirmations, and substituted in certain cases statutable declarations for oaths, it admitted the great principle that the revealed moral law, unaided and unpropped by formulas of imprecation which disgust rather than terrify, is strong enough to bind the conscience. Let that wise and Christian precedent be followed. The outworks have been abandoned. The crumbling old citadel is untenable.

STEPHEN E. DE VERE.

MARIVAUX.

It may be said of Molière that he was the embodiment of his age; as that age had a definite aspect, which allowed of its being embodied, which the succeeding age did not possess.

The grand French seventeenth century was in its very pastimes clearly apart from its eve, the Renaissance, as it was apart from its morrow, the Revolution. The seventeenth century stands as a moment of loftiness and of *national individuality* for France, and has been most beautifully painted in two words by Sainte-Beuve as 'ce siècle magnifique et décent!'

The eighteenth century, where complexity of thought is the evident result of complexity in the very atmosphere of the country—the eighteenth century, which begins under Massillon's pulpit, to end with the *Fête de la Déesse Raison*—this epoch, which passes from Montesquieu to Rousseau and from Florian to Robespierre—this century, which gives at once birth and death to so many things—this complex period cannot, like the Grand Roi's reign, have its own definite physiognomy.

Marivaux, being the outcome of such an eclectic period, will not only paint what is around him, but also shadow forth the social aspects of the morrow. Marivaux's works in reality are the bridge between Molière's comedies and Beaumarchais.' In Marivaux's pieces will be found, mingled with the depth of thought of the France that *was*, some preparatory sketches of the France which is *going to be*.

We will here study Marivaux's time, his works, and also say a few words before ending about his personality. Summing up his general appreciation of Marivaux in his study upon the eighteenth century, M. Villemain remarks that 'Voltaire describes Marivaux as expressly metaphysical.' 'He is to my mind,' observes Villemain, 'far more a subtle sensualist: a master in the art of delineating the triumphs of nature over conventionality. Marivaux's drama,' pursues Villemain, 'is part of the moral history of the eighteenth century.' 'Dans ce théâtre des surprises,' it has been said, 'la raison est surprise par le cœur chez les personnages, et chez les spectateurs le cœur est surpris par la raison,' which means, 'In this comedy of errors (of Marivaux) reason yields to feeling among the personages of the play, whilst among the public it is judgment, on the contrary,

which controls the heart.' Marivaux's first productions were principally composed of parodies upon the great works of the past—*A Parody of the 'Iliad,' A Parody of 'Télémaque,' A Parody of 'Don Quichotte.'* In fact, of thirty pieces written by Marivaux only seven have remained on the contemporary stage, and these seven, which are still played at the Théâtre Français, are *La Surprise de l'Amour, La Méprise, Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard, Les Fausses Confidences, Les Sincères, L'Epreuve, and La Double Inconstance.* Marivaux's comedy of *Les Sincères* can almost be said to have been inspired by Molière's *Misanthrope*, as in the *Sincères* the scene in which Ergaste and the Marquise mimic their friends is the exact repetition of the portrait scene in the *Misanthrope*.

It is to Marivaux's style of writing that the French language is indebted for the word *marivaudage*, upon which Sainte-Beuve, expressing himself very justly, has said, '*Marivaudage* is in reality *tatillonnage*. A very slight effort would be required to undo the knot which is placed between the fingers, but the hand goes on twisting and untwisting, without finding the trick of untying it.' To this statement of Sainte-Beuve's may it be added also that the very titles of Marivaux's pieces are in themselves demonstrative of Marivaux's psychological tendencies. Mistakes, surprises, unforeseen events, indiscretions, in fact all that in human life shatters mathematical deductions, such are the preferred themes of Marivaux's comedies. Not only all that is unexpected will form the groundwork on which Marivaux's edifice will be built, but it will be our author's delight to make also reason arise out of *folly*. Notwithstanding which Marivaux generally arrives at logical sequences, even if he is reduced to use contradictory evidence.

Did we wish to characterise Marivaux's creations, it might be just to say that with Marivaux the *rule* is in reality that there should be *no rule*. The piece which best resumes our author's qualities is *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*; this piece, therefore, we shall choose at once as the basis of our present study. The canvas of the piece runs as follows: An old man called Orgon has a daughter named Sylvia, a son Mario, a soubrette Lizette. Dorante, a neighbour, is going to be introduced as a suitor to Sylvia's hand. On the day of Dorante's arrival Orgon, Sylvia's father, receives a letter from the father of Dorante. In this letter Orgon, the father, is apprised that, in order the better to study his future wife, Dorante will appear under the disguise of his own valet, Harlequin. The curious coincidence is that the same thought which has occurred to Dorante has also occurred to Sylvia, and that Sylvia wants to study Dorante just as Dorante wishes to study Sylvia. To further this double disguise, Sylvia clothes herself as her own maid, Lizette, and before doing so informs her father, Orgon, of her plans. Orgon consents. In a very short time Dorante, disguised as a valet, falls in love with Sylvia,

disguised as a maid. Dorante, the false Harlequin, proposes to Sylvia, the false Lizette. The false Lizette, believing Dorante to be a real valet, repels his advances, but in due time they both discover their respective ranks, marry, and become a most happy pair. We will choose in the comedy the scene in which Sylvia apprises her father of her projected disguise, and now quote Marivaux himself.

The stage represents Orgon's *own* house in the country. We see assembled at once the whole household—Orgon, the master of the house; Sylvia, his daughter; and Lizette, the maid.

ORGON *speaks first; he holds a letter in his hand and addresses SYLVIA, his daughter.* Eh! bon jour, ma fille. La nouvelle que je viens t'annoncer te fera-t-elle plaisir? Ton prétendu arrive aujourd'hui; son père me l'apprend par cette lettre. Tu ne me réponds rien; tu parais triste. Lizette de son côté baisse les yeux. Parles donc, Sylvia; de quoi s'agit-il?

LIZETTE, *the Maid (to Orgon).* Monsieur! un visage qui fait trembler, un autre qui fait mourir de froid! une âme gelée qui se tient à l'écart, et puis le portrait d'une femme qui a le visage abattu! un teint plombé, les yeux bouffis! Voilà, monsieur, ce que madame Sylvia et moi nous considérons avec recueillement.

ORGON *(addressing both women).* Que veut dire ce galimatias? Une âme! Un portrait! Explique-toi; je n'y comprends rien.

SYLVIA *(to her father).* C'est que, mon père, j'entretenais Lizette du malheur d'une femme maltraitée par son mari; je lui citais Tersandre, que je trouvai l'autre jour fort abattue . . . parce que son mari venait de la quereller et . . . je faisais sur tout ceci mes réflexions.

LIZETTE *(to Orgon).* Oui, monsieur; nous parlions d'une physionomie qui va et qui vient: nous disions . . . qu'un mari porte un masque avec le monde et une grimace avec sa femme.

ORGON *(to Sylvia).* De tout cela, ma fille, je comprends que le mariage t'alarme, d'autant plus que tu ne connais pas Dorante, ton futur.

LIZETTE. D'abord il est beau et c'est presque tant pis.

ORGON *(to Lizette).* Ah ça, Lizette, rêves-tu avec ton tant pis?

LIZETTE. Moi, monsieur? Je dis ce qu'on m'apprend: c'est la doctrine de madame Sylvia; j'étudie sous elle.

ORGON *(to Sylvia).* Allons, il est bien question de tout cela. Je te défends toute complaisance à mon égard, Sylvia. Si Dorante te plaît quand tu l'auras étudié, c'est fort bien; s'il te déplaît, il repart, et tout est arrangé.

LIZETTE *(laughing and mimicking).* Un duo de tendresse en décidera, comme à l'opéra! 'Vous me voulez?' 'Je vous veux. Vite, un notaire!' Ou bien: 'Me voulez-vous?' 'Non.' 'Ni moi non plus. Vite, un cheval!'

SYLVIA *(to Orgon).* Si je l'osais, mon père, je voudrais bien vous proposer une idée, vous demander une grâce qui me tranquilliserait tout à fait. La chose est très-faisable, mais je crains, mon père, d'abuser de votre bonté.

ORGON *(to Sylvia).* Vas! Abuses, mon enfant! Dans ce monde il faut être trop bon pour être assez bon.

LIZETTE. Ah, je vous reconnais bien là, monsieur. Il n'y a que le meilleur des hommes qui puisse parler ainsi.

SYLVIA. Voici mon plan, mon père. Dorante arrive aujourd'hui. Je voudrais le voir, l'étudier sans qu'il me connût. Lizette a de l'esprit elle pourrait quelque temps prendre ma place et je prendrais la sienne. Je serais pour Dorante Lizette, et Lizette serait pour Dorante Sylvia.

ORGON *(to Sylvia).* Soit, Sylvia. Je te permets de te déguiser en Lizette. Mais toi, Lizette, es-tu sûre de faire une bonne Sylvia jusqu'au bout?

LIZETTE. Soyez sans crainte, monsieur; fiez-vous à moi.

Cutting the scene short here, we will state that the home picture which Marivaux has traced in this first act of his comedy is as exact a one of any interior of the time as Nattier himself could have sketched with his brush.

'Vous m'aimez?' 'Je vous aime. Vite, un notaire!' reminds one of a beauty of the period's famous speech about her own marriage. Mentioning her suitor, the lady had said, 'He never saw me; I don't know him; but matters are à merveille, et tout le monde est content!'

It is worth remarking that as Molière's *Chrysale* in the *Femmes Savantes* evidently pictures rather a disciple of Boileau than of Corneille, and reproduces to perfection a bourgeois father of the *Nicole* period, just as fittingly does Marivaux's Orgon represent a father of the eighteenth century. Marivaux's Orgon is full of 'sensibility'—a word and feeling as utterly unknown to Molière's *personages* as it was to Molière's *time*.

In the seventeenth century, fathers were chiefs, and no Agnès would have ventured to consult Gérontes or Chrysales on disguises of any sort; this attitude of *confidant* among parents was only to come in at the time when parents were to be fashioned by those wonderfully wise children *Emile* and *Sophie*; and though they were not yet born in the year 1730, these extraordinary infants of Rousseau's mind, the atmosphere of which they were to be the results had already penetrated all brains. Marivaux's Orgon is, therefore, the first outline sketch of the *père sensible*, which is to arise later under the new school. As to Marivaux's Lizette, she differs quite as much from Molière's Martine as Orgon differs from Molière's Chrysale. And whereas *Martine* is a blunt unpolished person, who answers Bélise in the *Femmes Savantes*, 'Tout ce que vous prêchez est, je crois, bel et bon; mais je ne saurais moi parler votre jargon,' Marivaux's Lizette begins the era of those *Abigails* who are, to a certain degree, educated: who are their mistresses' confidantes, and can play their mistresses' parts, if called upon; so that Sylvia, speaking of her maid, can say, 'Lizette a de l'esprit, monsieur; elle pourra sans peine prendre ma place.'

Molière's Martines are the last remnants of a time when dutifulness and attachment on the part of the Martines would give grandeur to the meanest offices. Lizette '*n'a que de l'élégance*;' Martine in spite of her roughness '*a de la race*,' it has been truly said. Martine's pedigree, indeed, could be traced back to those mediæval times when servants would dine at the lower end of the master's table, and be more like humble friends than menials; and thus, whilst Molière's Martines end the old race, Marivaux's Lizettes begin a new one, a race which Beaumarchais will follow with his *Suzannes*:

The *Théâtre Italien* had now taken the place of the 'Hôtel de Bourgogne,' and when, on the 23rd of January, 1730, the comedy

Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard was first given, it was enacted by an Italian company belonging to Prince Farnese's household and directed by Signor. Riccoboni. Madame Riccoboni, who after being a mediocre actress became a celebrated romance writer, was gifted with extraordinary facility for imitating different styles of writing. While Marivaux was publishing his *Marianne* Madame Riccoboni sent the publisher an imitation sequel of the work, which would certainly have appeared had the lady not in time apprised Marivaux of her hoax.

Our author's Sylvia, the *ingénue* in *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*, was first played by the famous artiste Sylvia Balletti, and for forty consecutive years none but Madame Balletti played Marivaux's *ingénues*. Mademoiselle de Brye had done almost as much for Molière, as she acted *Agnès* up to the age of sixty-two.

Madame Balletti's husband was of a very jealous disposition, and made it a rule that no author should ever teach his wife the special intonations in any parts. However one day, rehearsing *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*, Balletti's wife had exclaimed, 'If I cannot have the author's indications I am lost!'

Some days later a gentleman appeared. Addressing him, Madame Balletti said, 'The piece is charming, but the author himself ought to have read it to us.' Hearing which, the gentleman takes up the manuscript and reads it through. 'Vous êtes le diable ou Marivaux lui-même!' breaks forth Madame Balletti, as the reading comes to a close. This rehearsal was the beginning of a worship for Signora Balletti on Marivaux's side, which only ended with his life. The lovely Mademoiselle Aÿssé alludes to this anecdote in her correspondence in the following terms: 'Poor Madame Balletti has in Mademoiselle Fiamina a mortal enemy. Fiamina has informed Balletti, the husband, of his wife's tender feelings towards her adorer. The result is that poor Madame Balletti has been outrageously thrashed (*battue à outrance*).' Before leaving Madame Balletti definitively, we should quote Sainte-Beuve's retrospective appreciation of her talent. The great critic coupled Sylvia Balletti with Mademoiselle Mars in his *Causeries du Lundi* on the subject of Marivaux's interpreters, and said that both Madame Balletti and Mademoiselle Mars had excelled '*dans l'art du naturel*.' 'Tout en elle était nature, et l'art qui la perfectionnait était toujours caché,' also writes of Sylvia Balletti, then past fifty, a contemporary critic quoted by Campardon.

Two pictures remaining of Sylvia Balletti, of which engravings belonging to Mr. Vitus's collection have been communicated to us, are painted in oil by Vanloo, another in pastel by La Tour. These pictures give the impression more of charm than of regular beauty, the parting between the eyes being too wide in Madame Balletti's face for perfection of feature.

We shall now descend the intellectual scale, seeing that the Descartes and the Arnauds of Molière's period had given place to men of a less lofty moral stamp, though not perhaps of lesser intellects—men such as Fontenelle and D'Alembert. Let us here remark that the underlying depth of *thought* coupled in his work with the lightness and frivolity in the *form* makes of Marivaux's drama a true reproduction of Marivaux's time, of a time only willing to listen to deep truths when spoken by frivolous mouths, so that Colombine would philosophise over her mistress's feelings just a few years before *Figaro* would undertake to philosophise over the 'question sociale.'

'Je veux que ma maîtresse fasse connaissance avec l'amour qu'elle a,' says Colombine in *La Surprise de l'Amour*; 'je veux que ma maîtresse fasse connaissance avec l'amour qu'elle a : son amour n'en ira que mieux !' A deep sentence indeed, in which Colombine, a mere *suivante*, firstly informs us that *she* is cognisant of troubles which have yet received no name from the one who feels them. 'Il faut que j'informe ma maîtresse de l'amour qu'elle a.' Secondly a sentence in which Colombine adds to her knowledge of the human heart the curative science of a deep psychologist. 'Il faut que j'informe ma maîtresse de l'amour qu'elle a : son amour n'en ira que mieux.'

This way of giving utterance to the deeper thoughts by the medium of secondary personages is one ever dear to thinkers. Is it not, in *Cymbeline*, a mere gaoler who says, answering Posthumus, who declares he knows the meaning of death, 'Has your death eyes in's head? I have not seen him pictured so. You do not know, sir, which way you shall go.' Whatever be the thinker's name, a sentence of deep meaning is always the author's jewel, only to be grasped by reflection and study on the part of the reader. True loftiness of thought had passed out of France with the advent of the Regency, and Marivaux's time can indeed be called a strange one when three such different personalities as Montesquieu, Mademoiselle Aÿssé, and Rousseau embody in themselves three different aspects of the period. As Marivaux first came in contact with this Paris society of the eighteenth century we will follow him, and under his guidance we shall enter Madame de Tencin's *salon*. In this, then, the most literary of Paris *salons* we shall find assembled the whole efflorescence of French culture.

'As I entered this house for the first time,' says Marivaux in his *Memoirs*, 'I was introduced to Fontenelle. He was so deaf that I had to shout my very *bonjour*. Each guest,' continues Marivaux, 'seems in this house as if playing a part, and as if fired with the desire to place in a *bon mot* of his own. Montesquieu in a corner sits tranquilly expectant, and all the wisdom of the *Esprit des Lois* does not disguise his evident wish for becoming active in the conversation. Helvetius rests his chin on his hand, determinedly observant. But I can very well see that the first occasion will bring forth all that he is now garnering up. In the midst of this talking, laughing, and gesticulating crowd sits a little old lady—

plump, of much simplicity, and exceedingly like a cook. She is the mistress of the house—the Marquise de Tencin. Though,' adds Marivaux, 'they are all droll enough to look at, I must admit that the atmosphere of all these men is so very mentally brilliant that it would rather seem as if wit were seeking them out than that they were seeking wit.'

Closing this quotation from Marivaux's *Memoirs*, we may add that the game of cup and ball was the rage at that time; and it may be worth noting the fact that it would be played not only during the conversation in drawing-rooms, but also upon the stage, as the following passage from Sablier, a great critic of the century, will prove: 'I have seen Mademoiselle Desmares,' writes he about 1780, 'play cup and ball on the stage in the middle of the play, and the public in these cases will show as much interest in her game as in her acting.'

The brightest star among this society has yet remained unnoticed. Marie de Vichy-Chamrond, Marquise du Deffand, was the central planet around which gravitated all elegancies and all notorieties of the period. A slight familiarity with Madame du Deffand's ways of thought might suffice to show that she was not far from Marivaux's mind when he wrote his comedy of *Les Sincères*. The *raisonneuse* in this piece seems almost directly to reflect some aspects of the Marquise's *esprit*.

Next to Madame du Deffand's own characteristic sentence by which she was wont to depict herself, 'Je n'ai ni passion, ni tendresse,'—next to this characteristic sentence of Walpole's friend, we will quote the very words Marivaux places in the mouth of his own personage in the comedy *Les Sincères*. The analogy between Madame du Deffand, whom Marivaux would meet constantly, and the marquise of Marivaux's creation in the comedy *Les Sincères* will by this parallel be made the more evident. 'J'ai vu le mot passion,' says Marivaux's personage to her adorer in the comedy, 'j'ai vu le mot passion dans le *Grand Cyrus*. Mais, mon cher ami, je ne peux pas croire à votre amour, parce que vous exagérez trop. Un homme sérieux qui aime une femme raisonnable ne dit pas "Je soupire," il dit "Je vous aime," ou bien il dit "Tâchez de m'aimer." Voilà qui est juste; le reste est pure exagération.' These words of Marivaux's personage are so very like Madame du Deffand's own—'Je n'ai ni passion, ni tendresse'—that they always seem a mere amplification of the original sentence.

But Madame du Deffand's satire was not always limited to her own self. In the Marquise's well-known quarrel with Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, D'Alembert, who was the object of the Marquise's worship, sided with Mademoiselle de Lespinasse; wherefore, hearing of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse's death, the Marquise exclaimed, 'Her death could only have given me pleasure if it had happened before D'Alembert's!' In regard to the Président Hénault, her chief adorer, Madame du Deffand had also made no less bitter a remark. 'I will certainly not

break with the President,' had she said, 'for the sake of devotion. Ça n'en vaut pas la peine.'

As Madame du Deffand was reduced in means, she had come to live at the Convent of St. Joseph, in the Rue Saint-Dominique. Her suppers were famous; the well-known saying 'that supper was one of the four objects of man's life, and that none knew what the three others might be,' had been made at her table; and these suppers are mentioned in Walpole's letters. 'Gambling and *gourmandise* are here the chief occupations,' writes Walpole about 1770. 'Madame du Deffand's suppers are of the best; except her, Gray and I see few people, for there is here but small hospitality offered to strangers.'¹

Madame du Deffand was a sincere friend of Mademoiselle Aÿssé, who for the first time had met her well-known adorer, the Chevalier d'Aydie, at the Marquise's house. And if a parallel is perceptible between Marivaux's marquise in the comedy *Les Sincères* and Madame du Deffand, another parallel will no less evidently strike the reader between Mademoiselle Aÿssé and Marivaux's Sylvia in the *Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard*. Mademoiselle Aÿssé, as is well known, had always rejected the offer of the Chevalier d'Aydie's hand, for motives connected with her earlier life; and Marivaux's Sylvia in *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard* rebukes Dorante's offer in words which would most fittingly suit the Chevalier d'Aydie's lady love. In the comedy of Marivaux Dorante is pressing Sylvia to become his wife, and Sylvia, still under the disguise of Lizette, answers, 'Un cœur qui m'a choisie dans la condition modeste où je suis est assurément bien digne qu'on l'accepte, et je le paierais volontiers du mien si je ne craignais pas de le jeter dans un engagement qui ferait du tort à celui qui m'a choisie.' These last words of Marivaux's personage adapt themselves exactly to Mademoiselle Aÿssé, as she only had rejected D'Aydie's name for fear her own past should project a shadow over her husband's.

To pursue our method of opposing the living members of the society of his time to the author's dramatic creation, we constantly meet in Marivaux's comedies the copies of the living figures of the period. Not only was Madame du Deffand *belle à ravir*, as a letter of Mademoiselle Aÿssé, dated 1728, tells us, but the following portrait of the Marquise du Châtelet, Voltaire's friend, traced by Madame du Deffand's satirical pen, will display better than we could the great gift of writing which belonged to the Marquise. 'Imagine,' writes in 1747 Madame du Deffand of Madame du Châtelet, 'a big woman, without any hips, narrow-chested, with skinny arms and fat feet; in a lean face a sharp-pointed nose, small green eyes, flattened lips closing over a very few teeth, and those decayed. Such is the appearance of the Belle

¹ These quotations of Walpole's letters are taken from the French book on Madame du Deffand written by the Marquis de Saint-Aulaire, therefore translated from the French text, not copied from the original.

Emilie!' and Madame du Deffand here ends with an untranslatable phrase which we will give in French. 'Dans son désir de se distinguer, la Marquise du Châtelet paraît avoir oublié qu'avant tout pour être célèbre il faut être célébrée.'

At the eve of the Revolution, the 27th of October, 1785, expired the illustrious Madame du Deffand, on whose striking individuality we have only expatiated so lengthily because she evidently was at the root of all Marivaux's types of *raisonneuses*. Madame du Deffand's last letter to Napoleon is strongly indicative of her stoicism. 'My heart being as it were smothered,' writes the Marquise, 'I take this to mean death. I have not even strength to be alarmed, and, as I feel sure I shall never see you again, I regret nothing.' At the very moment of her death her secretary, Wiard, was weeping bitterly. 'So you really cared for me!' was Madame du Deffand's last word before dying. She had remained ironical to the very last hour of her life.

'I should have come away without understanding what the French mean by that kind of *esprit*,' has remarked MacDonald, an English traveller of the period, 'had I not passed through the Convent of St. Joseph and through Ferney. Madame du Deffand was not rhetorically-minded like Julie d'Angennes. She cared for wit more than for learning, as proves her speech on La Harpe, the ponderous author of *Le Cours de Littérature*. 'En voilà un,' had Madame du Deffand said, 'en voilà un qui se donne du mal pour avoir de l'esprit et qui ne sera jamais qu'un gueux!'

By this long digression upon Madame de Tencin's *salon* and Madame du Deffand our purpose has been, let us repeat it, to connect Marivaux with the society of his time, showing how the personages of his creation were mostly inspired by the living people he would daily meet in society. How Marivaux's *Ergastes* were likely to have been inspired by such men as Grimm, the Alceste of Madame de Tencin's *salon*! How such women as Madame du Deffand would be the fitting models of Marivaux's philosophical marquises!

With the advent of the eighteenth century philosophy had left the holy retirement in which such men as Descartes and Pascal would keep it. Fontenelle and D'Alembert had brought metaphysics into close contact with the powdered ladies painted by Vanloo and La Tour. It should here be noted that one of the most characteristic traits in Marivaux's pieces is precisely the prominence given by him to the women's parts. In Molière's drama Philintes and Acastes speak as in a time where courtiers still give the tone; with Marivaux begins to appear the rising of the feminine element. 'Ce ne sont plus des *raisonneurs*, mais des *raisonneuses*!' Mademoiselle de Scudéry's Saturday had been somewhat of a ceremony, where illustrious men would condescend to patronise and encourage their inferiors of the

other sex; but Madame de Pompadour had come, and she had governed the country as well as reigned over the King, whereas at Mademoiselle de Scudéry's Saturdays women had limited their literary activity to *bouts rimés* and rhymed portraits. The philosophically minded women of the Lespinasse period would not only *question* but *discuss* with such men as D'Alembert and Helvetius! The *précieuses* had begun; the *femmes philosophes* followed: they opened the way for the *femmes sentimentales* of the Genlis epoch.

After a short glance given in the beginning of our study to Marivaux's works we rapidly considered our author's surroundings; closing our study, we shall now shortly draw the outline of the man himself.

Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux was born in the year 1688 at Paris, in the Paroisse Saint-Gervais. He was no great reader of books, and might, like Swift in 1685, have said 'a man *can think* without being able to chop logic according to scholastic rules.' As Marivaux's father was a rich financier, the son did not at first turn his literary gifts to any advantage. One of the first events in young Marivaux's life caused the particular stamp which he imprinted upon some of his works; the event alluded to in our author's life is this:—Near Marivaux's country house lived a young girl of great beauty, who inspired Marivaux with a passionate attachment. Her candour and simplicity chiefly captivated him. He decided to press his suit. One day riding home from his daily visit, he suddenly turned back, and on reaching the house was confronted by the following spectacle: The candid, simple-hearted *ingénue*, whose *naïveté* had so bewitched him, was studying before a glass the attitudes of innocence to be enacted on the morrow, and rehearsing the chief effects of her self-imposed *rôle*. Marivaux was close upon her before she perceived his approach, and he bade her farewell in the following terms: 'I have just seen the workings of the stage machinery; though the piece will for ever amuse me it can never touch me more.' In this intimate occurrence of Marivaux's private life is contained the secret of these constant disguises which form so important a basis of Marivaux's theatre. We learn by this incident to understand his ever-recurring idea of probing female sincerity and discovering the real woman behind the appearance. This passage of Marivaux's life might perhaps justify Lady Mary Wortley Montague's clever saying that 'if anything could console her for being a woman, it was that her sex would ever prevent her marrying one of them.'

Though Marivaux's works are numerous he says of himself that his temperament was that of a dreamer, not of a hard worker. His tendency towards quiet, dreamy speculation was only equalled in him by his passion for what is now called *le document humain*. A trifling instance will find here its place as an illustration of this statement. Marivaux was one day getting into his carriage, when

a fine, healthy, bright-looking youth accosted him and begged alms. 'Are you not ashamed?' began Marivaux. 'With health like yours how *dare* you beg?' The young man began to cry bitterly. 'Sir,' whined he, 'if you only knew! if you did *but* know! I *am* so *lazy*!' At this Marivaux took gold from his purse, exclaiming, 'Ma foi! such a piece of human truth does deserve recompense!'

Marivaux was shortly after this event ruined by the meddling influence of his friends, who had pressed him to place money in the speculations of the Rue Moncampoir, and with *Law's* bankruptcy Marivaux, like so many others, found nothing but ruin and deceit. 'If my previous friends had only left me to my own natural indifference I should still be a rich man! However I dare say they meant it well,' would Marivaux constantly say.

Our author had married for love a girl of good birth, who died two years after their marriage, leaving him a daughter. This daughter became a nun at the Abbaye du Trésor, where the abbess was no other than Septimanie de Richelieu, later Countess of Egmont, and daughter of the celebrated Maréchal de Richelieu.

As we are now coming to Marivaux's death his admirable friend Mademoiselle de Saint-Jean should be mentioned. She it was who looked after his household and tended him in every way; she it was who contributed to Marivaux's home expenses year after year, letting him believe the money spent was his.

The 12th of February, 1763, Marivaux expired, just eighty years after Molière. The secret cause of Marivaux's death was a chronic disease, aggravated and precipitated by a sorrow to which Voisenon's private diary only much later gives a clue. Since he had been ruined Marivaux received a yearly pension of three thousand francs, which Marivaux firmly believed wholly came from the King's own *cassette*. In reality the half of this sum was furnished by Madame de Pompadour. Voisenon knew how matters really stood, and inadvertently revealed the truth to Marivaux, not thinking of the terrible effect this revelation might produce upon a delicate conscience such as Marivaux's. This discovery it was which aggravated Marivaux's disease, by the deep sorrow he was made to feel, and it brought on his death.

The piquant anecdotes of this epoch that might be here related are numerous, but D'Argenson's *Memoirs*, Diderot, and Grimm's *Correspondence*, and more recently Madame d'Épinay's *Memoirs*, have made all these anecdotes familiar to English minds. From the Prince de Ligne down to Sophie Arnould there would be matter for studies endless, as wit at that time flashed from brain to brain, from country to country, so that the distance from Berlin to Ferney would be shortened by the quick admiration of Friedrich for Voltaire.

But it is time that we should stop. We will, therefore, conclude by saying that, though not a genius of the highest order, Marivaux

is so personal in his inspiration and in his style that, to characterise himself and his work, his own name has been thought the only true specification applicable to his own genus, *marivaudage*. Though Marivaux's field of study is narrow, it is deep and exquisitely perfect in itself. In ending our study we shall therefore apply to Marivaux the very words which Musset would apply to himself. Shall we say, 'Son verre était petit, il est vrai, mais il a bu dans son verre'?

J. BLAZE DE BURY.

GORDON AT GRAVESEND:

A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE.

DOUBTLESS there will be more, as there have already been many accounts given to the world of the life and doings of that brave and gallant soldier—that true and Christian gentleman—whose name, during the last twelve months or more, has been upon the lips of all mankind—whose deeds have been shouted aloud, or whispered low, according as the scales of his fate were buoyant with victory or heavy with failure.

One of the ablest of these accounts is prefaced by a regret that its author never had the good fortune to know him who was called ‘Chinese Gordon.’ I am neither author nor journalist, but I had the advantage of working under General Gordon for nearly two years at a time when he was perhaps less conspicuous to the world but better known as a man than at any other period of his eventful life; and, therefore, I hope to be able to give a fair account of the man himself as he appeared apart from the glare of fame through which he was commonly viewed.

And a very real and human man he was—as great, as good, and as true as any have described him; not a colourless saint without a flaw or fault to retrieve his goodness from monotony—as some would apparently have us conceive him—but a man whose genius was too brilliant and whose parts were too strong to be without corresponding weaknesses and prejudices almost as marked as his talents. If I describe his peculiarities as well as his goodness it will not be to detract from his reputation but rather to enhance it, for who could have loved Gordon as we did if he had been nothing more than a model of all the virtues?

When I first stood face to face with the St. Paul of the nineteenth century—for surely no other man of modern times has united in his person so many points of resemblance to the great Apostle, in career as well as in character—I was a long slip of a lad rejoicing in the post of assistant to the manager for the contractors who were constructing the fortifications at and near Gravesend. I was standing, with my chief, Mr. Woodhouse, on the terre-plein of the New Tavern

Fort, then nearly completed, when the Colonel came across the little parade ground from his office and joined us.

'This is my new assistant, Colonel Gordon,' said my chief by way of introduction. My hand was grasped heartily, a quick nervous voice bade me a kindly 'Good morning,' and the next moment I was looking into 'Chinese Gordon's' eyes. What eyes they were! Keen and clear, filled with the beauty of holiness; bright, with an unnatural brightness; their expression one of settled feverishness, their colour blue grey, as is the sky on a bitter March morning. I know not what effect those eyes had on all whom he came in contact with, though from the unfailing and willing obedience with which his orders were carried out I fancy that to some extent he unconsciously mesmerised nine out of ten to do his will, but I know that upon me their effect was to raise a wild longing, a desperate desire to do something, anything, at his bidding. It was not an unpleasant or uncanny sensation; it was not that any evil thought or suspicion lurked within the windows of his brave and pure soul, his power was the power of resolute goodness, and it was strong, so strong that I am sure had he told me to stand on my head, or to perform some impossible feat, I should certainly have tried my utmost to accomplish it without giving a moment for reflection as to whether the order was reasonable or not.

I saw much and heard more of Gordon during the time I was on the Tilbury, Gravesend, and Cliffe Forts. I can fully confirm the account Mr. Hake gives of his life at that time, except that I never saw any of the inscriptions 'God bless the Kernel,' which he says were to be found chalked on the walls and fences in the neighbourhood, nor have I been able to find anyone who ever did see them.

It was Gordon's custom to begin his working day at eight o'clock in the morning, and to end it at two in the afternoon. Before and after those hours he was practically as inaccessible as if he had been on the other side of the globe. Some few there were who had tried the experiment of interviewing him in his official capacity during the forbidden hours, but I never heard of their attempts being successful; indeed, the Colonel's manner at such times was (to put it mildly) distinctly discouraging, and usually made the offenders determine never to violate his rules again. For, in spite of the beautiful goodness of his heart and the great breadth of his charity, Gordon was far from possessing a placid temperament, or from being patient over small things. Indeed, his very energy and his single-mindedness tended to make him impatient and irritable whenever any person or thing interfered with his instructions or desires.

On one occasion the clerk of the works at Tilbury Forts was helping his brother sergeant at New Tavern Fort to set the firing lines for an embrasure. Some of the workmen were thrown idle until the pegs were driven to guide them in their work. A difficulty arose

which could only be settled by the Colonel; it was but seven o'clock; they could see that his bedroom window was open wide, so concluded that he had risen, and my chief suggested that to avoid delay they should appeal to the Colonel at once.

'I won't risk it,' said one sergeant.

'I wouldn't go for any money,' said the other.

What was to be done? At last both urged my chief to go, he being considered, and with good cause, to stand as high as anyone in the Colonel's good graces. As the matter was pressing he went. The Colonel himself opened the door in response to his summons, and on seeing who it was half closed it again.

'What do you want?' he said shortly, and with an expression on his face which boded no good to the mission on which he was thus disturbed.

Mr. Woodhouse is an even-tempered, imperturbable man, not easily upset, so in spite of his chilling reception he explained very blandly, 'We cannot get the firing lines to No. 1 gun set properly without some instructions from you, Colonel, and——'

'By-and-by,' broke in the Colonel, testily, and closed the door in his face.

My chief retired, naturally somewhat nettled at this behaviour, but at eight o'clock the Colonel sallied forth, with a face as bright and a manner as cheerful and complacent as if he had never heard of the difficulty before, and at once settled the question offhand. And yet the sight of the men standing idly waiting for him must have touched his soft heart with a pang of regret that he had not come out when asked, for he took occasion to say, ere he walked away, that he was so sorry the men had been kept waiting; he did not know they were unable to get on with anything else until that particular job was done.

'Ah! you wouldn't give me time to tell you that, Colonel,' my chief replied with a laugh; but all the same he vowed within himself that the Colonel should see many and many a sun rise and set before he found *him* at his door earlier than eight in the morning again.

When Gordon *was* at work there was never any mistake about it, and woe to the man who then kept him waiting for anything a moment longer than was absolutely necessary. 'Another five minutes gone! We shall never have them again!' he would rap out at such times, and a whole world of meaning lay in the words when he was the speaker; infinitely more telling they were than the more vigorous English in which most men give vent to growing impatience.

In the early days of his command at Gravesend his soul was sorely tried by the time spent in rowing from one fort to another, and before long he discarded the pair-oared boat which his predecessor had used in favour of a four-oared gig, which soon came to be known as the fastest pulled boat in those waters. When I was at the forts

he had his crew in a high state of discipline, and it was a most suggestive sight to see these men, who had perhaps been waiting for hours on the chance of being wanted, smarten themselves up when he came through the Ordnance Yard and gave the word for the boat—to see them scurry along down the jetty and into the boat, and almost before he was fairly seated have her cast off and their oars dipped. I believe they adored him in their hearts, but he certainly did take it out of their bodies. They fairly groaned within themselves when he chanced to take a down-stream journey with a tide running strongly up, for it meant a constant fire of impatient appeals—‘A little faster, boys, a little faster!’—which they could not disregard until their goal was reached. I have seen them tumble out at Cliffe after a four-mile pull against tide about as limp as four strong men could well be without dropping.

There was indeed nothing more remarkable about Gordon than his almost morbid appreciation of the value of time; he would not, of his own accord, waste a single moment; his own words, ‘Inaction is terrible to me,’ were in fact literally true.

For a man of his small stature his activity was marvellous—he seemed able to walk everyone else off their legs, over rough ground or smooth. It was a most comical sight, for anyone with a sense of humour, to see him land at a fort and run up the glacis and round the works, followed by one or more of his own staff, my chief (a massive, slow-moving man), and two or three foremen, all ‘comfortable’ in bulk. Whenever he paused, his followers would straggle up one by one in various stages of breathlessness; and invariably did he require to address his first remark to one of those who were furthest behind. At Cliffe I, being young and slim, was able to keep close to him, and I took care always to use the advantages Nature had given me when he visited that fort.

To all of us, his subordinates, he was always scrupulously polite; but although there was no undue self-assertion or *hauteur* in his manner, it was never possible to forget, when he was on duty, that he was the Colonel-Commandant. He was extremely reticent and sparing of remarks when on the works, and always confined himself strictly to the business in hand.

In Gordon strength and weakness were most fantastically mingled. There was of course no trace of timidity in his composition, or he could never have occupied his unique position in the world. But he was of a highly nervous temperament, which made him extremely sensitive in some respects, especially as to the feelings of others who might be affected by his doings. He had a most powerful will, and as high a sense of duty as was possible for a man to have; and when he believed any course to be right, and that it was his duty to follow it, he was absolutely indifferent to all dissuading or moderating influences. He did not combat opposing counsels at any time, but

simply ignored them ; when *his* mind was made up on a matter, it never seemed to occur to him that there could be any more to say about it !

This superb confidence in himself, without the least arrogance or conscious egotism, went far towards making Gordon the distinguished figure he was to everyone with whom he had to do. No doubt his ability and industry can be equalled by many now serving their Queen and country, but it is given to few to have such natural powers combined with a like absence of self-pride. Indeed, with him the desire to efface himself amounted almost to a disease. Nothing irritated him more than to be effusively or even gratefully thanked for any kindness, though kindness he was ever ready to show where there was want or misery to relieve. All sorts and conditions of men became the objects for his labour and the recipients of his charity ; and of their deserts he was not critical.

There were those among his acquaintances who declared oftentimes that he was too indiscriminate, particularly those who themselves discriminated so much as to relieve themselves from any efforts to help their fellow-creatures in trouble, but Gordon was never swayed by these ; any visible want or misery was sufficient to arouse his sympathy and ensure his help.

As was but natural, he was often imposed upon. Boys there were whom he had rescued from the gutter, whom he had fed, clothed, and housed, whom he had kept for months in his own house until he could find such berths for them as would secure them decent livings ; and some of these, having no grit in them, no mind to labour for themselves, came back again and again, trusting to the Colonel's bounty and goodness. It needed many such failures to convince him that these defaulters were in truth incorrigible.

In one instance Gordon took a boy into his house, fed, clothed, and taught him, and at last placed him satisfactorily on board ship. But this youth, having no mind for work, bolted at the first chance, loafed about for a while, and then, finding he was getting thinly stocked both within and without, came in rags and tatters to the Colonel, and appealed to him for one more chance. The result was another trial, followed by another situation with another complete outfit. But it was all to no purpose. Three times this little impostor was taken in, fed back to strength, clothed afresh, and well placed by the Colonel, and as often did he return to the streets to sink again into wretchedness and rags. The last time he came back was at night. The Colonel was not then at home, but when he returned he found his twice-tried *protégé* on the door-step, half dead with hunger and cold—though it was not winter time—a mass of rags, and in a disgusting state of filthiness. To take him in with three other boys, then living in the house, was out of the question ; and to leave him outside was, for the Colonel, no less impossible

He solved the difficulty by leading him across the yard to the stable (which, as he did not keep a horse himself, the Colonel allowed my chief to use). There was a second stall therein which was used as a storage place for the clean straw: there were several bundles in it that night, and on them the Colonel bade the boy rest till morning, and went out, leaving the candle, which had been blown out by a puff of wind, on the manger.

In the morning, when the groom came, he noticed the candle with some surprise, and in going for it walked over the boy.

‘Hello!’ said he, ‘what are you a-doing here?’

‘Oh!’ replied the boy, ‘the Colonel brought me here, and told me he would come for me at six o’clock.’

John grinned and made answer: ‘Oh, very well, bide where you are.’

Just after six the Colonel made his appearance, carrying a lump of soap, a towel of goodly proportions, a brush, and a sponge. He called the little vagabond out into the yard, and having poured a pail of hot water into the half barrel which did duty as the drinking trough, he then and there stripped his young friend, and gave him a thorough cleansing from head to foot, and afterwards dressed him in entirely new clothes—his own being only fit for the flames.

Gordon used to buy boys’ boots by the gross, and coarse raiment by the dozen, to clothe his *protégés*. In his time he must have clothed some hundreds of boys; and although his kindness was often thrown away, there were many cases—some within my own knowledge—in which the help he gave proved to be the beginning of self-respect and success.

Gordon literally went out into the highways and byways to bring in his guests. As he was walking one day along the high road, just beyond the village of Chalk, he came upon a ragged, wretched-looking boy sitting in the hedge-row, gently crying to himself for hunger. The Colonel could not pass *him*, of course; so he entered into conversation with him, and after a while drew from him all his story. He was a Norfolk boy, and had run away, some three years before, from his home near Cromer; since then he had lived by his wits, which had not done any great things for him, and he had now got to his worst estate, being homeless, starving, and destitute. The Colonel couldn’t take him home, as he was on his way to a cottage further on, so he gave him his Testament in which was written his name and address, and told him to go thereto and await his return. Subsequently he found employment for him on the adjacent fort, and kept him some six weeks in his house while he made inquiries about him. As the result of these confirmed the lad’s account of himself, the Colonel thought it but right that he should return to his home; so, having made arrangements for him to be met, he one day sent him off, carriage paid, booked to Norwich. He probably

reached his destination safely, for the mother never wrote to the contrary, neither did she or the boy ever think it necessary to send one word to the Colonel in acknowledgment of his kindness to the wanderer!

His house truly was, as Mr. Hake says, 'school and hospital and almshouse in turn.' Sometimes it was a sick lad he was nursing back to strength; at others a few boys for whom he was seeking places; while all the year round there were night classes—I believe on two evenings a week—which were attended by dozens of ragged youngsters.

Two afternoons a week he went to the Infirmary, where he read, talked, and prayed with all who were lying sick there. Of his great sympathy with the sick, and his exertions on their behalf, I always heard more grateful words spoken than of anything else he was in the habit of doing. He was especially fond of seeking out old and bedridden people living outside the town, and in the country districts, who had few to look after them. To these old people he was more genial and communicative than to anyone else, and would tell them long stories of his doings in Russia and in China, which it was simply impossible for any well-to-do person to extract from him.

A *propos* of his forgiving nature, here is an incident which illustrates it, and also his keen sense of humour. An old woman, a soldier's widow, who had frequently been helped by him, walked up from Chatham one morning seeking help once more. She was a bad old person, long since innocent of the habit of drawing a fine distinction between *meum* and *tuum*. After the Colonel had heard her pitiful tale he went into another room to find a half-sovereign for her. The old woman's eyes fell on a light overcoat of his which she thought would be useful to her, so she slipped it under her crinoline and got safely away with it. Walking down the hill, just after passing Dickens's house at Gad's Hill, she perceived a policeman coming towards her, bound for Gravesend. She promptly returned the overcoat to its first hiding place until he had passed. Unfortunately for her, just when the policeman had turned round to have a look at her, the overcoat dropped under her feet and nearly upset her. That caused the constable to follow her and inquire how she came by her strange possession. She admitted she had got it from Colonel Gordon, and the policeman thereupon made her retrace her steps, and took her back to the Colonel's house. The Colonel confessed that the coat was his. 'Of course you'll charge her, sir?' the constable remarked inquiringly, as no comment followed on his explanation. The kindly Colonel tapped his moustache with his handkerchief rolled up in his left hand—a habit he had whenever he was not quite prepared to speak, or was about to make a suggestion not strictly within his right—he looked at the constable, then at the hardened old woman cringing before him, and then, with a twinkle in his eye, he

said hurriedly to the old woman in a kind of stage whisper (which was also a trick of his), 'You *wanted* it, didn't you?' Of course she said yes! The policeman was confounded. 'Won't you charge her, sir?' 'Oh, take her away, take her away,' said the Colonel persuasively, 'and send her about her business.' And they had to go.

Here is another instance of Gordon's tendency to be lenient when it was possible to be so. One day when the magazine doors at Tilbury Fort were being fitted with their proper fastenings, several of the locks—they were valuable patent lever locks of gun metal—were carelessly left exposed on a bench in an open shed when the carpenters ceased work. During the night one of the soldiers, who had returned to quarters somewhat the worse for liquor, carried off five of them. Of course they were missed next morning, and suspicion having fallen upon the soldiers, a search was made and the offender discovered. The Colonel, who in some way or another always got to know everything there was to know, heard of the theft, and at once asked Mr. Woodhouse what he intended to do about it. When he was told that, as the carpenters had been to blame for leaving the locks about, and as they had not been disposed of by the thief, my chief proposed to take no action at all, the Colonel was apparently as much relieved as he would have been if he had been the pardoned culprit. 'Thank you, thank you,' he said; 'that's just what I should have done myself.'

All the world knows now how powerfully Gordon was swayed by his religious feelings. Nothing that has been written on that head, which I have seen, exceeds the truth. When one realised what he did day by day, and all with such absolute indifference to praise or blame, one could not fail to comprehend that Gordon did indeed live for his God and not for himself. All he did was done without a thought of man's approbation or regard; he spared himself no exertion that could add to the comfort of those who were sick or miserable; his purse was never well stocked, for his gifts were only limited by his means.

When he left Gravesend for Galatz in 1871, he made arrangements to have the old and disabled persons whom he had regularly relieved up till then, still provided with regular pensions at his expense in amounts varying from one to ten shillings per week, and I am told that even at the time of his death some of these were still living, and still benefiting from his purse. It was no wonder that he was frequently without money with which to meet unexpected calls; and it is true that on one occasion—when the Hospital Sunday Fund was started—not having any money by him at the time, he sent, as his contribution to the fund, a gold medal, worth 10*l.*, to be melted down.

With all his belief, Gordon was perfectly free from cant, and never sought to press religion indiscriminately upon the notice of

those with whom he came in contact, but confined himself in that way very much to those who were sick, and to boys and old people. He was, however, an assiduous tract-distributor in a quiet way. Any one who next trod the same path when the Colonel had walked from one fort to another, as he sometimes did, would generally find a sprinkling of tracts on the way, all so placed that they could not be mistaken for stray papers deposited by wind or chance. If there was a stile to get over, a tract would be on the top bar, kept in place by a heavy stone; if the footpath was narrow, another tract would be found in the middle of it, secured in the same way; others would be seen hung on any nails that might project from fence or wall, or wrapped round gate-handles or bars, all so ingeniously placed that no one could fail to see they had been put there purposely.

At one fort a powerful telescope was kept, through which the actions of those at the next fort—a mile and a half distant—could be watched; and I fear it was very frequently used, when the Colonel left on foot, to count up the tracts which he disposed of on the way.

When we heard of his appointment to a fresh post in Galatz, we were one and all distressed that we were not to complete the forts under his eyes, for we all felt proud of working under one so distinguished as he had even then made himself throughout the world, and we felt we were not likely to see again a man whose whole life was such a lesson in modesty, energy, capacity, and godliness. I think it was not until he was really gone that it was fully realised how great a man had passed from our midst. It was perhaps as well that this was so, for nothing would have been more distasteful to him than a great demonstration of his popularity and of the general regret felt at his departure.

The last time I saw him an incident occurred which well showed his kindly regard for the feelings of others. He was making a farewell visit to the forts in the company of the Inspector-General of Fortifications, his successor (Colonel Wrottesley), and several Engineer and Artillery officers, who came with him to make a general inspection of the works on the command being transferred.

At Cliffe Fort my chief went round with the distinguished party, and I followed him. On the visitors reaching the jetty after the inspection, on their way to the boat, I turned back, and, crossing the glacis, entered my little hut at the east corner of the fort. I had scarcely closed the door when it was violently thrown open again, and in rushed Colonel Gordon! He hastily wrung my hand, and exclaimed, 'Good-bye, Stannard; God bless and keep you always!' Before I could utter a word in return he had darted out again, and was making his way at a sharp double across the glacis toward the steam launch, on which all the others had by that time taken their places.

That was my last sight of him who was born in the cradle of modern warfare and, half a century later, after such a life as no man has lived since the days of the mighty Apostle to whom I have likened him, fell by the dagger of a Mahomedan fanatic in the betrayed city of the burning desert ! More than ever do I now value his last message to me, written from Galatz—'Tell Stannard to thank God he was born an Englishman ;' more than ever do I see the force and truth and beauty of the lines written upon the great soldier of the past :—

. . . His work is done.

But while the races of mankind endure,
Let his great example stand
Colossal, seen of every land,
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure :
Till in all lands and thro' all human story
The path of duty be the way to glory.

ARTHUR STANNARD.

SINCE 1880.

It has been suggested to me that, as a speech which I made at the 'Eighty' Club on the 10th of March has only been partially reported, it should appear in the form of an article. Not having written the speech in full, I am unable to reproduce my exact words. But the following pages contain the substance of my argument, and, as far as I can recover it, the language I used, with a few additions and omissions. I have retained the form of an address, as I found some difficulty in transforming it into an essay.

I am told that the name of this club is due, not, as is sometimes supposed, to the number of its members, but to the fact that it was founded in the year 1880. The name has suggested to me that it might be interesting to review the progress of opinion and legislation on social subjects since that memorable date. I call the date memorable, because it was the year 1880 which saw the commencement of the first Parliament in which the great constitutional change of 1867 made itself fully felt. The Parliament of 1869 had employed itself principally in carrying out the arrears of the old Liberal programme. It was stimulated no doubt by the increase of the electorate, but showed no radical change, either in its modes of political thought or in the character of its legislative achievements. The Parliament of 1874 displayed the interesting phenomenon of a nominal Conservative supremacy, coloured by the democratic change of 1867. But the Parliament of 1880 was the first Liberal Parliament which felt behind it the full force of that change; nor has it been uninfluenced in its later phases by the greater change in the same direction which lies immediately before us.

But let me return for a moment to the previous Parliaments. The chief characteristic of the legislation of 1869-74, which almost cleared the old Liberal programme, was the desire to remove privileges and inequalities. The main feature of its great Acts was abolition. We abolished the prerogative of the Church at the Universities, and in other spheres of education; we abolished the

privileged position of the creed of a minority in Ireland ; we abolished the power of the purse in the army ; we abolished by the Ballot Act the undue influence of wealth and social position, of employers and landowners, at elections. *

Two measures alone in the programme of the Liberal Ministry of that day formed a transition to a new phase of legislation, the Irish Land Act and the Education Act. But of these the Irish Land Act was not based on the hearty and convinced recognition of any new principle. It was based on the special exigencies of the Irish case, and was avowedly exceptional. It implied no acceptance of any unwonted theory of the duties of the State, no revolution in economic doctrine. The Education Act belonged more clearly to the new epoch. The principle of compulsion, for instance, was a striking novelty, and marks a turning-point in our legislation. Yet in its main features the Education Act was part of the old legislative scheme of the Liberal party. It was altogether anterior in conception to the rise of the new doctrines of State Socialism.

Such, in its broadest outline, was the legislative harvest of the Parliament of 1869. But, to complete the picture, let me mention some of its failures. We brought in a Bill for the reform of local government and taxation, but were unable to press it. We brought in another for the reform of the licensing laws, and passed it. But though it only went a short way as measured by present opinion, it excited much unpopularity, and doubtless contributed to the subsequent downfall of the Ministry. The time, indeed, was not ripe for strong measures in either of these directions. I remember one of my colleagues in the Cabinet, who excelled in sententious epigram, saying to me soon afterwards, 'My dear Goschen, our fate was sealed ever since that memorable Easter when we were summoned to London three days before the usual time, in order that you might alienate the counties by your Local Government Bill, and Bruce might alienate the boroughs by his Licensing Bill.'

Before passing from this period I wish to recall two incidents which illustrate very strikingly the distance we have travelled since that time. I remember, though few here present are likely to remember it with me, that in the year 1871 there was a good deal of fuss about a document known as the *Seven Points*. This document contained the heads of a scheme of social reform, which was supposed to emanate from a number of Tory peers and working-class Radicals, uniting under the auspices, of Mr. Scott Russell. But the Tory peers promptly repudiated it, and the working-class Radicals, on their side, made haste to disavow it too, and the whole scheme soon came to be regarded as a joke. No one wished to be associated with what then appeared a series of preposterous and absurd proposals. If I have exhumed these *Seven Points* now, it is not so much because of their intrinsic importance at the time, as because they illustrate the change which has

come over opinion on these subjects since that date. The points were, briefly stated:—

1. A perfect organisation for the self-government of counties, towns, and villages, with power for the acquisition and disposal of land for the common good.

2. The rescue of the families of workmen from the dismal lanes, crowded alleys, and unwholesome dwellings of the towns, and their settlement in the country, where, in the middle of gardens, in detached homesteads, they may grow up strong, healthy, and pure.

3. State-supported technical schools.

4. Places of public recreation, knowledge, and refinement, to be organised as parts of the public service.

5. A more extended organisation of the public service, after the model of the Post Office.

6. Public markets in every town for the sale of goods of the best quality in small quantities at wholesale prices.

7. An eight hours' bill.

Such was a social programme which fourteen years ago was promptly laughed out of court. Yet, with the exception possibly of the two last points, the list will have reminded you, as I read it, of many proposals of the present day, seriously put forward as within the sphere of practical politics, and commanding much sympathy and support in many quarters. It was in connection with these seven points, if I remember rightly, that a Conservative peer said something to the effect that every labourer ought to be possessed at least of a pig. The pig has now developed into three acres of land.

The other fact of which I would remind you, because it graphically points the contrast between the state of opinion then and now, is Mr. Gladstone's famous proposal, before the election of 1874, to abolish the income tax. Compare that proposal with the present suggestion of a graduated income tax! What a gulf between the principles underlying the two! On the one side the abandonment of the chief engine of direct taxation; on the other, not only its retention, but its application with increased intensity for the attainment of new ends.

I will not detain you long over the next Parliament elected in 1874. It established, as I have said, Conservative supremacy, but modified by a new democratic feeling. The Conservatives rejoiced that under the leadership of Mr. Disraeli they had annexed the working man, and planted themselves in many large boroughs. But I am not sure whether the result has not rather been that the working man has annexed the Conservatives, and that the new Conservative forces in the boroughs have established a supremacy over the Tory counties. The effect seems to me to have soon become visible in the temper of legislation. I will not say that the introduction of exemptions in the lower grades of incomes contributing to the income tax was exactly due to this cause, though it was essentially un-Conservative; but in

some clauses of the Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1878 concessions involving distinct deviations from the orthodox views of Poor-Law principle marked a striking deference to democratic influences. In the year 1875 social legislation absorbed almost the whole time of the House of Commons. The interposition of the State was recognised in a high degree in the Agricultural Holdings Act and the Merchant Shipping Act, and its direct action was introduced in the Artisans' Dwellings Act, the debates on which measure may be referred to as exhibiting a distinct progress in the direction of what is now called State Socialism. But the full effect of the new impulse was obscured by a not unnatural half-heartedness which made the proposed legislation permissive, while foreign complications arose to divert men's attention and arrest the course of domestic legislation in 1876. Still, the new impulse had been given, the new attitude had become familiar. Tory democracy, Tory socialism has been a growing influence ever since.

I now come to the Parliament of 1880, in which, for the first time, the new electorate was thoroughly represented. I was absent during the first session of that Parliament, and when I returned from Constantinople in its second year, I remember how it seemed to me that I was breathing a new political atmosphere. I appeared to myself a sort of Rip van Winkle on a reduced scale. The whole attitude of men's minds had entirely changed since the previous Liberal Parliament. I found the House of Commons engaged on the Irish Land Bill, and, though a hint thrown out to me that the proper faith on which to vote was that 'the landlords were always in the wrong,' was only a humorous exaggeration, the general tone as to landlords had no doubt undergone a wonderful transformation. The Irish Land Act embodied a principle of enormous moment, the principle of fair rents fixed by a court. The idea of an abstract fairness in a bargain, outside the terms to which the parties to it may mutually agree, was an absolute innovation in modern legislation. The Act was defended at the time on the plea of exceptional circumstances, but it was impossible to confine its principle, when once admitted, within the limits intended by its authors. It could not be restricted locally. Already we hear proposals to extend fair rents to Scotland and even to England. We are still a long way from fair rents in the United Kingdom, but the principle is put forward, and pamphlets advocating it have been commended in very high quarters. And if it has been found impossible to limit this principle geographically, neither does it seem likely to be limited as regards its subject-matter. The idea of an abstract standard of price, distinct from that fixed by contract, has passed from land to houses. And thus we find ourselves confronted with new principles which have passed from Irish land into the arena of English and Imperial politics. The Arrears Act was a measure which perhaps more than any other embodied the right of the State to reverse contracts. I should have liked, had I had time, to give brief

obituary notices of the various economic principles which have died since 1880. Some of them have met with violent deaths. Others have passed peacefully away. Amongst the most conspicuous casualties let us recall the sad fate of freedom of contract. We seem almost to have arrived at this formula—little freedom in making contracts, much freedom in breaking them.

The Irish Labourers Act, under which cottages and garden allotments are to be provided out of the rates on land purchased by compulsory sale, and another Irish measure, which, under the title of 'Tramways Act,' contained miscellaneous provisions, were decided developments of Socialism. I am analysing, not criticising. I am endeavouring to bring into view the extent to which new doctrines have been embodied in laws passed by the present Parliament. The Agricultural Holdings Act for England, in which that principle of compulsion was cheerfully introduced at which the legislators of 1875 had shied, is another landmark. I voted for this Bill without much compunction, and I venture to say, though it is sometimes erroneously supposed that I have gone back from the Liberalism of my early days, yet, if my political creed at the present moment on such subjects as land, the housing of the poor, the liability of owners, and similar questions, were compared with the views held by the members of the present Cabinet fifteen years ago, I should be regarded as a Utopian Radical. And remember the point from which I started in my political life. It began at a time when the economic principles of such men as Cobden, Villiers, and Gladstone were supreme. These were the spirits that stood by the side of my political cradle. They thought, I dare say, that I was not without a few juvenile extravagances with regard to foreign policy, but it was hoped that I should get over them. I do not know whether that hope has been altogether fulfilled, but, at all events, as far as economical doctrines go, these were the spirits whose influence was in the ascendant when my horoscope was cast. As for those whom I am now addressing, I do not know whether they will think it a compliment or the reverse when I say that at the political cradle of some of them there have stood the sirens of State Socialism. I was reared on the hard food of the political economy of the old Radical school; many of you have probably been reared on a softer but more exciting diet.

But the greatest force of the new movement has not been seen in legislation so much as in opinion, and in order to measure it we must look not only at enactments, but at proposals. The Employers' Liability Act Amendment Bill of 1883 proposed to prevent masters from contracting themselves out of the provisions of that Act by private agreement with their workmen, even though such agreement might insure the latter all the benefits of the Act—a very stiff proposal. Then there was Mr. Broadhurst's Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill of last year. I should be afraid, in addressing an audience which contains so many gentlemen learned in the law, to enter into any criticism of the details

of that measure, but I think you will all admit that it also was what might be called a stiff Bill. Yet although some ten to fifteen years ago scarcely twenty men would have been found to vote for it, there were upwards of one hundred who went into the lobby in its favour last year, and I am confident it will become an Act, in some form, before very long. I asked a steady-going Scotch friend of mine how it came that he had voted for this Bill. He told me he thought there was 'something in it.' His words are a charming illustration of a new phase of political thought. In fact, I see a new attitude in public life, not only in Parliament, but amongst all men who take an interest in politics. It is the attitude of being ready to consider almost any proposal. I do not say this in any spirit of complaint, but in order to show to what extent old doctrines have been discredited and the old landmarks of political science have been removed. Every measure is now considered simply on its merits. The time has passed when it could be judged merely by a reference to accepted principles of political science. I am not quite sure whether the domain of political economy at this moment is not in a very similar position to Egypt, where we have destroyed the old authorities without having set up new ones in their place. The orthodox tyrants of political economy are no longer allowed to wield their critical courbash, and social theories and economic proposals are examined as if, as regards accepted canons of science, the situation were '*table rase*.'

In this state of things, although the actual progress of social legislation may not have been rapid in the view of the more emancipated school of reformers, the progress of *opinion* on social subjects has not failed to be very marked. Let me give you one or two instances, though it is when the situation is regarded as a whole that the contrast of present opinion with that prevailing ten years ago becomes most striking. The growing belief in the capacity of the State for direct beneficial action on the condition of individuals and classes is to be seen in every direction. The saying 'that a man cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament' would now sound almost like old world nonsense in many ears.

The State is to suppress vice by liquor legislation, misery by vast schemes for housing the poor, poverty by giving land to agricultural labourers. The list of the necessities of life, for the supply of which society ought to make itself responsible to its individual members, is rapidly increasing.

There is a growing belief too in the *capacity* of the State to undertake stupendous new duties. The fear of corruption is diminished and opinion sets steadily in the direction of compelling public authorities to accept new functions and of 'running the State,' if I may use the expression, against private companies and individual enterprise.

It is perfectly natural that this tendency should be accompanied

by a growing inclination to assert the rights of the State against those of individuals. You will see this clearly in the attitude now generally taken up towards questions of compensation. There is a complete change of principle in this respect. Till lately there was a constant anxiety lest individuals should not get enough. The new anxiety is that they should get too much. Compensation used to be granted by Parliament on a perfectly exaggerated scale, but only last year the Conservative Corporation of London proposed a Water Bill, involving, it was alleged, the most confiscatory provisions ever introduced into an Act of Parliament, and the Home Secretary, in reply to a deputation, defended the proposal on the principle that a legislative contract might be revised if Parliament had made an improvident bargain. What a change since the time when the State acquired the telegraphs! How well I remember, how I stood aghast at the stupendous compensation then allowed, and how on one occasion, while resisting, in the Select Committee which reported on the terms of purchase, some to my mind monstrous provision, I found myself in a minority of two! I firmly believe that the purchase money, if fixed according to the present frame of the Parliamentary mind, would have amounted to a couple of millions less.

Or, take the case of the Electric Lighting Bill. In former times, long terms of years were given to railway companies and water companies and gas companies for the enjoyment of the privileges which were to attract capital. In the Electric Lighting Bill, seven years was proposed in the first instance as enough for the remuneration of private enterprise. The term was extended afterwards, but the first proposal was extremely suggestive of the changed attitude of the public mind.

But opinion has developed not only in the direction of greater confidence in the capacity of the State to regulate and conduct vast social operations, not only in respect of the more vigorous assertion of public rights and public interests against exaggerated claims for individual compensation or private profit. There is a growing dissatisfaction, not on the part of the suffering classes alone, but on that of the richest and most cultivated classes, with much in the present social system. I really scarcely know whether the greater belief in the capacity of the State has led to the desire for more constructive legislation, or whether the keen desire for legislation which should raise the social status of the masses has almost constrained men to put a novel confidence in the action of the State. At all events, there has been a general awakening of the public conscience in many directions. A stimulus has been applied to the performance of public and private duty, stronger and deeper than existed before, and in many ways the new views are taking a shape which promises greatly to increase the happiness and the prosperity of the country. The development of opinion, which I have attempted to describe, may or

may not fail to find its counterpart in actual legislative reform. But in addition to, and apart from, the legislation it may prompt, I joyfully recognise the immense influence which the awakening of public opinion has had on private effort throughout the country. The effect of the new spirit must not be measured by legislative action. Parliament may lag behind, beaten by difficulties of execution, but private effort meanwhile progresses rapidly. Look at the multiplication of open spaces through acts of individuals, societies, or corporations. Look at the increasing efforts for the more decent housing of the poor. Look at the new principles in administering public trusts. Take such an instance as the recognition of the modern opinion as to the status of landowners by the presentation of open spaces for the public use by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners a few weeks ago. On all sides you will find eloquent testimony to the rapid and effectual growth of public opinion on social subjects.

And in many ways it is certainly preferable that the effects of opinion on private effort should thus precede by a long distance those which it may ultimately exercise on legislation. I am not thinking only of the much greater adaptability and delicacy of private action. Legislation, for instance, pulls down rookeries, thus increasing overcrowding, while it is constantly baffled in its attempts to enforce rebuilding; but meanwhile Miss Octavia Hill improves other rookeries, working from house to house. I am thinking also how much will be gained by utilising the experience of pioneering volunteers. When Parliament embarks on constructive social reforms it will be an immense advantage that time has been allowed to show the failures or successes of individuals and corporations in the same direction, and to reveal the dangers which may beset us on the road of State interference. The very enthusiasm which sets us in motion may make us so little critical of the means we employ to reach our end that we may fail in reaching the end at all. If there is one important function which I think ought to be specially performed by cultured Liberals, it is to see that we are not carried away too easily, and to take care lest, because an end is thought desirable, the means to obtain that end should not be carefully tested and scrutinised. The direct benefits are seen; the indirect injuries are often overlooked.

It would occupy too much time to give many illustrations of this self-evident truth. But let me place one before you which is very instructive. A proposal was made for an Act of Parliament establishing an official inspection of boilers throughout the kingdom. There had been some loss of life through the explosion of boilers. Fifty men had been sacrificed in the course of a year through what were believed to be preventible accidents to boilers. Sir Frederick Bramwell, the famous engineer, gave evidence before the commission charged with an inquiry as to the expediency of such legislation, and his evidence was to the effect that such inspection would most seriously retard

inventions and appliances for the improvement of boilers, and for a greater economy in the use of coal. I do not know how he arrived at the figures, but he was strongly of opinion that inspectors appointed under such an Act as was proposed would, for the sake of covering their own responsibility, resist the introduction of new boilers of which they would know little, and that by such resistance the saving of four million tons of coal would be prevented. But it has been ascertained that the production of every hundred thousand tons of coal costs one human life. Thus the additional production of the four million tons of coal, rendered necessary by the retention of old-fashioned boilers in the place of improved boilers, would cost forty lives, as compared with the fifty which were hypothetically to be saved. Restrictive legislation introduced to save, possibly, fifty lives would be followed by the waste of four million tons of coal and the loss of forty lives. I am quite incapable of verifying these figures; they may or may not be exaggerated, but they seem to me to illustrate very dearly the absolute necessity of weighing coolly and carefully restrictive laws which at first sight seem to give promise of great philanthropic results.

Similarly, endeavours might be made so persistently to reduce the hours of labour, that, in the end, the working classes would lose more than they could gain, by the curtailment of the productive powers of the country at large.

And, again, blows might be struck at capital. In these later days there has been a kind of set against capital. The capitalist has a hard time of it in the House of Commons at the present day. The feeling is abroad that capital is securing too large a share of the aggregate profit in production. Yet capital has a fertilising function, besides that of accumulating profit to itself, and statesmen, economists, and philanthropists alike are bound to see that legislation intended to benefit producers does not end in preventing the application of capital to the industries they so earnestly desire to protect. There is no more important duty incumbent on men striving for great and philanthropic objects than to consider with increasing watchfulness the effect of particular measures which may be proposed.

Pray understand me aright. I have acknowledged, gladly acknowledged, the growth of a more constraining conscience, public and private. I have shown that this growth of a keen desire for social improvement has resulted not only in demands for legislation, but in great and healthy efforts for actual and immediate reforms. But these efforts for reform, this enthusiasm for social improvement, do not dispense us from criticising the means by which such improvement is to be accomplished, and it is naturally on educated and thinking men that this duty must mainly rest.

We live in a period of universal scepticism as to the economic doctrines of the past. The belief in the all-sufficiency of private

enterprise has been broken down. The regard for private rights is weakened. Every scheme, however new, however audacious, however opposed to once accepted principles, will have to be examined on its merits. The old watchwords have lost their conclusive authority. History has shown us that the breakdown of a system of religious belief is followed by the appearance of fanatics and false prophets. It seems to me as if the dethronement of orthodox political economy is similarly likely to be signalled by the appearance of a swarm of quacks. Let us beware of a Salvation Army in politics.

The natural leaders of the new social movement are amongst the educated class. The masses cannot be expected to probe these questions to the bottom. It is for those who have studied history, economy, and philosophy to perform this task. An immense duty, then, rests upon cultured Liberals. You may have to oppose the impatience of the people in order that you may ultimately lead them in the right road. Do not, from fear of being misunderstood, stand aloof from criticism. I know that scepticism as to the means is often denounced as indifference to the end. No one is more unpopular than the man who criticises measures intended to serve an end on which the people have set their hearts. The opponents of Mr. Plimsoll's proposals were denounced as almost accessories to murder when they doubted the efficacy of the measures he introduced. Now, by universal consent, we are to set to work and remedy the conspicuous failure of legislation carried at the point of the bayonet with as much enthusiasm and as much intolerance as were ever displayed in Parliament before. A great danger of the future, nay of the present, is that the nation should insist on utilising occasions of sensational interest for the purpose of forcing remedies, of which public impatience does not permit the full and ultimate scope to be examined and grasped. The masses may often be inclined to leap to conclusions, but men who have the power and faculty of looking further and deeper will be abdicating their functions if they are content to join in that leap in the dark. It is their duty to their country to stand firm and to combine criticism with courage.

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

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NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. XCIX.—MAY 1885.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

As the last surviving son of Mehemed Ali ; as the first President of the Council of the late Khedivate, in which office I strove, to my heavy cost, against the oppression which was the root of all the evils to which my unhappy country has since been a prey ; as an Egyptian not without honour amongst my own people, who know that my understanding of them is as true as my sympathy ; and as a patriot moved to deepest concern by late events, I ask the courtesy of a few pages of space in the *Nineteenth Century*.

Full as my mind still is of the long and painful sequence of events that has led to the situation of to-day, I do not intend to over-rake this hard-trodden ground. Such a process would be long, and of doubtful profit. At the same time, I cannot approach the subject without touching briefly upon those early beginnings of the Egyptian difficulty which have most particularly influenced events.

When my brother Saïd died in January 1863, Egypt was prosperous and content. The total debt of the country was five millions sterling, of which less than half was owed to foreigners. The misfortunes of the country began with the reign of my nephew Ismail. They were, like his own collapse, the natural consequences of his character.

Ismail before his accession had very ardently desired the Vice-royalty, and when it came to him it brought at once into relief the two ruling passions of his nature, viz. the love of money and the

love of notoriety. His aspirations were divided between the desire to accumulate wealth and the ambition to play a part of exceptional prominence in the political world. Unfortunately for himself and for Egypt, his intelligence, not wanting in vivacity, lacked the profundity and stability necessary for the achievement of his objects; while the country, essentially simple in its social construction and economic capabilities, did not supply the material necessary for the realisation of his ample dreams.

Who that knew Ismail in the early days of his reign has not heard him say repeatedly 'I am above all a man of business'—*un homme d'affaires avant tout*? He not only made no secret of his desire to acquire wealth, but he even ostentatiously paraded it as his paramount object; and the effect of so doing was to attract to his court a surrounding of adventurers. I remember once when he used his favourite phrase, one who was present replied, 'We see in your Highness above all things the Viceroy of Egypt.' The only answer to this remark was the shadow that came over the Viceroy's face—for Ismail did not like to be reminded that there were solemn duties attaching to his office. He wanted to be rich, and he wanted to seem to be great; the rest was of secondary importance.

The conquest of Darfour and the attempt against Abyssinia were undertaken for no other object than to give Ismail importance. The one succeeded, thanks solely to Zebeir Pasha; of the miserable failure of the other, Ratib Pasha, who commanded the expedition, could perhaps give some explanation. But the sole purpose of these enterprises, as shaped in Ismail's mind, was to add to his title of Khedive of Egypt those of King of Darfour and King of Abyssinia.

Every one knows that Ismail's rule in Egypt was a failure; the results of it are also patent enough, even now, six years after his fall. But everyone does not clearly know that the failure lay neither in the country nor in its people, nor in the pressure of any external circumstances, but solely in Ismail himself. All the serious duties of his office were neglected. Driven as he was by his peculiar propensities, he followed objects wholly incompatible with the fulfilment of his obligations as a ruler, more especially in such a country as Egypt. And on this point I desire to insist; because Egypt, as a problem of government, presents no inherent difficulty whatever. Its constitutive elements are essentially simple and easy of treatment, and the complexities now surrounding it are wholly artificial, the handiwork of Ismail or directly traceable to it.

I would fain pass on to other subjects, but I must yet point out how the mind of Ismail became distracted by the complications he had created; and this, not for the sake of the fact itself, but because of what it led to. The event which most strikingly revealed the lost balance of his judgment and the reckless condition of his mind was his provocation of a military demonstration in order to overthrow the

'International Cabinet' of which Sir Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignères were members. The effect which this expedient of the Khedive had upon the sequel of events was most disastrous, and it was aggravated by the so-called 'National Council,' imagined and contrived by Ismail and attended by him, which assembled in the house of the late Sheikh el Bahri.

And in truth it was a curious spectacle to see a ruler in whom the despotic idea was predominant and whose rule was essentially arbitrary teaching the army and the people what they might do to resist the Government of which he was the head!

When Ismail fell he left the country and its dependencies in perfect chaos, and the mind of the people, who hungrily craved for justice, in a state of angry effervescence. This was the natural and inevitable consequence of seventeen years of government the prominent feature of which was the egotism of its chief, and in which nothing had been done for the people whose energy it had depressed by exhausting the substance of their existence.

During a brief period after Ismail's fall there lived in Egypt a feeling of gratitude towards Europe for its deliverance from his rule, and the population, although not much prepossessed in favour of Tewfik, welcomed his accession with a certain cheerfulness. He is a man of small parts, but he might have sufficed for the government of so simple a country if the Egypt of that day had been Egypt in its normal state. But it needed a ruler of another fibre to handle Egypt in the condition in which it was handed over to him by his father.

Unfortunately for Tewfik Pasha, and for the country, the foreign friends of Egypt sought to fortify his position by a contrivance of a nature so singularly inconsistent with the maintenance of his authority, that it would seem to have been specially devised with the object of reducing his position in the State to that of a mere cipher. I speak of the Anglo-French Control—the disastrous Condominium.

The youth and inexperience of the Khedive encouraged the representatives of French and English financial interests to a larger action than rightly belonged to their office. In fact, they so encroached upon the prerogative of the Khedive that within a few months of the installation of the Dual Control, the Prince Tewfik had become, to all intents and purposes, a nullity in his principality, and the powers of the Khedive had passed into the hands of the Control.

But the Egyptians, although they were by no means blind to the course of events, did not take alarm at this dislocation of power in the State. They found cause for satisfaction in the rivalry which existed between the two component elements of the Control, and the jealously watchful eye which each kept upon the other. They saw in it a guarantee of their maintenance of their autonomy, and they viewed the position with relative complacency.

But when in 1881 the hand of France was laid upon Tunis, alarm

took possession of the country, and popular opinion began to read preceding events by a new light. The cession of Cyprus to England, which was not at the time specially remarked in Egypt, then acquired in Egyptian eyes a new and sinister significance. Suspicion was awakened, and the impressionable Egyptian mind was brought into a state of panic, which at once obliterated its complacent view of the Control. In place of this view, Egypt now discerned in that very mutuality of surveillance exercised by England and France, in which they had previously found re-assurance, evidence of an artfully contrived secret understanding between the Governments, which placed the autonomy of Egypt in peril. They came to believe that Egypt was the portion of the Sultan's estates which had been awarded to England. Forthwith, and with a singular rapidity, England became an object of general distrust in Egypt, and the feeling rapidly hardened into one of strong animosity.

While Egypt was thus painfully impressed, the two foreign Powers concerned imposed upon the reluctant Khedive Riaz Pasha as President of the Council. This measure, to which no great importance was attached at the time, was prolific in mischievous effects. For while, on the one hand, it was eminently unpopular, it created a situation for Tewfik in which he discovered an analogy between his own position and that of his father when he was overshadowed by the International Ministry. If Tewfik had been capable of original thought, this discovery would have led him to wider reflections than those which ultimately determined his action. He would have reflected that by the very fact of his father's invocation of the military element to overawe the Government, that element had acquired an importance to which it had no previous pretensions, and which made it in its own estimation the arbiter of national questions. He would have measured the great risk of putting the same forces in motion a second time. But the truer philosophy of the situation did not strike the mind of Tewfik; while the face-to-face tyranny of Riaz put all his nature into a flutter of recalcitration. The only resource, however, that suggested itself to his mind was to repeat the tactics by which his father had overturned the International Ministry.

So Tewfik made his compact with Arabi, and the Riaz Ministry was upset.

Thus, in the space of a few months, two successive rulers, father and son, to ease their own necks from the yoke of overbearing Ministers, had invoked the evil spirit of revolt against themselves.

Tewfik had formed no notion of the mettle of the steed to which he was rashly giving rein. He thought to apply the curb when he pleased; but he found to his dismay that the courser took no heed of bit or bridle, and that he was utterly powerless to bring under restraint the revolt which he himself had deliberately turned loose.

Notwithstanding the faith which foreign opinion professes in the

benefits resulting to Egypt from the Control, I share with Mr. Gladstone the conviction that it did more harm than good. It left almost untouched the insupportable fiscal burdens imposed by Ismail, and the little it did to improve that evil manner of collecting the taxes which outraged every feeling of the people, and which was at the bottom of all the mischief, was so slight as to be scarcely appreciable.

In the days of Ismail, the tax-collector went his rounds twelve times in the year. The Control thought it had done wonders in reducing these visitations to nine per annum. But the reduced number, the nine, was still too many by at least five. It gave the luckless fellah no rest, no breathing space, no time to feel that any part of his life was his own, or that he had any *raison d'être* beyond that of payer of imposts or recipient of stripes for default. There were by way of relief only the heartbreaking bargains with the usurer, whose calling was created by these abuses of fiscal authority.

The fellah is a long-suffering creature, and an excellent payer of taxes. But it is possible to overstrain these qualities. Ismail overstrained them, and the relief afforded by the Control was wholly inadequate.

Payment of taxes should only be required of the peasants when they have their crops in hand; if this practice, which was strictly followed in my father's reign, were revived, it would give a new impulsion to industry, and make another man of the fellah, enabling him to extricate himself from the clutches of the usurer, to enjoy the fruits of his labour, and to see some brightness beyond the present squalid and hopeless gloom of his existence.

What I would particularly wish to bring home to those who read these pages is, that both in Egypt and in the Soudan the thirst for justice had in 1880 reached a point at which its cravings could no longer be restrained. And if at the outbreak of the mischief those who undertook to repair it, instead of placing themselves upon the stilts of political principles, had taken the trouble to treat the Egyptian people by the simple methods of humanity, to investigate impartially their grievances, and to grant them what was reasonable in their demands, all the miserable and useless bloodshed of which my unhappy country has been the scene for the last three years, all the embarrassments, complications, and expenditure which have sprung from it—without the faintest shadow of advantage to any one—would alike have been avoided.

But that which was ordained to happen has happened, and lamentations over its avoidability are useless. If I have dwelt at some length upon bygones, it is because of my great desire to dispel the confusion of mind generally prevalent on a subject which is all simplicity. Let anyone of ordinary intelligence cast aside theories, crotchets, prejudices and irrelevances, fix his mind upon essential facts—that is to say, upon the condition of the fellah during the

seventeen years of Ismail's reign—and view them, not through the warping medium of the official prism, but in the clear light of reason and elementary knowledge of human nature, and he will understand how little is needed to heal the ills of Egypt, if only the right treatment be adopted. True he will also see that they are not otherwise curable; layers of blunders will not plaster them, nor rivers of blood wash them away.

Egypt, I declare, was only sick of injustice; every other symptom was produced by the nostrums with which she was dosed.

The case was precisely the same in the Soudan, where the insurrection, at its outset, was nothing but a popular movement of the same character as that which took place in Egypt—easy to arrest by the use of the right means, because it was only the expression of that craving thirst for justice felt by the people whose life was parched and withered for the lack of it. A moderate application of the true remedy in due season would have stopped the movement in the Soudan at once.

But when a foreign army occupied Egypt, and an Egyptian army officered by men of the same race as the invaders entered the Soudan, the whole aspect of affairs was changed. The mischief wrought by the untoward expedition of Hicks Pasha is incalculable. Its consequences have been terrible enough already, and there are worse in store if the original blunder is persevered in.

By the advance of the army of Hicks Pasha, Mohammed Achmet, better known as the Madhi, whose previous influence was inconsiderable, was at once raised to a new position. He no longer headed a mere revolt against the injustice of the Government. The thirst for justice was transformed into religious hate by the intrusion of the foreigner, and Mohammed Achmet became the leader of a religious war. In this religious hate the Soudanese included the Egyptian Government, because in their eyes, as in those of the Mahommedans of Egypt, it was the Government which had sought the aid of a foreign and Christian Power to crush the Mahommedan population under its rule.

Never in any previous contests with the Egyptian Government have the Soudanese displayed any such prowess as has marked their conduct in the field against the British. This is to be accounted for only by the fact that the religious sentiment has called into action all the ferocity of their nature. The Arabs of the Soudan fighting against the Egyptians—Mahommedan against Mahommedan—as well at the time of the conquest as in subsequent conflicts, were half-hearted in the field, and were apparently satisfied to make a sort of military protest against the Egyptian proceedings. All this is changed now; a fiery fanaticism inspires the whole race, and their rage, whether Europeans may judge it to be noble or ignoble, will make itself felt. It will be difficult to repress and impossible to appease it, unless the prime cause of its outbreak is removed.

I think I have now said all that I need say to establish the true nature of the position in Egypt and in the Soudan, and to show its connection with preceding events. This exposition, of itself, suggests the remedy, but my position precludes me from expanding this suggestion into a detailed programme. Still I may usefully, perhaps, give it a more definite body.

In the Turkish language we call the ostrich the camel-bird; and we use that biped as the symbol of anything that has a changeful and indefinite character. For the tradition is that when the ostrich is asked to fly, he declares that he is a camel; but when it is proposed that he should bear a camel's load, he protests that he is a bird. Now the Egyptian Government is at present as ambiguous as the ostrich. Under certain conditions it assumes an English character; under others, it becomes Egyptian. This undecided and shapeless condition of the Egyptian Government renders it alike incapable of sustaining the load of the present or of soaring into a better future.

It is obvious that this abnormal condition must continue so long as the present government is maintained, since it wholly depends for support upon the British troops. This difficulty can never be overcome; because the more fervent Mahommedans have convicted the Khedive in their own minds of being the cause of the intrusion of a Christian Power; while the more moderate, who are able to view the matter politically and without fanaticism, equally attribute to him the odious presence of the foreigner in the country. Nothing could change these convictions, and therefore Tewfik Pasha will never be able to stand alone in Egypt; consequently there can never be a stable, self-sustaining, Egyptian Government without the combination of entirely new elements.

Thus, although it is evident that the British Government cannot withdraw its troops from Egypt without first constituting a strong Government, it is equally evident that a strong Egyptian Government cannot be created out of existing materials. There are always the alternatives of protectorate or annexation, and under either of these methods of solution Tewfik might be upheld as an Egyptian figure-head for a British hull. But in this there is no discoverable advantage, while there is much manifest disadvantage. For so long as the Government of Egypt contains the elements of which it now consists, the British can never have the friendship of the Musulmans, who would be far more ready to forgive the British for their invasion than to pardon those of their own faith who have been the means of bringing it upon the country.

There are two influences without the aid of which no Khedive can effectively govern in Egypt, viz. the friendly countenance and support of the Khalif, and the sympathy of the people.

If, then, England is frankly and sincerely desirous of creating a Government in Egypt which shall be self-sufficing, there is but one

mode of giving effect to that desire, viz. by obtaining the co-operation of the Sultan in realising it. This is the only practical, because it is the only legal course. That is to say, that by no other course could the aid of those two legitimate influences be obtained without which no Khedive can effectively govern. The co-operation of the Sultan, which would necessarily be circumscribed by existing treaties, would carry with it the needful *amende honorable* to the offended feelings of the Moslems, and the whole moral position of England in Egypt would be changed. England would lose, probably, the 'cup-board love' of some of her present creatures; but she would certainly regain what she has lost in the esteem of the Mahomedan masses, which would materially facilitate the pacification of the Soudan, while it would give a far more stable basis to her moral influence throughout the country.

The apprehension is sometimes expressed that, were an Egyptian Government left unwatched by British troops, it would become impervious to the influence which England would naturally wish to exercise over the land through which lies the highway to her Indian Empire. This is but a shadowy apprehension, which the British Government would scarcely share, because the influence which England exercises in Egypt must depend on her relations with European Powers, and not on those which she may happen to entertain with the Viceroy. So small a country as Egypt has no means of resisting any Power, and by the construction of the Canal it has become a universal passage. Egypt is therefore obliged to be exceedingly correct in her conduct, so as to satisfy her clients.

It is nearly three quarters of a century since the installation of my father as Governor-General of Egypt. Can one single instance be adduced, either before or after the opening of the Canal, of any intention on the part of any Viceroy to hinder England in her passage? I can find no such instance. One, however, of contrary significance occurs to me. I remember that when Admiral Napier in 1840 blockaded Alexandria, and sent an ultimatum to my father, the dignitaries of State proposed to him that, by way of reprisal, the English mails and passengers should not be allowed to pass by the Suez route. My father refused to adopt the proposal, saying: 'It is not the British people, but the British Government, that is making war upon me.' He went in person to Cairo, ordered special facilities for the passage of the mail and travellers, and superintended personally the arrangements for their security. The great mercantile cities of England sent gold medals to my father on this occasion, and one of them is still in my possession.

And now a word about the Soudan.

The permanent separation of the Soudan from Egypt is an impossibility; because the mutual necessities of the two regions will always attract the two peoples towards each other. As they are on

different levels of civilisation, they will not meet on terms of equality: either the lower civilisation of the Soudan must swamp Egypt by the sheer weight of numbers, or Egypt must dominate these numbers by the superiority of her moral influence and material resources.

Heretofore, the higher civilisation has prevailed over the lower. How far these relative positions may be maintainable in the future remains to be seen.

The Soudanese are learning a great lesson at the hands of England. England has given this people to taste the new and intoxicating delights of intense passion; through this, she is educating them to a consciousness of their own strength; and, by the lessons she is giving them in the art of warfare, she is adopting the most practical mode of teaching them how to use it.

The natural tendency of all this is to disturb the equilibrium which my father established between Egypt and the Soudan, and which has never until now been perceptibly disturbed. But as the Soudanese are still destitute of administrative organisation and of the capacity to create one, the equilibrium may be restored, unless England persist in aggravating the disturbance which she has caused.

But how, it may be asked, is the fire which has been lighted in the Soudan to be extinguished? My answer is, by altering the character of the war; by depriving it of its religious spirit and of the passionate fanaticism which gives the fire to its soul and the force to its body; by bringing it back to what it was at the beginning—a mere civil war, or revolt, for the redress of administrative grievances.

This cannot be accomplished all at once, but it may be done by degrees and with unerring certainty as regards result. The first step towards it is to remodel the Egyptian Government, so that it may have the support of the Khalif and the sympathy of the population, and thus render possible the withdrawal of the British troops, or, at least, enable England to limit her occupation to certain stations on the two seas which it might be desirable that she should temporarily hold. As soon as this is done, a great proportion of the influence of the Soudanese Chief will disappear; the ground will be taken from under his feet, and he will have nothing to stand upon; his leverage upon the fanaticism of the population will be lost; his self-given title of Mahdi will have no further significance in the eyes of his followers; the rallying cry to the defence of the Sacred Cause will be an unmeaning appeal. Then normality will be re-established both in Egypt and the Soudan, and the only matter for treatment will be the redress of those grievances which accumulated during the seventeen years of Ismail's reckless rule.

When this condition of things is once more established in Egypt, the new Government may turn its attention to the re-settlement of the Soudan—a problem of no formidable difficulty, provided the foundations are prepared in the manner I have pointed out.

When, at my request in 1856, my brother Saïd Pasha, the then Viceroy, appointed me Governor-General of the Soudan, I was impressed by the great facilities which the whole region watered by the White and Blue Niles presents for the exercise of Egyptian influence, and for the maintenance of every relation which is necessary for either country. The rivers themselves provide these facilities if they are turned to proper account, and if the Egyptian Government is actuated by simple motives of practical utility, and not by the disordered ambition of its chief to wear the empty titles of kingdoms which cannot, for long years to come, be shaped upon any basis offering a prospect of stability or political or social cohesion.

What I recommended my brother to do, and he adopted on my recommendation, was to aim more particularly at maintaining security on the river. With this object, I advised the establishment of military stations at frequent intervals all along the banks of the White Nile, maintaining communication between them by means of armed sailing boats until steamboats could be procured for the purpose.

I obtained from the Viceroy orders to carry out my views, subject to the proviso that no attempt should be made to penetrate the country, or to take possession of more land than was absolutely necessary for the provisioning of the military stations.

On arriving at Khartoum I forthwith proceeded to execute my brother's instructions, and in this way set back the frontier from El-Ais, where I found it, to the island where the Soubat joins the White Nile in about latitude $9^{\circ} 35'$; and on the island formed at the meeting of the rivers I established a garrison of Soudanese. Later the frontier was further pushed back to Bahr-el-Gazel.

The effect of this measure was eminently salutary. The population understood that Egypt was making the river safe but had no evil designs upon the territory through which it passed. And the proof that this principle was the true one is that, while it provoked no serious opposition, it answered every purpose, until Ismail's ambition endeavoured to improve upon it. For the principle of promoting the gravitation of the population towards the rudimentary civilisation offered to them, Ismail sought to substitute administrative interference and the tax-collector.

The process of civilising a country so wild and so unhealthy as the Soudan must necessarily be slow; but the river affords an infallible instrument for the process.

By establishing military stations at the more salubrious points along the river, little by little each becomes a centre of trade, and from each radiates the civilising influence of commerce. By-and-by, on either bank of the river, there will be a belt of country relatively civilised which will always tend to widen.

This is the process by which the Soudan is to be civilised; this

is its true future, and Egypt is the agent best able to realise it. Best able, because there is no natural repulsion in the Soudan against Egypt, in its normal state, as there would be against any Christian Power; because the Egyptians are fitted to endure the severities of the climate; because they constitute—note that I always speak of Egypt in a normal state—a link between the Khalifat and the Soudanese Moslems; and because for these preceding reasons the work would be done at a far less cost of men and money than if it were attempted under the auspices of any European Power.

It is needless to show that, by whatever agency the civilisation of the Soudan were effected, it would be the commercial States of the world, foremost amongst which stands England, which would reap the benefit of the transformation.

Direct action against the slave trade can never be effectual. It tends rather to defeat its humanitarian object by aggravating the cruelties which are inherent to the trade, and which are often increased in order to evade the measures adopted to check it. The slave-trade is an evil that must be borne with while it lives. Civilisation will kill it, slowly perhaps, but surely.

This is the outline of my views on the Soudan, views founded upon a personal knowledge of the country and of the people, of whose natural docility I have had abundant proof.

When I hear it proposed that England should annex Egypt, or establish a protectorate over the country, I am tempted to ask why either one measure or the other should be adopted. Broadly speaking, it is better that every country and people should do its own work in the world than that it should be taken out of their hands and done by some other country to which it is but of secondary importance. Egypt has by no means given proof of incompetency in the management of her own existence, which sped easily and prosperously from 1841 onwards, until the follies of Ismail, which sold the country to the loan-mongers of Western Europe, brought foreign interference into it.

Egypt, as I have said before, is a simple country, and the people are simple; but they suffice for the country, and if tranquillity is assured to them, they are perfectly able to cope with the economic difficulties into which a misguided ruler has plunged them. They are capable, under a ruler whom they trust, and whom, trusting, they will obey, to repurchase their financial independence; and that much more speedily than it could be done by the costly methods which foreigners employ.

It is not for me, as an Egyptian, to dwell upon the difficulties which seem to attach alike to the protectorate and to annexation, and which differ, on either hypothesis, only in degree. Either as possessor or protector of Egypt, England would become more continental and less insular; her vulnerability would be increased, and Egypt does not

afford the military material requisite to guard against this increased vulnerability.

If England held such a position in Egypt that a blow could be struck at her there, such a possibility would render necessary the maintenance of military establishments in Egypt on a very large scale. And who would pay for these establishments?

As a dependency of the Ottoman Crown, Egypt requires but a small army for the internal support of the Government; its political existence is guaranteed by treaties.

But if these treaties were superseded, and England were established in Egypt, it would be quite another matter. England herself could then be attacked in Egypt, and she would be compelled to show a military front in the country which would suffice to deter aggression. Naturally, Egypt would be expected to pay the cost of these defensive measures, and by so much would the power of Egypt be reduced of playing her own modest and legitimate part in the world.

Cairo would become the centre of intrigue, not only wrestling, as at present, for local influence, but scheming against the British power, in a spot where England would be at a manifest disadvantage.

Suppose even the protectorate, the minor responsibility of the two—the Khedive flanked by two British residents, one civil, one military, the army commanded by British officers. What guarantee would this be of security? A guarantee so thin that it would be almost a danger in itself.

Moreover, annexation or protectorate would inevitably bring changes which would alter the political surroundings of Egypt; and England, established there, would have neighbours less easy to deal with than Turkey.

But these are points which cannot have escaped the attention of the British Government, and of which the consideration probably explains its reluctance to adopt that 'forward' policy in Egypt which has been urged upon it with much persistence and with some authority.

In my opinion annexation or a protectorate is unnecessary. All that Egypt wants is a restoration of her normal situation—the constitution of a Government acceptable to the Khalifate and to the people. Give this to Egypt, and Egypt is quite capable of making her own way through present embarrassments, and of satisfying all the demands with which the misgovernment of Ismail and its consequences have saddled her.

HALIM.

THE COMING WAR.

If I were asked to give my opinion, as a geographer, on the pending conflict on the Afghan frontier, I should merely open the volume of Elisée Reclus's *Géographie Universelle, L'Asie Russe*, and show the pages he has consecrated under this head to the description of the Afghan Turkistan. Summing up the results of his extensive, careful, and highly impartial studies of Central Asia, Reclus has not hesitated to recognise that, 'geographically, the upper Oxus and all the northern slope of the Iran and Afghan plateaux belong to the Ural-Caspian region,' and that 'the growing influence of the Slavonian might cannot fail to unite, sooner or later, into one political group, the various parts of this immense basin.' And, surely, nobody who has studied these countries without being influenced by political or patriotic preoccupations will deny that the Afghan Turkistan cannot be separated from the remainder of the Ural-Caspian region. Afghanistan proper may remain for some time the bone of contention between England and Russia; and if it be divided, one day or the other, into two parts by the two rivals—no geographical or physical reasons could be alleged for the partition; but the vassal Khanates of Maimene, Khulm, Kunduz, and even the Badakshan and Wakhran, certainly belong geographically and ethnographically to the same aggregation of tribes and small nations which occupies the remainder of the basin of the Amu-daria. 'Arrangements' concluded by diplomatists may provisorily settle other frontiers: these frontiers will be, however, but provisory ones; the natural delimitation is along the Hindoo-Kush and the Paropamisus; Afghan Turkistan must rejoin the now Russian Turkistan.

The necessity, in Central Asia, of holding the upper courses of rivers which alone bring life to deserts, and the impossibility of leaving them in the hands of populations which to-morrow may become the enemies of the valleys; the necessities of traffic and commerce; the incapacity of the populations settled on the left bank of the Upper Amu to defend themselves against raids after they have lost in servility their former virile virtues; nay, even the national feelings of the Uzbeg population, however feeble—all these and several other reasons well known to the explorers and students of those regions contribute to connect the whole of the basin of the

Amu and the Murghab into *one* body. To divide it for political purposes would be to struggle against physical, geographical, and historical necessities. As to the Wakhran, the Shugnan, the Badakshan, and even the small khanates west of the Pamir, perhaps they could struggle some time for their independence if they were able to rise in arms like the Circassians; but they would necessarily succumb before the power which already holds the high pasture-grounds of the Pamir, since it has taken a footing on the Trans-Alay and about Lake Kara-kul. The fact is, that the Roof of the World already belongs to the generals of the Russian Tsar.

As soon as the Russian Empire had stepped into the delta of the Amu, the conquest of the whole of the basin of the Oxus, with its thinly scattered oases, with its populations which have not yet succeeded in constituting themselves into national units, became a sad necessity. The march on Khiva already implied the occupation of Merv; and, as soon as a footing was taken on the eastern coast of the Caspian, the conquest of Geok-Tepe, of Merv, and of the last refuges of the Saryks at Penj-deh were unavoidable. The advance no longer depended on the will of the rulers: it became one of those natural phenomena which must be fulfilled sooner or later. Notwithstanding its seeming incoherence, its floating population, its small tribes now at war with one another and to-morrow allied together for a common raid; notwithstanding the continuous wars between the desert which besieges the oasis—the whole of the Steppe is *one organism*. The separate parts are perhaps still more closely united together than the settled populations of valleys separated by low ranges of hills. Owing to the impressionability of its populations, the Steppe may remain for years together as quiet as an English village; but suddenly it will be set on fire, be shattered in its farthest unapproachable parts, be covered with outbreaks stopping all intercourse for thousands of miles. African travellers know well how rapidly the physiognomy of the desert changes: the same is true with the Central Asian Steppe. Its internal cohesion cannot be destroyed by frontiers coloured on our maps. Those who have entered the Steppe with their military forces have no choice; either they must retire immediately, or they will be compelled to advance until they have met with the natural limits of the desert. This is the case with England in the Soudan, and so it is with Russia. She cannot stop before she has reached the utmost limits of the Steppe in the 'Indian Caucasus' and the Hindoo-Kush.

Such is the opinion which a geographer, whatever his nationality, ought to give, and which I should give, but with sadness of heart. For, during the years I spent in Eastern Siberia I was enabled closely to appreciate what the anomalous, monstrous extension of the frontiers of the Russian Empire means for the Russian people. One must have stayed in one of our colonies to see, to feel, and to touch the burden,

and the loss of strength which the population of Russia in Europe have to support in maintaining a military organisation on the absurdly extended frontiers of the Empire; to reckon the heavy costs of the yearly extension of the limits of the Empire; the demoralisation which repeated conquests steadily throw into the life of our country; the expense of forces for assimilating ever new regions; the loss resulting from emigration, as the best elements abandon their mother-country, instead of helping her to conquer a better future. The expansion of the Russian Empire is a curse to the metropolis. We must recognise that. But life in our Asiatic colonies teaches us also that this continual growth is taking the character of a fatality: it cannot be avoided; and even if the rulers of Russia did nothing to accelerate it, it still would go on until the whole of the process is fulfilled.

Of course the expansion might have been slower; it ought to have been slower. When the St. Petersburg Geographical Society was besieged in 1870-73 with schemes of exploration of the Amu basin, it was in the power of Government either to favour them or to abandon them to their proper destiny. Abandoned to itself, private initiative would have done but very little; and none of the scientific expeditions which used to be the precursors of military advance would have started at all were they not literally, very literally, supported and patronised by Government. While geologists, botanists, engineers, and astronomers came to us every day to offer themselves for penetrating further and further into the Transcaspian region; while we naïvely interested ourselves in discussions about the testimonies of Greek and Persian writers as to the old bed of the Amudaria, and planned detailed explorations, the Government took advantage of this scientific glow for planning its advance into the Turcoman Steppes, never refusing either money or Cossacks and soldiers to escort the geographers who dreamed of resolving the long-debated question as to the Uzbeks. While the Irkutsk geographers and geologists were compelled to start with a few hundred roubles and a broken barometer for the exploration of the great unknown Siberia, thousands of roubles were immediately voted by all possible Ministries for pushing forward the learned pioneers into the Transcaspian. This willingness to support scientific exploration, precisely in that direction, was obviously the result of a scheme long ago elaborated at the Foreign Office for opening a new route towards the Indian frontier. Far from checking the advance—as it does on the Mongolian frontier—the Government favoured it by all means.

Recently, we have been told by the *enfant terrible* Skobelev what was the real meaning of this advance, '*viâ Herat, to Constantinople*'—such, we are told, is the watchword of a group of Russian politicians; and when we consider the energy and consciousness displayed by Government in that matter, instead of the formerly quite

unsystematical advance in Central Asia, we cannot but recognise that the advance in the Transcaspian region has been really made with a determined aim—the seizure of Herat. But in this case, the Afghan frontier question is no more a geographical or ethnographical question. It is not a question of more or less rapidly aggregating into one political body the loose populations scattered north of the ‘Indian Caucasus’ and the Hindoo-Kush: it becomes a political question, and, as such, an economical one.

There was a time when so-called national jealousies were nothing more than personal jealousies between rulers. Nations were moved to war and thousands were massacred to revenge a personal offence, or to satisfy the ambition of an omnipotent ruler. But manners have changed now. The omnipotent despots are disappearing, and even the autocrats are mere toys in the hands of their *camarillas*, which *camarillas*, however personal their aims, still submit to some influence of the opinions prevailing among the ruling classes. Wars are no longer due to personal caprices, and still they are as numerous as, and much more cruel than, they formerly were. The Republican faith which said, ‘Suppress personal power, and you will have no wars,’ proved to be false. Thus, for instance, in the pending conflict between England and Russia no personal causes are at work. The Russian Tsar entertains personally quite friendly relations with English rulers, and surely he dreads war much more than any of his soldiers who would be massacred on the battle-fields. As to the English Premier, it is a secret to nobody that he tenderly, much too tenderly, looks on the ‘Tsar of All the Russias,’ and still both countries are ready to fight. Not that the eighty millions of our peasants sing very warlike songs just now, as they are asking themselves how they will manage to keep body and soul together until the next harvest, the last handful of flour already having been swept up and eaten, together with dust and straw. Not that the English miners or weavers, who also ask themselves how to go through the industrial crisis, are inspired with much hatred towards the famine-struck Russian peasants. But it is so: gunpowder smells in the air, and a few weeks ago we were so near fighting that if we escape from war, it surely will be a very narrow escape. The reason is very plain. Wars are no more fought for personal reasons, still less are they occasioned by national idiosyncrasies: they are fought *for markets*.

What is, in fact, the chief, the leading principle of our production? Are we producing in order to satisfy the needs of the millions of our own countries? When launching a new enterprise, when creating a new branch of industry, when increasing an old one, and introducing therein the ‘iron slaves’ we are so proud of—does the manufacturer ask himself whether his produce is needed by the people of his country? Sometimes he does; but, as he produces merchan-

dise only *for selling*, only to realise certain benefits on selling, he seldom cares about the real needs of his own country—he merely asks himself whether he will find customers in any quarter of the earthball or not. The English people need some less cottons, and want some cheaper shoes—for instance, for the 110,585 boys and girls *under thirteen years of age* employed in Great Britain's textile industries—less velveteen, and some more cheap clothing for the inhabitants of Whitechapel; less fine cutlery, and some more bread. His only preoccupation is to know whether the Indian, the Central-Asian, the Chinese markets will absorb the cottons, the velveteen, and the cutlery which he will manufacture; whether new markets will be opened in Africa or New Guinea. And the producers themselves, the labourers, being reduced to live on twenty, on fifteen, and even twelve and ten shillings a week for a whole family, are no customers for the riches produced in England; so that English produce goes in search of customers everywhere: among Russian landlords and Indian rajahs, among Papuans and Patagonians, but not among the paupers of Whitechapel, of Manchester, of Birmingham. And all nations of Europe, imitating England, cherish the same ambition.

To produce for exportation—such is the last word of our economical progress, the watchword of our pseudo-economical science. The more a nation exports of manufactured ware, the richer it is; so were we taught in school, so are we told still by economists. All this, however, was very well with regard to England as long as England's manufacturing development was by a whole fifty years in advance of that of other countries of Europe, and all markets were open to her produce. But now, all other civilised countries are entering the same line of development; they endeavour, too, to produce their merchandise for selling throughout the world; they also produce for exportation; and, therefore, all our recent history becomes nothing but a steeple-chase for markets,—a struggle for customers on whom each European nation may impose the produce which her own producers are rendered unable to purchase. The 'colonial politics' of late years mean nothing more. England has in India a colony to which she can export 20,000,000*l.* of cottons, and whence she can export 11,000,000*l.* of opium, realising on both some twenty millions of profits. No wonder that the ruling classes of France, of Germany, and of Russia try in their turn to find anywhere advantageous customers, that they endeavour to develop their own manufactures, also for exporting—no matter that their own people may go barefoot, or starve for want of a *Mehlsuppe* or of black bread. Russia is now beginning to enter on the same road. Her manufactures being not yet sufficiently developed, she exports the corn taken from the mouths of her peasants. When the tax-gatherer comes, our peasant is compelled to sell so much of his harvest that the remainder

will hardly do to give him a scanty allowance of black bread for nine months out of twelve. He will mix grass, straw, and bark with his flour; each spring one-third of our provinces will be on the verge of starvation; but the exports will rise, and the economists will applaud the rapid economical development of the Northern 'Empire'; they will foretell the time when the peasants, 'having been liberated from the burden of land,' will gather in towns and feed the ever-growing manufactures; when Russian merchants also will send their steamers on the oceans in search of customers and good profits. A new mighty runner joins thus the steeple-chase for markets and colonies.

Of course we may foresee that this anomalous organisation of industry, being not a physical necessity, but the result of a wrong direction taken by production, cannot last for ever. Already we hear voices raised against this anomaly. We begin to perceive that, not to speak of countries so thinly peopled as Russia is, even the United Kingdom, with its 300 inhabitants per square mile, could yield for the whole of its population the necessary agricultural produce, and give them, together with a healthy occupation, a wealth not to be compared with the actual poverty of the millions. Already Belgium nearly nourishes her 497 inhabitants per square mile with her own produce, and needs to add to her own yearly crops but one-twentieth of their amount imported from other countries. Yet Belgian agriculture is still very far from the pitch which might be reached, even under the present conditions of agricultural knowledge, not to speak of further improvements. Those are surely not far from the truth who say that, if all Great Britain were so cultivated as some of her estates are, if all ameliorations of her machinery were employed, not for weaving cottons for the earthball, but in producing what is necessary to her own people, she would give to all her children wealth such as only the few may now dream of. The time will come when it will be understood that a nation which lives on her colonies and on foreign trade is subject to decline, like Spain and Holland, and when applying their experience, their industry, their genius to the benefit of their own people, the civilised nations of Europe will no more consider the Far East and West as 'markets,' but as fields for diffusing the true principles of humanity and civilisation.

But we are still in that period when manufacturing for exportation is considered the only means of giving wealth to a country, and Russia's rising industry follows the example it has in its predecessors. Her manufactures are rapidly developing, and, notwithstanding many obstacles, her exports are steadily increasing. A free issue to the ocean becomes a necessity under these conditions; but this outlet is precisely what fails to the young competitor. The outlet of the Baltic may be shut up at a moment's notice, and that of the Black Sea depends on the good-will of those who will rule at Constantinople. At the same time Southern Russia is daily acquiring more and more im-

portance, not only in consequence of the richness of the soil and the rapid growth of population, but also on account of the development of industry. The commercial and industrial centre of gravity of Russia slowly moves towards the south; but this south has no outlet to the ocean. Under more normal conditions the circumstance would be of no moment, though in foreign hands the Bosphorus still would remain open to pacific navigators. But with the actual nonsensical competition for markets the want of a free issue becomes a real danger. And it is obvious that the Russian Empire will never cease to struggle to conquer the outlet it is in need of. It will recoil before no sacrifices, no difficulties. It is already planning to reach this issue through Asia Minor, perhaps through the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates; it will bleed itself nigh to death, but it will still endeavour to reach its aim: and there will be no peace in Europe and Asia until the problem has been solved in one way or another.

Three times during our century—in 1828, 1853, and 1877—Russian statesmen have tried the direct way—that of conquering the Balkan Peninsula. Happily enough for civilisation, they have not yet succeeded; but it must be acknowledged that, if they failed, it was not on account of the obstacles put in their way by English diplomatists. These last, to speak frankly, have been very awkward. Lord Beaconsfield found nothing better to oppose to Russian advance than the disintegrating body of the Turkish Empire, or so fantastic a scheme—at least it is attributed to him—as that of uniting Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan into a common action! As to the Liberal Ministry, they patronised the Russian Tsar during the war and opposed him only when his decimated armies were unable to move farther. The Liberal Ministry came into power, to some extent, in consequence of the sympathies with the revolted and massacred Slavonians which were awakened in the people of England. But the Slavonians were forgotten as soon as Mr. Gladstone was in office. Obeying the influences which represented to him the Russian Tsar as a liberator, he confounded the cause of the Slavonians with that of the Moscow manufacturers and St. Petersburg diplomatists; as to the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Bosnians, and the Herzegovinians, they were handed over, manacled, to Russian despotism and Austro-Hungarian militarism. Neither Conservatives nor Liberals perceived the only right way of preventing once for all any further attempt of Russia, and of Austria too, on the Balkan Peninsula: that of recognising the rights of the South Slavonians to independence, that of helping them to conquer it, that of opposing to Russian autocrats—a South Slavonic Federation. Neither France nor England understood at that time that a South Slavonic Federation would be the best dam against Russian and Austrian encroachments; that if the Servians and the Bulgarians accepted Russian intervention

surely it was not from mere sympathy: they would have sold themselves to the devil himself, provided he would promise to free them from the Turkish yoke. Once free, they would care as little about 'Russian protection' as about Turkish rule. But apart from a few war correspondents, who cared in England about Slavonians?

Therefore, even the partial success of the Russian Empire during the last war brought about such sad consequences that several generations will hardly repair the evil already done. The Russian people gave the lives of their best children to help the oppressed Bulgarians, and they succeeded only in giving them new oppressors worse than the former. The intervention of the Russian autocracy in Serbia, its rule in Bulgaria, have killed in the bud all the excellent germs of healthy development which were growing up in Serbia, and even in Bulgaria, before the war. It has lighted up internal war, it has opened an era of internal discords, which will not be pacified for twenty or fifty years. The heart bleeds when one learns what is now going on in Serbia, since Russian generals inspire the Court and diplomatists struggle for 'influence.' Will it then never be understood in Europe that the only way of resolving 'the Eastern question' is to guarantee a South Slavonic Federation a free life? As to the question of a free issue for Russian merchants, it is quite different from that of keeping Constantinople, and the former can be resolved without endangering anybody's liberty in Europe.

And now, to return to Afghanistan. After having said so much about European interests, is it not time to say a few words, at least, about the interests of the Mohammedan population of Central Asia and of the 250,000,000 inhabitants of British India, for the possession of whom we are so ready to fight? Surely the loose aggregations of Central Asia will finally fall under the influence, or the rule, of some European Power. But, at the risk of shocking some of my readers, I must avow that it seems to me most desirable to see them remain as they are, free of that influence, as long as possible—until the Europeans, more civilised themselves, will be able to come to them, not as conquerors, but as elder brethren, more instructed and ready to help them by word and deed to ameliorate their condition. Two years ago the benefits of Russian 'civilisation' were ably enumerated before the London Geographical Society, and the fact was dwelt upon that Russia had liberated slaves wherever they were found. The statement is quite true, and we have good reason to believe M. Petrushevitch when he says that the slaves in the Turcoman Steppes immediately left their masters as soon as a Russian traveller made his appearance. Surely the liberation of slaves is a great progress, but all is not yet done by saying to a slave, 'You are free; go away;' for the thus liberated prisoner will return to his former or to another master if he has nothing to eat. Let any one read the elaborate work published by

the Tiflis Geographical Society on the liberation of slaves in the Caucasus, and he will see *how* the Russian Government has accomplished it; and we have no reason to suppose that it has been accomplished better in Central Asia.

As to the agrarian relations, perhaps nowhere in Europe have they the same importance as in Central Asia, on account of the necessities of co-operative work and common agreement for the digging out and utilisation of irrigation-canals. In such countries, the slightest error of the administration in agrarian contests may have, and often has had on the Caucasus and in Russian Turkistan, countless consequences; a simple error, a confirmation of supposed rights, turns a rich garden into a desert. All European administrations are liable to such errors as soon as they come into contact with the Mohammedan agrarian law, and their consequences are too well known with regard to India to dwell upon. True that, as a rule, the Russian Administration, familiarised at home with village communities, does not interfere much with agrarian questions among the Mohammedan population which falls under its rule. But the direction prevailing at St. Petersburg with regard to agrarian questions is continually changing. For ten years the St. Petersburg rulers may favour self-government in villages, they may take the village communities under their protection; but for the next twenty years they will abandon the peasants; they will rely in the newly-conquered regions upon an aristocracy they will try to create at the expense of the labourer. The history of the Caucasus is nothing but a series of such oscillations, which resulted in the growth of the Kabardian feudal system and the servitude of the Ossetians.

In Russian Turkistan, too, the reckless confirmation of imaginary rights in land which was carried on on a great scale at the beginning (we do not know if it continues) endangered the very existence of the Uzbek villages. And one cannot but remember, when speaking on this subject, the scandalous robbery of Bashkir lands which was carried on for years at Orenburg and became known only when the Bashkir people were deprived of their means of existence. Of course, the cruelties of a khan at Khiva, or of a Persian shah, will not be repeated under Russian rule; but the creation of a Turcoman, a Khivan, and a Bokharian aristocracy, adding the temptations of European luxury to Asiatic pomp, surely will be a much greater evil for the Central-Asian labourers than the atrocities of a khan. With regard to Russian administration itself, we must certainly admit that during the first years after a conquest the choice of administrators is not very bad; but as time goes on and all enters into smooth water one will be perplexed to make his choice between them and the officials of a khan. Finally, the time is not far off when Russia will send to Central Asia her merchants, who will ruin whole populations, of which we may see plenty of proofs in Siberia,

and not only in Siberia, but also everywhere else where Europeans have made their appearance.

And what, on the other side, could England give? It is time, quite time, to cease repeating loud words about civilisation and progress, and closely to examine what British rule has done in India. Progress is not measured by the lengths of railways and the bushels of corn exported. It is time to examine what the creation of the class of *zamindars*, followed by the sub-infeudation and subdivision of rights, which is so well described by Sir John Phear, has produced in Bengal. It is time to ask ourselves whether the millions of Bengal have, each of them, even the handful of rice they need to live upon. It is not enough to admire at the Indian Museum in London the ivory chairs and chess-boards brought from India by Mr. A. and Mr. B., and each piece of which represents a human life. It is time that the English people should consider and meditate over the model of an Indian *bazaar* exhibited at the same Museum, and ask themselves how it happens that the incredible riches exhibited in the rooms were brought about by the same naked and starving people who are represented in the bazaar around a woman whose whole trading-stock consists of a few handfuls of rice in a bowl. Perhaps they will discover that the very origin of the above riches must be sought for in the nakedness of the starving human figures whose portraits were exhibited in 1877 at the doors of the Mansion House. And perhaps they will agree then that, before carrying our present civilisation to Central Asia and India, we might do better to carry it to the savages who inhabit the den-holes of Moscow and Whitechapel.

P. KROPOTKIN.

VARIATIONS IN THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME.

It was lately suggested by the Home Secretary, both in the House of Commons and in papers officially communicated to the judges to which I am permitted to refer, that, crime having diminished, sentences might be less severe, and that sentences for similar offences should be more uniform than they are at present. He also suggested that it would be a good thing if the Lord Chancellor, 'in consultation with the judges, found it possible if any general rules in this matter, subject of course to the necessary exceptions in particular cases, should be safely laid down, so as to lead to greater uniformity of practice.'

The matter is one which is not only specially—I might almost say supremely—interesting to a judge; but it is one on which he has a kind and degree of experience altogether peculiar to his own position. No one but the judge who actually passes the sentence knows the difficulties by which he is surrounded in doing so, or the considerations by which the discretion entrusted to him is in fact guided. He soon learns that no one who does not listen attentively to a trial from end to end can really form much of an opinion on what ought to be its practical result, and that nothing can be more deceptive and incomplete than the accounts of it which are given in newspapers, necessarily in a highly condensed form, and constantly omitting circumstances which, though of little interest to the public, have much to do with the sentence.

The importance of the question to which Sir William Harcourt has directed attention is undeniable, but I feel that the solution of it must be slow, gradual, and partial, and that to attempt to solve it in any trenchant, conclusive manner would be a great mistake, and, indeed, a great public misfortune. It cannot be dealt with at all until its real nature and the difficulties which beset it are fully understood and solved—so far as they are capable of solution—one by one. A few specific suggestions may, I think, be made, and these I will mention in their place in the course of this article; but the most important and general conclusions may, I think, be thus stated. No grounds have been shown for a general reduction of sentences; and uniformity of sentences could be secured only by a

minute and fundamentally arbitrary legislation, which, practically speaking, it would be impossible to enact, or to administer in a satisfactory manner if it were enacted.

The only reason suggested for a general diminution in the severity of punishments is that there has been of late years a diminution of crime. I cannot myself follow the argument. The efficiency of punishment in the prevention of crime may, of course, be overrated. No doubt many other circumstances have had an influence in that direction; but surely the fear of punishment can hardly be denied to be one of the influences which restrain people from committing crimes, and the proposal to diminish its severity because it appears to be obtaining its object is to me unintelligible. A diminution in crime might be a good ground for reducing the number of the police, or the number of the prisons, or the number of judges and magistrates; but I do not see what it has to do with the severity of punishment. The vigilance of the police has contributed to check crime. Ought the police to be less vigilant because crime has become less common?

It seems to me undesirable to put forward such proposals, except upon most mature reflection and with reference to definite suggestions for the alteration of the law. The administration of criminal justice is necessarily the most invidious part of the whole government of the country. Nothing can be more easy than to raise a cry against it as being over-severe. Nothing can more effectually weaken the hands of those who administer it or diminish the moral weight attaching to their sentences. Moreover such criticism must always, from the nature of the case, be criticism in the dark. The widest experience can bear only upon what has happened. It is impossible for anyone to be sure as to what has not happened. How can anyone know what has been the operation of the present system in the way of preventing crime by intimidating those who intended to commit crimes? I have heard of particular cases in which severe punishments of crimes once common in particular places had been followed by a great diminution of the number of such crimes in those places, and in which the converse has happened after unusually light sentences. How far in these instances *post* implied *propter* it is of course difficult to say; but the sudden adoption of a great change in the severity of sentences without any other reason for it than a diminution of crime would, I should think, operate as an invitation to all persons hesitating on the brink of dishonesty or violence to take courage and sin vigorously, as it would be understood as an official announcement of the doctrine that the objections to crime have been overrated, and that it is not after all such a serious matter as it has hitherto been supposed to be.

Those who have to superintend the actual execution of sentences of imprisonment and penal servitude are under a special temptation to underrate the preventive effect of punishment—a

temptation which it is specially difficult for humane and amiable men to resist. In the discharge of their duty they have to concern themselves principally with the effects produced by the punishments which they have to inflict upon the individuals on whom they are inflicted, and they are probably quite right in thinking that, if regard is had to them only, a shorter sentence would have as much moral effect as a rather longer one. A man who has been sentenced to penal servitude may very probably have broken off bad associations and habits as effectually, and have learnt all he is capable of learning in the way of discipline and self-restraint as fully, and have received nearly as strong a warning against a repetition of his offences, at the end of a five years' sentence as at the end of a seven years' sentence; and from this it is easy to argue that a sentence for five years would have answered every purpose as well as a sentence for seven years. It may also be argued with much plausibility that very long sentences—fourteen years, twenty years, penal servitude for life—can never do good to the criminal. To undergo the discipline of a convict prison for a long term of years, and to have no other society than that of convicts for all those years, can never be anything but a terrible evil to anybody; but punishment is not intended to benefit the sufferer. It is distinctly intended, to a certain extent, to injure him for the good of others; and this consideration enters more or less into almost all punishments, and is the dominant one in the cases in which punishments of great severity are inflicted. It reaches its highest point in the case of the punishment of death. Very long sentences of penal servitude have no doubt much in common with the punishment of death. They are intended to prevent the criminal from repeating his offence, at all events for many years, and also to set upon his crime a mark of infamy, and to ratify and approve as far as a judicial sentence can the feeling of indignation and disgust which great crimes produce in the public mind. There is nothing in the administration of a convict prison to bring these matters before the minds of those who are charged with that duty. It is unavoidable that the judge should have his attention more strongly directed to the crime, and that the officials of the prison department should think more of the criminals. Neither point of view should be neglected, but the point of view most likely to be neglected in the present day is that of the judge. The whole tone of every kind of appeal to the public, by literature and art, by public speaking, has for a generation or more been on the side of pity. The whole tendency of the age is in the direction of regarding vice and crime rather as diseases qualifying their unfortunate victim for a hospital than as causes of just hatred and vindictive punishment. There is no arguing on questions of feeling and temperament. The common ground on which alone such a question as that of the proper amount of legal punishment can be discussed is that it should be enough to prevent

crime, as far as it can be prevented by punishment, and not more than enough. All that I say here is that crime is prevented by punishment, not only by reforming criminals, but also, and probably more distinctly, by disabling them from committing crimes, by terrifying others, and by justifying and exemplifying, and so maintaining and encouraging, the sentiment of indignation and disgust which great crimes properly excite in the public mind. To take an obvious instance or two, I would ask whether, if a lenient sentence had been passed on the persons who were convicted two years ago of the dynamite plot, it would not have been universally felt that the judges who tried the case had failed in their duty, and had done what they could to discourage a sentiment which, though it certainly required no stimulant, it was their duty to justify and exemplify? I would also ask whether, when by a mere accident an infamous assassin escaped the punishment to which he had been justly condemned, it was not generally felt that an unhappy failure of justice had in fact taken place?

There is one circumstance connected with this matter to which I shall have to refer again, and which appears to me highly important. I am convinced by many considerations that the sentences passed on criminals are closely watched and jealously scrutinised, especially by those who are themselves in any degree likely to commit crimes. The local newspapers canvass closely the sentences passed at the assizes. Prisoners constantly make observations which show that they know with a remarkable degree of accuracy what they have to expect if they are convicted. Anything at all unusual, especially in the way of severity, is sure to attract observation and comment. In short, the administration of criminal justice is more closely watched, and possesses greater interest for a considerable class of the community, than is commonly supposed by those whose attention is principally directed to more interesting and less unpleasing topics of a public kind. This has a bearing on several of the points which I wish to discuss in this paper. On the question of a general diminution of the severity of punishment it bears in this way. Should any such general diminution take place, it will at once operate as an announcement, to all persons tempted to commit offences, that one motive for not committing them is henceforth to be appreciably diminished in weight.

As to the uniformity of punishments, the object, speaking generally, may be admitted to be good; but I think that its importance is easily exaggerated, and that there is also much exaggeration as to the want of uniformity in sentences alleged to exist. If two persons convicted of the same offence, under the same circumstances, were to be sentenced to different punishments by the same judge without any reason being even alleged for the difference, or if the same judge were to pass different sentences for similar crimes without assigning

any reason for it, in the same or neighbouring places, no doubt a feeling of injustice would be produced; but if different judges appreciate differently the moral guilt or public danger of similar offences, and pass upon them different sentences, and if each of these sentences is of such a nature as not to startle or shock the public as being over-severe—suppose, for instance, that of two persons convicted of forgery, one is sentenced to ten and another to seven years' penal servitude—what is the fair inference? Simply that different opinions are held by two persons, each of whom is by law required to act on his own opinion. The one prisoner has had better luck than the other; and what then? Under all circumstances there must be a good deal of chance, not only in the punishment of crime, but even in its occurrence. One man is guilty of an act of criminal negligence which endangers the lives of hundreds of persons, but they escape. He is guilty of no offence at all. Another by a less blamable act of negligence causes the death of one person. He is guilty of manslaughter. One man administers to another some innocent substance believing it to be a deadly poison. He commits no offence at all. But for a mere accident he would have been a murderer. One man is tried by a more timid and scrupulous jury than another, and is acquitted on the very same evidence on which the other is convicted. Is there injustice here? There is bad and good fortune, but no more. Unless all discretion as to punishment is taken from the judges, there will always be room for more or less good or bad fortune in meeting with stricter or more indulgent judges. So long as a given punishment is not unusually severe, the criminal sentenced to it has no right to complain, and the public need not be disturbed. The comparative good fortune of some other criminal who has committed a similar offence does not really affect the matter.

To go into the subject more closely. What is the existing discretion? and why is it given? How is it exercised?

There are two crimes and two only in which the judge has no discretion at all. These are high treason and murder, in each of which the punishment is death. The propriety of executing sentence of death in cases of high treason must always depend so much upon political considerations, that it seems right that the matter should depend upon the views of the executive authority, especially when the exceptional character of the crime is borne in mind.

The case with respect to murder is very peculiar and instructive. Carefully considered, it shows that a discretion must in fact exist in the punishment of all crimes whatever, and that if the judge is not invested with it, it will be exercised by the executive power by the use of the prerogative of mercy.

The definition of murder is open to criticism,¹ and on many

¹ I have discussed the matter at full length in my *History of the Criminal Law*, vol. iii. pp. 1-108.

occasions I have minutely discussed it, and suggested ways in which it might be altered; but, however careful the definition might be, it would include many cases in which it would, at least in the present state of public feeling, be impossible to carry out sentence of death. The most careful definition, for instance, would include infanticide by a mother; murder committed by the consent or at the request of the person murdered; murders committed under provocation, not sufficient to reduce the crime to manslaughter; murder committed from motives of compassion or despair, as where a mother throws into a canal a child for which she cannot provide, or where a man, in mercy to the sufferer, causes the death of a person suffering from hydrophobia. In these cases the judge has no discretion; he must pass sentence of death even when he knows that it will not be carried out. It may not be proper to give it to him; but the Home Secretary has such a discretion, and I can well believe that the exercise of it must be the most painful part of his duties. Not only must he say when death is to be inflicted, but also what punishment is to be substituted for it. There can hardly be a stronger illustration of the necessity of a discretion of this sort or of its painful and invidious character. The violence of the controversies to which its exercise gives rise from time to time, and the unreasonableness of those who take part in them, are generally known; but no means of relieving the Home Secretary of so arduous and painful a duty have ever been devised, and it seems probable that it will be found as difficult to relieve the judges from a duty in all criminal cases of which in regard to capital cases it has been found impossible to relieve him.

In two cases of very rare occurrence—piracy, with certain aggravations, and burning of dockyards, &c.—a discretion is vested in the judge. He may either pass sentence of death, or he may order it to be recorded; the effect of which is the same as if the prisoner had been sentenced and reprieved: but these are mere curiosities.

In all other cases, as far as I am aware, the sentence to be passed is in the discretion of the judge, subject to a maximum punishment generally fixed by statute, and in the case of a few common law misdemeanours unfixed, though tacitly recognised. There is only one instance of a crime which occurs in the common routine in which a minimum punishment is now fixed by law. By 24 & 25 Vict. c. 100, § 61, the offences therein mentioned must be punished by ten years' penal servitude at least.

Maximum sentences vary remarkably. Penal servitude for life, for fifteen years, for fourteen years, for ten years, for seven years, and for five years, imprisonment with hard labour for two years, all occur, and there are others which I need not notice. I may, however, observe that imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour, is in all cases (with the single exception above referred to) an alternative sentence to penal servitude.*

* See my *History of the Criminal Law*, vol. i. ch. xiii. pp. 457-92.

The history of this branch of the law is remarkable; but it is unnecessary here to state more of it than that it has been arrived at, not indeed upon any deliberate or comprehensive survey of the whole subject, but after long and wide experience of the evils of a system of punishments definitely fixed by law. Down to about sixty years ago, the punishment of all the more serious crimes was, in theory, death; but this, in practice, was mitigated by a discretion given by statute to the judge—in the first instance to reprieve persons sentenced to death, and afterwards to abstain from passing sentence of death and to order transportation in place of it. When the Acts known as Peel's Acts were passed, between 1825 and 1830, the punishment of death was restricted to a comparatively small number of cases, and a wide discretion as to transportation and imprisonment was given to the judges. This policy was followed and extended on various occasions; but, on the other hand, a large number of statutes still remained in force which imposed punishments in particular cases varying upon no principle at all. In some cases they gave the judge no discretion at all as to punishment. In a great many they gave him only a very narrow discretion; prescribing, for instance, minimum punishments of seven years' transportation. There was, indeed, so little regularity in these punishments that the Criminal Law Commissioners, who reported on many occasions down to 1847, found that there were in 1839 thirty classes of punishments for felonies and ninety-six classes of punishments for misdemeanours. In 1846 this state of things was to a great extent mitigated by an Act (9 & 10 Vict. c. 24) which abolished (in a clumsy way) all minimum punishments; and the Consolidation Acts of 1861 brought about the existing state of things.

Should this discretion be maintained, or can it advantageously be restricted? I think it ought to be maintained, and that any attempt to limit it, either by direct legislation or by rules made amongst themselves by the judges, would be unsuccessful and would produce inconveniences and scandals far worse than any which can at present be alleged with any plausibility to exist.

The reasons are these. First, there is no absolute relation between any crime and any punishment. A fanciful notion was formerly entertained by some persons that there was some sort of equipoise to be effected between crime and punishment; that, if A were murdered by B, some imaginary balance would be brought to its proper position by putting A to death: but it is needless to waste time over such imaginations. The object of punishment is the prevention of crime in various ways; but it would be idle to try to put into any definite shape such a relation between conduct and punishment as will tell you in any particular case how much of the one will be needed to prevent the other.

Every punishment, therefore, which is allotted to any crime will be found to stand in an arbitrary relation to it. I do not of course

deny that there are or may be customary punishments for particular offences. On the contrary, I say that in practice there is a much nearer approach to uniformity in the matter than is commonly supposed. What I assert is that there is no principle on which it can be determined whether a man should be sent to prison for a given offence for six months or for nine months, and that it is useless to search for one.

But besides the arbitrary nature of the relation between crimes and punishments, it must also be remembered that all definitions of crimes include acts of the most various nature, and capable of being made more or less dangerous to the public, and more or less morally bad, by the presence or absence of a very great number of circumstances to which regard ought to be had in deciding on the punishment to be inflicted. It is practically impossible to foresee and define these circumstances beforehand; and, if they could be foreseen, it would be absurd to attach by law to their existence definite consequences in the way of aggravation or mitigation of punishment.

I could fill this article with illustrations of the truth of these assertions. I will give only one or two. Theft may be defined simply enough, for common purposes, as the act of wilfully misappropriating the property of another; but this tells us absolutely nothing as to the moral character or public danger of any particular theft. A man sees some trifle drop from the pocket of another, picks it up, and keeps it. This is theft. A man, as the result of an artful conspiracy concerted with other persons, by the use of false keys, and by corrupting servants, steals a quantity of gold from a chest of bullion in a bank. This also is theft; and any number of intermediate cases may be suggested.

Bigamy hardly requires definition. It is in every case identically the same crime, but in point of guilt different cases of bigamy differ enormously. It always contains the element of a fraud upon the public, and an abuse of the marriage ceremony; but it may be a rape by fraud. It may be a mere act of private immorality. A man whose wife has deserted him, and who marries another woman, she knowing the circumstances and running the risk, stands in a wholly different position from the man who basely deceives a respectable person into becoming his mistress under the impression that she is becoming his wife. A woman who commits bigamy, as a rule, inflicts hardly any injury on the man who supposes himself to be her husband. Any number of intermediate cases may be put distinguished by the conduct and character of the parties.

If the arbitrary character of the relations between crime and punishment, and the fact that definitions of crimes must of necessity cover many offences of the most different character, be borne in mind, it will follow that one of two courses must be taken. Either a wide discretion in respect of punishment must be left to the presiding

judge, or a completely new penal code must be enacted, prescribing in minute detail the punishments to be inflicted in different cases. I will consider shortly what would be implied in the enactment of such a code, in order to set in a clear light the utter impossibility of drawing, passing, or administering it.

In the first place, it would not answer the purpose for which it would be introduced unless it took the retrograde step of re-establishing the system of minimum punishments. The mere lowering of maximum punishments would, no doubt, prevent the infliction of exceptionally severe punishments in exceptionally bad offences; but in practice it would make very little difference, for the maximum punishment authorised by law for any given offence is in practice very rarely inflicted.

The code would have to enact in respect of every offence which it defined both a maximum and a minimum punishment, and it would also have to say in every instance how far each maximum and minimum was to be affected by the presence or absence of particular circumstances of aggravation or mitigation.

In the first place, such a code would be an infinitely more arbitrary system than the present one. If the relation between punishment and crime is, and always must be, at best arbitrary, the more elaborate you make the rules the more harshly will that fact be brought forward. Besides, as matters now stand, there is, as I have already said, and as I shall show more fully immediately, an approach to a customary scale of punishments, which, to a great extent, conceals the absence of any principle, and supersedes the necessity for one. The benefit of this would be entirely lost by such a code as I am considering.

But what sort of thing would such a code be? It is no easy thing to define crimes at all; but the difficulty of giving general definitions authorising the exercise of a wide discretion as to punishment has been to a great extent overcome, and might no doubt be overcome in all cases. If, however, this discretion is not to be given, the principal circumstances of aggravation and mitigation must in every case be added to the definition, together with the corresponding variations in punishment.

I do not think it would be possible to foresee or to enumerate anything like all the circumstances which ought to be dealt with in this way; but the following are some of those which must always be considered: the age, the sex, the character of the offender; the sort of temptation to which he was subjected; the amount of deliberation, ingenuity, and contrivance which he showed; his acting alone or in concert with others; if he acted with others, the prominence of the part which he took as a ringleader or a subordinate.

To these personal considerations others of a more general kind must often be added. The offence may have become common, and it

may have become necessary to check it by a severe example. Such was the case a good many years ago when robbery with violence, and especially garroting, became common in London. A similar outbreak of crime, directed more particularly against the police, took place about ten years since in Birmingham. And I have heard of similar outbreaks of the crime of arson in Kent and elsewhere.

Besides all these matters, the question of habitual crime is to be considered. In such a code as I am discussing, it would be necessary to lay down a definite rule as to the effect of a previous conviction; and, unless the rule laid down entered a good deal into particulars as to the effect of previous convictions for different sorts of offences and at different periods of time previous to the later conviction, it would be certain to operate with intolerable harshness in many cases.

Nothing less than a compliance with these requisitions would really do away with the exercise of a very wide personal discretion in the judges in the matter of punishment; and no one who has any practical acquaintance with the subject can fail to see that this is an insuperable difficulty in the way of such an undertaking. The impossibility of it will appear from a specimen of the sort of result which must of necessity be produced. The code would consist of enactments in a form of which the following instance gives a slight and imperfect idea. I do not pretend to suggest, even for the purpose of illustration, to fill up the blanks which would specify the punishments.

Whoever commits theft shall be subject to the following punishments:—

If he is above seven and under fourteen years of age, and is found by the jury to have acted maliciously, . . . ; if he is above fourteen and under twenty-one, . . . ; if he is above twenty-one and under forty, . . . ; if he is above forty and under sixty, . . . ; if he is over sixty, . . . ; if the offender is a female, the above-mentioned punishments should be reduced by . . . unless . . . If the person convicted has acted under special temptation, the punishments which he would otherwise have incurred shall be varied as follows:—

The following are instances of special temptation. Where the offender was in great want, where an opportunity of committing the offence was unexpectedly afforded to the prisoner by the negligence of the prosecutor; any other case which the jury might regard as similar to these or either of them.

Any one accustomed to the subject would see at a glance the absurdity of such an enactment, that it would not be nearly elaborate enough. Other rules would be wanted. For instance, it would be necessary to lay down rules as to the effect of drunkenness on punishment—a matter of no small difficulty, as it may act either way. It is one thing for a man to be overtaken with drink on some special occasion; quite another for him to get more or less drunk in order to screw up his courage to commit an offence.

There are two special reasons, each of which separately would make it practically impossible to pass any Act of the sort. The first is that, whereas a penal code to be worth having must be based on the existing law, and must be a change rather in form than in substance, the criminal law as it stands does not deal with crimes in such a manner that it could be made the foundation of such a penal code as would be required for the purpose of superseding discretionary punishments. The existing criminal law consists principally of a great number of statutes meant to provide for the punishment of acts which for some reason or other were either not provided for by the common law or were not supposed to be punished by that law with sufficient severity. The following are specimens of the list of distinctions which are established by the present law in regard to theft.³ Stealing wills, stealing post letters and letter bags, may be punished by penal servitude for life. Stealing cattle or horses, stealing from the person, stealing to the value of 5*l.* in a dwelling-house, stealing by a servant, may be punished by penal servitude for fourteen years. Stealing fixtures to the value of 5*l.* by lodgers may be punished by penal servitude up to seven years; stealing other things than those specially mentioned may be punished by penal servitude for five years. If such a penal code as would supersede discretion in punishments is to be passed, the whole of this law must be repealed and an entirely new one substituted for it; for it would be utterly impossible to provide separate graduated scales of punishment for the different forms of theft which the existing law recognises—a scale for thefts from the person, for thefts of cattle, for thefts by servants, and so on.

I am far indeed from admiring the present law of theft. It might be greatly simplified and improved, and the maximum punishments which may be inflicted, as the law stands, for particular kinds of theft might be greatly reduced. It is difficult to see why stealing from a canal boat or on board a ship should subject a man to severer punishment than stealing in other places; but the simplification of the law and the lowering of the maximum punishments authorised by the present law would affect the actual administration of justice very little, for the reasons already given.

A second special difficulty is to be found in trial by jury. If the degree of a man's punishment is to be determined by such a code as I have tried to describe, the fact that he falls within its provisions must be charged in the indictment and found by the jury. They would have to say, not only whether A B was guilty of theft, but whether he was guilty of theft under any and which of the qualifications which, according to the code, would affect the degree of his

³ See my *Digest of the Criminal Law*, articles 324–328 inclusive. The explanation of these distinctions is given in my *History of the Criminal Law*, vol. iii. pp. 121–176.

punishment. I do not believe it would be possible to work such a system at all. The least bad result would be the introduction of an immense amount of intricacy and technicality into criminal pleading, which at present is perfectly simple. The utter bewilderment of juries would be a more serious matter; and the general result would be a system in which the existing defects of the law relating to punishments, be they what they may, would be greatly increased. So obvious are these remarks to every one who has had much experience of criminal law, that I do not think any one believes that the alleged defects of the present system could be removed by legislation. In one of the papers to which reference has been made, Sir Edward Du Cane says expressly:—‘Nor would I suggest any too rigid restriction should be placed on the discretion of those whose office it is to pass sentences.’ The Secretary of State considers that the general rules which he suggests should be ‘subject of course to the necessary exceptions in particular cases.’

These qualifications are exceptions which practically destroy the rule to which they apply. In practice every case is exceptional; that is, it differs from all others in a variety of circumstances; and to speak of restrictions which are not to be ‘too rigid’ is to say nothing. There is no medium at all between a system of perfectly rigid restriction and a system of individual discretion.

The suggestion that the judges should make general rules amongst themselves in this matter appears to me to be open to the remark that, if they did so, they would be assuming a power which the Constitution has not given, and does not mean to give them. The law as it stands imposes upon each individual judge of a criminal court the duty of exercising his own individual discretion upon the cases which come before him. I for one should feel that I had no right to put off that responsibility on any other person or body of persons. Besides, I think that the difficulty of laying down such rules does not depend on the nature of the legislature by which they are enacted, but is inherent in the nature of the subject.* It would be as difficult for the Council of Judges to say in what cases imprisonment and in what cases penal servitude should be inflicted, as it would be for Parliament to do the same thing; and the result when arrived at would probably not be more satisfactory in the one case than in the other.

In short, I do not think that the alleged defect in the law, such as it is, is one which can be solved by legislation of any kind, either by Parliamentary legislation on the one hand or by rules laid down by the judges on the other.

From these observations it follows that, practically speaking, a wide discretion as to the amount of punishment to be inflicted in particular cases must always be vested in the judges of criminal courts. It does not, however, follow that that discretion either is or ought to be wholly personal and subject to no regulation at all. By

what then is it to be regulated? The answer is by custom and the pervading tone of public feeling. If, for instance, the question is asked why flogging or, other forms of physical pain are not made more use of in the punishment of crimes, or why death is not inflicted in some cases in the place of long terms of penal servitude, it seems to me that the only satisfactory answer which can be given is that public feeling does not approve of it. In the same way it is difficult, indeed impossible, to say why a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment and hard labour should appear extremely severe for an ordinary theft, whereas one of three months would attract no attention; but there can be no doubt that such would be the case. I do not believe that any closer or more explicit rule as to punishments warranted by law can be given than this, that they should be such as are commonly inflicted in similar cases, and such as do not shock public feeling. This leaves, as I have already admitted, a wide range within which nothing more can be said than that the judge ought to exercise his discretion in good faith and with the closest possible attention to the circumstances of the case. Some will be more lenient, some more severe; but this, I think, is incidental to the infliction of punishment. If the most elaborate and precise rules were laid down so as to leave no discretion at all to the judge, the same thing would occur, though in an inverted form. In the one case different judges punish similar offences with different degrees of severity. In the other case the law would punish dissimilar offences with the same degree of severity. If the punishment of bigamy is discretionary, some judges will punish it more severely than others. If there is no discretion, a rape by fraud and a mere contempt of the law will receive the same punishment.

The notion, therefore, of obtaining the same punishment for similar offences is one which cannot be realised, and I may just observe that, even if it could, the same punishment would inflict very different degrees of loss and suffering on different people. When this is once fully realised, it will follow that all that can reasonably be expected from any system is that it should be so administered as to tend as much as possible to the prevention of crime, that it should be administered with all possible attention to the circumstances of particular cases, and that it should be in harmony with the settled habitual tone of feeling in the country.

Does the existing system fulfil these requirements? It would seem unfair to doubt that it has had its part in the diminution of crime which has recently taken place. But is it in harmony with public feeling?

There are many reasons to believe that it is. Courts of justice pass their sentences in open day, under the inspection of innumerable close observers, and there is nothing to prevent and everything to encourage petitions or public remonstrances against undue severity. Now, if it is the case, as it certainly is, that a very great numerical majority of

the sentences passed are acquiesced in, not only by the public but by the persons sentenced, does not this go far to prove that there is, in fact, something approaching to a tacit understanding as to the sentences which ought to be passed in particular cases, and that in the great majority of instances that understanding is acted upon?

Many other considerations point to the same conclusion, and suggest that there is much exaggeration in the complaints which are sometimes made of the inequality of punishments. I think, for instance, that if a man were sent to penal servitude for twenty years for a burglary not accompanied by circumstances of very great aggravation, or for seven years for a common case of bigamy, or for five years on a first conviction for a common theft, such a sentence would attract criticism and remonstrance, would produce a petition for a commutation of the sentence, and would certainly lead to one. I will give some reasons for the opinion that such an unwritten scale of punishments does exist, and I will then proceed to give a few specific illustrations of what, according to my experience, it is.

When at the Bar I used closely to watch the sentences passed by different judges, and after a certain time I found that I could foretell with considerable accuracy what they would be. I recollect on one occasion seeing a list kept by another person of the sentences which he thought appropriate in a series of cases. They coincided curiously with those which actually were passed.

Under the present system, by which, generally speaking, only one judge goes on most of the circuits, the judges see and hear much less of each other's cases than was usual when they went circuit in pairs. At that time the judges continually consulted together on the sentences to be passed in particular cases, and it was seldom that there was any wide difference of opinion on the subject. I have more than once been on circuit with judges whose professional life had been passed in the Court of Chancery, and who had never seen a criminal court till they were set to preside in one. They have naturally been anxious to inform themselves of what was customary, and have usually wished to compare their views in particular cases with mine. I have found in every case that there was little difference between us, that they had learnt from other judges, to whom they had applied, very much what my own experience had taught me, and that such differences as there were were accounted for by the special circumstances of particular offences.

Again, I have observed (as I have already remarked) that prisoners know what to expect. They constantly make observations which show it, both when they are taken and when they are sentenced. Not only do prisoners know this, but they also know that, if their sentence is unduly severe, they can petition the Home Secretary for a reduction of it. But I believe that it is the usual practice to refer to the judge for his observations before a sentence is commuted, either

on the ground of over-severity or on the ground that the prisoner has been unduly convicted. In many such cases the petition is delayed for a considerable time, and a commutation is asked on some special ground not inconsistent with the propriety of the original sentence. Cases, however, do certainly occur in which a sentence is commuted, and properly commuted, on the ground of its over-severity. I have no means of speaking positively on the subject, but from my own experience I should greatly doubt whether the number of such commutations was nearly as much as one per cent.

Passing from these general observations, I will enter somewhat more closely into detail, and will try to give some sort of notion of what in my experience this unwritten scale of punishments is—that is to say, what are the sort of sentences which judges at the assizes would probably pass in particular classes of cases without attracting any special attention. It would be impossible on such an occasion as this to give more than a few illustrations; but it would be possible to go in the same way through every branch of the criminal law.

The typical crime against property is theft. The distinctions between theft, embezzlement, obtaining goods by false pretences, and various other kinds of fraud without violence, are rather technical than moral. If we imagine a theft by a person neither very young nor very old, neither excused on the one hand by any special temptation nor aggravated on the other by special contrivance, conspiracy, or the like, I should say that three months' imprisonment and hard labour would be a common sentence. It is impossible to give anything approaching to a complete account of the circumstances which might either diminish or increase this punishment. Age, sex, weakness of mind not amounting to positive insanity, are obvious reasons for leniency. A respectable girl of fourteen or fifteen tells a little lie to get some small article of dress, and pleads guilty to an indictment for obtaining goods by false pretences. Imprisonment would perhaps inflict on her an injury for life. Every one wishes her to be forgiven. She has, as it is, been terribly frightened. Her mistress is willing to take her back and look after her. In several such cases I have known children to be discharged with a caution to take warning, and with a merely nominal punishment, or even none at all. On the other hand, the theft may involve treachery, and show more or less artfulness. A servant trusted with his master's property steals it. In such a case the three months might rise to four. Suppose, again, that the circumstances of the case suggested not only treachery but conspiracy. Suppose the thief was a grown-up clerk who had led an under servant to be the actual committer of the offence. In such a case the four months might rise to six. I should expect to find circumstances of unusual aggravation in a case of theft or fraud which was punished with nine months' hard labour on a first conviction, but many in-

stances may be given in which such a sentence would be nothing extraordinary. Receiving is a worse crime than theft in many instances; though not in all. A person who received some particular article might be no worse, he might even be less criminal, than the thief; but, if the circumstances of the case are such as to show that the offender made a trade of it, he might properly be sentenced on his first conviction to seven or even ten years' penal servitude. Such a man is a fountain of crime and a corrupter of youth. If a man was one of a gang of wandering thieves, carrying on his trade by systematic false pretences, like those which are called 'long firm' cases, or if he was convicted of a deliberate offence under the Bankruptcy Laws, or if he picked pockets in a way which showed it was his regular business to do so, I do not think either twelve or eighteen months would be at all an unusual punishment. There are cases of theft which I think would, even on a first offence, call for the extreme sentence allowed by the law for simple larceny—five years' penal servitude. I refer to those in which the amount of property stolen is large, in which several criminals have conspired together, and in which great art and ingenuity have been employed. As an illustration I may refer to a gold robbery from the South-Eastern Railway which attracted much attention many years ago. Three or four men, who had found out from the railway servants by what train bullion was sent from England to France, managed, by a long series of ingenious contrivances, to get one of their number into the carriage, where he opened with a false key the chest in which the gold was contained, took out as much as he could carry, substituted lead for it to prevent the lightening of the chest from being noticed, and returned to town with the booty, which he shared with his confederates who had given him the information, and enabled him to forge the key and to enter the carriage. For such a crime as this I think five years was too short a sentence, though it was all the law permitted in the absence of a previous conviction.

I may here remark that, though I do not think the value of the article stolen would in all cases form an element in the punishment of the thief, it may and ought to do so in many cases. If a pickpocket steals a pocketbook, it would be hard to measure the severity of his sentence by the value of the notes which the pocketbook happened to contain; but where the value of the stolen goods is known to the thief beforehand, and especially where he employs any special degree of cunning to effect his object, he ought to be punished with special severity. The stake for which he has played is a high one, and the strong inducement to crime which is offered to a bad man by the hope of obtaining rich plunder ought to be counterbalanced as far as possible by the prospect of severe punishment.

The offences in which fraud is effected by some sort of force vary greatly in regard both to public danger and moral enormity, and they

set in a striking light the fact that every definition of a crime will be found to include in itself widely dissimilar offences. For instance, robbery is theft effected by force or threats of force; burglary is breaking into a dwelling-house between nine at night and six in the morning, with intent to commit a felony—generally speaking, with intent to steal. Each of these definitions includes acts differing widely in atrocity.

Robberies are often offences of little more atrocity than common thefts, for the degree of violence used may be trifling, and no permanent or cruel injury to the person robbed may be either inflicted or intended to be inflicted. Such cases as the following are not uncommon:—Two men drink together at a public-house till they are both a good deal the worse for liquor. On leaving, one of them is hustled about by the other, and his pockets are emptied. In the absence of previous convictions or other circumstances of aggravation, I should think, if the offence was committed by a single criminal, he would be imprisoned for perhaps six or nine months. If there were circumstances of aggravation—if, for instance, several men acted together, and the violence employed was considerable and prolonged, the sentence might go up to eighteen months. If there were both premeditation and conspiracy, or if the violence was employed not merely in order to take the money, but to do injury to the person robbed, the case would be one for penal servitude, longer or shorter according to a variety of circumstances. I remember a case in which a gang of men, acting under a ringleader, were collected by a signal, attacked a man on his way home, threw him down, robbed him, and beat and kicked him with more or less violence till he became insensible. The ringleader was sentenced to fourteen and each of the gang to seven years' penal servitude. I never heard that the sentence was complained of. Cases of burglary vary even more in their character than cases of robbery. As almost anything—the opening of a door or window—amounts to a breaking, a considerable number of burglaries are little more than thefts, not very greatly aggravated; and as such they are usually punished with terms of imprisonment varying say from six, or even three, months to a year or eighteen months. In some cases, however, burglary is an extremely bad offence. If a lonely house is broken into by a gang of armed men, the house ransacked, and the inmates put in bodily fear, I should not consider fifteen years' penal servitude at all exceptionally severe, though in such a case distinctions would have to be made according to the prominence of the part taken by different offenders. If violence was employed, or if by threats of violence the owner was obliged to disclose concealed property, the sentence might go, in the case of those who were most active, to twenty years or to penal servitude for life.

These illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely. I will give

a very few more from crimes against the person. None of these is more remarkable than manslaughter or unlawful killing.⁴ It consists in causing the death of another by any unlawful act or omission not accompanied by any of the states of mind or intentions which are described by the technical name of 'malice aforethought,' the presence of which turns manslaughter into murder. This offence is so defined as to comprehend at least three different sets of crimes—namely, first, causing death by violence intended to kill or to inflict deadly injury, but provoked by certain forms of provocation; secondly, causing death by violence not intended nor in itself likely to kill or to cause deadly injury, but intentionally inflicted; thirdly, causing death by culpable negligence. Though not technically complete nor exact, these descriptions of the different forms of manslaughter are sufficient for the present purpose.

In cases of the first and second classes there is a great distinction to be made according to several circumstances—first, the nature of the provocation received (for there may be provocation in the case of ordinary as well as in the case of deadly violence); secondly, the nature of the injury inflicted; thirdly, the circumstances under which it is inflicted. I will mention a few instances. Two men had a quarrel, in itself scandalous and disgraceful, about a woman. They fought with their fists, and after a savage fight one got distinctly the worst of the encounter. He went to his room, and lay for some time on his bed to recover himself a little. After remaining there some time, he went downstairs to the kitchen, picked out a sharp-pointed carving-knife, returned to his antagonist, and, taking his opportunity, drove the knife into his heart. As he had acted whilst under the impression of the humiliation inflicted on him—for which, however, he was himself to blame as much as his antagonist—he was acquitted of murder, though his crime differed from it only by a shade, and he was sentenced to penal servitude for life. And this, I think, is the sentence which in cases of manslaughter closely bordering on murder would usually be passed, though of course circumstances might authorise a higher sentence.

In this case the provocation came as much from the one side as the other; there was an interval during which the offender might have recovered self-control; there was deliberation in the choice of a deadly weapon. Change any one of these circumstances, and the atrocity of the crime might be greatly diminished. If the blow had been given in the actual heat of the fight, when the prisoner found that he was being worsted, and if the knife had been accidentally ready to his hand; or if the man who was killed had been a trespasser, and had attacked the offender without a cause; or

⁴ I have entered at full length into the definition of this offence in my *Digest of the Criminal Law*, part v., and see in particular articles 322 and 323. As for the history of the definition, see my *History of the Criminal Law*, vol. iii. pp. 1-108.

if he had got the prisoner down and was beating him when he was defenceless, the whole character of his offence would have been changed. If all the mitigating circumstances suggested concurred, if the man killed were a mere wrongdoer who made use of his superior strength to insult and humiliate his antagonist grossly, if the prisoner had had a knife in his hand when he was so attacked and ill-treated, and had given a stab in return for a blow, the punishment on conviction would probably have been imprisonment instead of penal servitude. The case, however, is one in which every variation in circumstances ought to be represented in the amount of punishment. The provocation given may be so great as to entitle the offender to be regarded as acting in self-defence. It may be so slight as only just to justify the jury in returning a verdict of manslaughter instead of murder.

The second of the three classes into which I have divided manslaughter differs from the first only in the circumstances that less serious violence is employed. Crimes falling within it would be very variously punished, according to the kind of violence and the degree of brutality used.

I will give a few instances to illustrate the different classes of cases which fall within this general description. The worst are those in which death is caused by acts not intended, nor generally speaking likely, to kill, but indicative of gross cruelty and brutality, especially towards the weak or persons under authority. I should say that, if a strong man caused the death of a delicate woman or a child by blows not meant nor likely to kill, but still cruel and brutal, or if the mate of a ship killed a seaman by striking him down with a handspike by way of punishment for some act of disobedience, he might properly be sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

Suppose, however, that the violence used is comparatively trifling, that a man is killed by a blow given in a common quarrel and under circumstances showing no particular brutality. In such a case the punishment would obviously be imprisonment for a term varying according to all the considerations which would apply in a case of common assault, reference being, however, had to the principle that, in measuring punishment, regard should be had, not only to the intention of the offender, but to the effect of his act. Probably no two cases of this kind are exactly alike.

The third kind of manslaughter is manslaughter by negligence—that is to say, by the omission to discharge some legal duty tending to the preservation of human life. The most serious cases of this sort are those in which children or sick persons are brutally neglected; and I can imagine, though I do not recollect to have met with more than one case in which such conduct would deserve penal servitude. Causing death by gross negligence or ignorance by medical men, or by quacks who assume to act as such, or by gross carelessness—as, for instance,

drunkenness on duty—by guards, engine-drivers, or other persons in charge of machinery, are instances of this offence. They would all be punished by imprisonment in ordinary cases; but the circumstances vary so widely that the punishment would vary exceedingly. A man who got drunk, and, by omitting to regulate the ventilation of a mine, caused an explosion which killed many persons, would not be too severely punished by a year's imprisonment. A man who, by leaving unlighted at night a small heap of rubbish in an unfrequented lane under repair, caused a tax-cart to be upset and the driver to be killed, might probably be fined.

There is hardly any crime from which illustrations of this kind might not be drawn. Take, for example, treasonable felony. Gallagher and his associates, who were convicted of dynamite outrages in London, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. Wilson, the accomplice of Davitt, who took a subordinate part in forwarding arms to Ireland for treasonable purposes, was sentenced by the late Lord Chief Justice to seven years, and Davitt himself, whose part in the matter was much more prominent, to fourteen years' penal servitude.

Rape also varies very widely in guilt. Cases in which several persons have helped each other, in which the crime has been accompanied by torture to compel submission, and has been repeated, have often been punished by penal servitude for twenty years. I have known instances of unmentionable atrocity, where the punishment has been for life. The degree to which the woman resists, her character and her conduct, all affect the question of punishment. I have known sentences of penal servitude of all lengths allowed; I do not remember more than one case in which the punishment was imprisonment and hard labour. If the circumstances justify such a sentence, they are generally such as to call for an acquittal, or such as would justify, if the law permitted it (which I wish it did), an acquittal for rape and a conviction for indecent assault. I abstain, however, from multiplying illustrations. Those which I have given are enough to show that, wide as the range of punishment may and must be, there is still a nearer approach to a customary scale of punishment than is often supposed to be the case. I speak, of course, of sentences passed by judges of the Assizes and the Central Criminal Court, to which for many years my experience has been confined.

In conclusion I may observe that some degree of uncertainty as to punishment has its advantages. An habitual thief meditating a particular crime is likely to be made more uncomfortable by the reflection that if he is tried for it by a severe judge he will be sent to penal servitude, than by the reflection that whoever tries him will give him a year's imprisonment. I do not see any advantage in making thieves and rogues and bullies and burglars feel that, whatever they do, they know the worst; that they will not have to suffer more than a certain well-defined amount of punishment.

Several things might easily be done, which, though not reforms of the first magnitude, would be distinct improvements in the infliction of punishments. The prison authorities ought to be well aware of the physical effects of imprisonment for a certain number of months. The punishment is certainly more severe than it used to be. So far back as 1865 solitary confinement, which used to be an occasional aggravation, and which still keeps its place as such on the statute book, became, under the name of separate confinement, the rule. As the law now stands, it is understood that two years' imprisonment is a punishment so severe that it ought to be inflicted only under very exceptional circumstances; but it would be important to know whether, for instance, a year's imprisonment affects the health of ordinary men either severely or permanently.

I think it should be a fixed rule that a sentence of imprisonment should date back to the day when the prisoner was received into custody, instead of dating, as at present, from the first day of the sittings at which it is passed, or from the day when it is passed. As matters now stand, a prisoner generally, though not always, gets in his sentence credit for part of the time at least of his imprisonment when under committal. I think the law should give it him; though to a certain extent imprisonment under committal for trial is less severe than imprisonment under sentence, the anxiety which the prisoner has to undergo must make it at least equally unpleasant.

There is one kind of punishment known to the present law which I think ought to be altogether abolished, as it is inflicted by mere operation of the law, no discretion being reposed either in the judge or, I believe, in any other authorities, and as it operates with cruel and, what is worse, with retrospective severity. It punishes a man literally for having in his earlier life deserved well of the public. I refer to the relics of the laws of forfeiture, which were unhappily preserved when forfeiture for felony was abolished in 1870 by 33 & 34 Vict. c. 23, § 1, and the following provision was enacted in the place of the old law. I transcribe it, and the remarks made upon it in my *History of the Criminal Law**:—

'It is provided by section 2, that upon a conviction for felony and a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment or upwards, or imprisonment with hard labour for any term, the convict shall forfeit "any military or naval office or any civil office under the Crown or other public employment, or any ecclesiastical benefice, or any place, office, or emolument in any university, college, or other corporation which he may hold, and also any pension or superannuation allowance or emolument" to which he is entitled. I think that the question whether a person should on account of a conviction of felony, followed by a sentence of imprisonment and hard labour, be deprived of official employment or ecclesiastical preferment, should be left to his

* Vol. i. pp. 488-89.

official or ecclesiastical superiors. I do not see why an officer in the army who, in a moment of irritation, strikes a blow which kills a man and is convicted of manslaughter, should lose his commission because the judge sentences him to imprisonment with hard labour; nor do I think that in considering the sentence the judge ought to be obliged to take into account the fact that a sentence of hard labour will necessarily cost the offender his commission. This matter seems to me to be one for the military authorities, just as the question whether a barrister should be disbarred upon a conviction is a question for the Benchers of his Inn.

‘To deprive a man of a pension or superannuation allowance, which is in reality deferred pay earned by work done, is to keep up the principle of forfeiture of property as a punishment for crime in a special class of cases when it has been given up in all others. Two officers of a bank are convicted of a forgery for which each is sentenced to a year’s hard labour. One is a retired Indian civilian with a pension of 1,000*l.* a year; the other has bought a life annuity of the same amount out of his savings in a profession. Why is the one to lose his pension and the other to keep his annuity? The pension is just as much property as the annuity. It is part of the consideration for which many years of labour were given. Apart from this, why, when removing an admitted grievance, keep up a perfectly irrational distinction between the punishment of felons and the punishment of misdemeanants? Suppose that two other persons—directors of the same bank—had fraudulently misappropriated its funds in concert with the two forgers, but by means amounting only to misdemeanour. If they held pensions or commissions they would forfeit nothing, even if they were sentenced to penal servitude. Surely this is highly unjust. It seems to me that the whole Act, except the section which abolishes forfeiture, should be repealed. If its provisions are not wanted in cases of misdemeanours, they are not wanted at all. They are practically a dead letter in cases of felony.’

I have confined my observations to sentences passed by judges of the High Court, because they are the only ones on which my own experience qualifies me to speak.

JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN.

DIET
IN RELATION TO AGE AND ACTIVITY.

ENOUGH, and more than enough perhaps, has been uttered concerning the prejudicial effects on the body of habitually using alcoholic beverages. It is rare now to find anyone, well acquainted with human physiology, and capable of observing and appreciating the ordinary wants and usages of life around him, who does not believe that, with few exceptions, men and women are healthier and stronger, physically, intellectually, and morally, without such drinks than with them. And confessedly there is little or nothing new to be said respecting a conclusion which has been so thoroughly investigated, discussed, and tested by experience, as this. It is useless, and indeed impolitic, in the well-intentioned effort to arouse public attention to the subject, to make exaggerated statements in relation thereto. But the important truth has still to be preached, repeated, and freshly illustrated, when possible, in every quarter of society, because a very natural bias to self-indulgence is always present to obscure men's views of those things which gratify it. While, in addition to this, an exceedingly clever commercial interest of enormous influence and proportions never ceases to vaunt its power to provide us with 'the soundest,' 'purest,' and—most to be suspected of all—with even 'medically certified,' forms of spirit, wine, and beer; apparently rendering alcoholic products conformable to the requirements of some physiological law supposed to demand their employment, and thus insinuating the semblance of a proof that they are generally valuable, or at least harmless, as an accompaniment of food at our daily meals.

It is not, however, with the evils of 'drink' that I propose to deal here: they are thus alluded to because, in making a few observations on the kindred subject of food, I desire to commence with a remark on the comparison, so far as that is possible, between the deleterious effects on the body of erroneous views and practice in regard of drinking, and in regard of eating, respectively.

I have for some years past been compelled by facts which are constantly coming before me, to accept the conclusion that more mischief in the form of actual disease, of impaired vigour, and of shortened life, accrues to civilised man, so far as I have observed in our own country

and throughout western and central Europe, from erroneous habits in eating, than from the habitual use of alcoholic drink, considerable as I know the evil of that to be. I am not sure that a similar comparison might not be made between the respective influence of those agencies in regard of moral evil also; but I have no desire to indulge in speculative assertion, and suspect that an accurate conclusion on this subject may be beyond our reach at present.

It was the perception, during many years of opportunity to observe, of the extreme indifference manifested by the general public to any study of food, and want of acquaintance with its uses and value, together with a growing sense on my own part of the vast importance of diet to the healthy as well as to the sick, which led me in the year 1879 to write two articles in this Review entitled *Food and Feeding*. And since that date fresh experience has, I confess, still enhanced my estimate of the value of such knowledge, which indeed it is impossible to exaggerate, when regarding that one object of existence which I suppose all persons desire to attain, viz. an ample duration of time for enjoying the healthy exercise of bodily and mental function. Few would, I presume, consider length of life a boon apart from the possession of fairly good health; but this latter being granted, the desire for a prolonged term of existence appears to be almost universal.

I have come to the conclusion that a proportion amounting at least to more than one half of the disease which embitters the middle and latter part of life among the middle and upper classes of the population is due to avoidable errors in diet. Further, while such disease renders so much of life, for many, disappointing, unhappy, and profitless, a term of painful endurance; for not a few it shortens life considerably. It would not be a difficult task—and its results if displayed here would be striking—to adduce in support of these views a numerical statement showing causes which prematurely terminate life among the classes referred to in this country, based upon the Registrar-General's reports, or by consulting the records of life assurance experience. I shall not avail myself of these materials in this place, although it would be right to do so in the columns of a medical journal. My object here is to call the attention of the public to certain facts about diet which are insufficiently known, and therefore inadequately appreciated. And I shall assume that ample warrant for the observations made here is within my reach, and can be made available if required.

At the outset of the few and brief remarks which the space at my disposal permits me to make, I shall intimate, speaking in general terms, that I have no sympathy with any dietary system which excludes the present generally recognised sources and varieties of food. It is possible indeed that we may yet add considerably to those we already possess, and with advantage; but there appears to be no reason for

dispensing with any one of them. When we consider how varied are the races of man, and how dissimilar are the climatic conditions which affect him, and how in each climate the occupations, the surrounding circumstances, and even the individual peculiarities of the inhabitants, largely differ, we shall be constrained to admit that any one of all the sources of food hitherto known may be made available, may in its turn become desirable, and even essential to life.

To an inhabitant of the Arctic Circle, for example, a vegetarian diet would be impracticable, because the elements of it cannot be produced in that region; and were it possible to supply him with them, life could not be supported thereby. Animal food in large quantity is necessary to sustain existence in the low temperature to which he is exposed. But I desire to oppose any scheme for circumscribing the food resources of the world, and any form of a statute of limitations to our diet, not merely because it can be proved inapplicable, as in the case of the Esquimaux, under certain local and circumscribed conditions, but because I hold that the principle of limiting mankind to the use of any one class of foods among many is in itself an erroneous one. Thus, for example, while sympathising to a large extent myself with the practice of what is called 'vegetarianism' in diet, and knowing how valuable the exclusive or almost exclusive use of the products of the vegetable kingdom may be for a considerable number of the adult population of our own and of other countries in the temperate zones, and for most of that which inhabits the torrid zone, I object strongly to a dogmatic assertion that such limitation of their food is desirable for any class or body of persons whatever. Moreover, an exclusive or sectarian spirit always creeps in sooner or later, wherever an 'ism' of any kind leads the way, which sooner or later brings in its train assertions barely supported by fact, the equivocal use of terms, evasion—in short, untruthfulness, unintended and unperceived by the well-meaning people who, having adopted the 'ism,' at last suffer quite unconsciously from obscurity of vision, and are in danger of becoming blind partisans.

Thus the term 'vegetarian' as used to distinguish a peculiar diet, has no meaning whatever unless it implies that all the articles of food so comprised are to be products of the vegetable kingdom; admitting, of course, the very widest scope to that term. In that sense the vegetable kingdom may be held to embrace all the cereals, as wheat, barley, rye, and oats, maize, rice, and millet; all the leguminous plants—beans, peas, and lentils; all the roots and tubers containing chiefly starch, as the potato, yam, &c.; the plants yielding sago and arrowroot; the sources of sugar in the cane and beet, &c.; all the garden herbs and vegetables; the nuts, and all the fruits. Then there are the olive and other plants yielding the important element of oil in great abundance. An admirable assortment, to which a few minor articles belong, not necessary to be specified

here. An excellent display of foods, which suffice to support life in certain favourable conditions, and which may be served in varied and appetising forms. And to those who find their dietary within the limits of this list the name of vegetarian is rightly applicable. But such is by no means the practice of the self-styled vegetarians we usually meet with. It was only the other evening, in a crowded drawing-room, that a handsome, well-developed, and manifestly well-nourished girl—a 'picture of health' and vigour—informed me with extreme satisfaction that she had been a 'vegetarian' for several months, and how thoroughly that dietary system agreed with her. She added that she was recommending all her friends (how natural!) to be vegetarians also, continuing, 'And do you not believe I am right?' On all grounds, one could only assure her that she had the appearance of admirably illustrating the theory of her daily life, whatever that might be, adding, 'But now will you tell me what your diet consists of?' As happens in nineteen cases out of twenty, my young and blooming vegetarian replied that she took an egg and milk in quantity, besides butter, not only at breakfast, but again in the form of pudding, pastry, fritter, or cake, &c., to say nothing of cheese at each of the two subsequent meals of the day: animal food, it is unnecessary to say, of a choice, and some of it in a concentrated form. To call a person thus fed a vegetarian is a palpable error; to proclaim oneself so almost requires a stronger term to denote the departure from accuracy involved. Yet so attractive to some, possessing a moral sense not too punctilious, is the small distinction attained by becoming sectarian, and partisans of a quasi-novel and somewhat questioned doctrine, that an equivocal position is accepted in order to retain if possible the term 'vegetarian' as the ensign of a party, the members of which consume abundantly strong animal food, abjuring it only in its grosser forms of flesh and fish. And hence it happens, as I have lately learned, that milk, butter, eggs, and cheese are now designated in the language of 'Vegetarianism' by the term '*animal products*,' an ingenious but evasive expedient to avoid the necessity for speaking of them as animal food!

Let us, for one moment only, regard milk, with which, on Nature's plan, we have all been fed for the first year, or thereabout, of our lives, and during which term we made a larger growth and a more important development than in any other year among the whole tale of the life which has passed, however long it may have been. How, in any sense, can that year of plenty and expansion, which we may have been happy and fortunate enough to owe—an inextinguishable debt—to maternal love and bounty, be said to be a year of 'vegetarian diet'? Will any man henceforward dare thus to distinguish the source from which he drew his early life? Unhappily, indeed, for want of wisdom, the natural ration of some infants is occasionally supplemented at an early period by the addition of vegetable matter;

but the practice is almost always undesirable, and is generally paid for by a sad and premature experience of indigestion to the helpless baby. Poor baby! who, unlike its progenitors in similar circumstances, while forced to pay the penalty, has not even had the satisfaction of enjoying a delightful but naughty dish beforehand.

The vegetarian restaurant at the Health Exhibition last summer supplied thousands of excellent and nutritious meals at a cheap rate, to the great advantage of its customers; but the practice of insisting with emphasis that a 'vegetable diet' was supplied was wholly indefensible, since it contained eggs and milk, butter and cheese in great abundance.

It is not more than six months since I observed in a well-known weekly journal a list of some half-dozen receipts for dishes recommended on authority as specimens of vegetarian diet. All were savoury combinations, and every one contained eggs, butter, milk, and cheese in considerable quantity, the vegetable elements being in comparatively small proportion!

It is incumbent on the supporters of this system of mixed diet to find a term which conveys the truth, that truth being that they abjure the use, as food, of all animal flesh. The words 'vegetable' and 'vegetarian' have not the remotest claim to express that fact, while they have an express meaning of their own in daily use—namely, the obvious one of designating products of the vegetable kingdom. It may not be easy at once to construct a simple term which differentiates clearly from the true vegetarian the person who also uses various foods belonging to the animal kingdom, and who abjures only the flesh of animals. But it is high time that we should be spared the obscure language, or rather the inaccurate statement to which milk and egg consumers are committed, in assuming a title which has for centuries belonged to that not inconsiderable body of persons whose habits of life confer the right to use it. And I feel sure that my friends 'the Vegetarians,' living on a mixed diet, will see the necessity of seeking a more appropriate designation to distinguish them; if not, we must endeavour to invent one for them.

But why should we limit by dogma or otherwise man's liberty to select his food and drink? I appreciate the reason for abstaining from alcoholic drinks derived from benevolent motive or religious principle, and entertain for it the highest respect, although I cannot myself claim the merit of self-denial or the credit of setting an example—abstaining, like many others, solely because experience has taught that to act otherwise is manifestly to do myself an injury.

This brings me to the point which I desire to establish, namely, that the great practical rule of life in regard of human diet will not be found in enforcing limitation of the sources of food which nature has abundantly provided. On the contrary, that rule is fulfilled in the perfect development of the art of adapting food of any and every

kind to the needs of the body according to the very varied circumstances of the individual, at different ages, with different forms of activity, with different inherent personal peculiarities, and with different environments. This may read at first sight perhaps like a truism ; but how important is the doctrine, and how completely it is ignored in the experience of life by most people, it will be my object here to show.

I have already alluded to the fact that the young and rapidly growing infant, whose structures have to be formed on the soft and slender lines laid down before birth, whose organs have to be solidified and expanded at one and the same time, in which tissues of all kinds are formed with immense rapidity and activity, requires animal food ready prepared in the most soluble form for digestion and assimilation. Such a food is milk ; and if the human supply is insufficient, we obtain in its place that of the cow, chiefly ; and during the first year of life milk constitutes the best form of food. After that time other kinds of nourishment, mostly well-cooked wheaten flour in various shapes, begin to be added to the milk which long continues to be a staple source of nourishment to the young animal. Eggs, a still more concentrated form of similar food, follow, and ultimately the dietary is enlarged by additions of various kinds, as the growing process continues through youth to puberty, when liberty arrives more or less speedily to do in all such matters 'as others do.' On reaching manhood, the individual in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred acquires the prevailing habit of his associates, and he feeds after that uniform prescription of diet which prevails, with little disposition to question its suitability to himself. A young fellow in the fulness of health, and habituated to daily active life in the open air, may, under the stimulus of appetite and enjoyment in gratifying it, often largely exceed both in quantity and variety of food what is necessary to supply all the demands of his system, without paying a very exorbitant price for the indulgence. If the stomach is sensitive or not very powerful, it sometimes rejects an extravagant ration of food, either at once or soon after the surfeit has been committed ; but if the digestive force is considerable, the meals, habitually superabundant as they may be, are gradually absorbed, and the surplus fund of nutrient material unused is stored up in some form. When a certain amount has been thus disposed of, the capacity for storage varying greatly in different persons, an undesirable balance remains against the feeder, and in young people is mostly rectified by a 'bilious attack,' through the agency of which a few hours of vomiting and misery square the account. Then the same process of over-feeding recommences with renewed appetite and sensations of invigorated digestion, until in two or three, or five or six weeks, according to the ratio existing between the amount of food ingested and the habit of expending or eliminating it from the body, the

recurring attack appears and again clears the system, and so on during several years of life. If the individual takes abundant exercise and expends much energy in the business of life, a large quantity of food can be properly disposed of. Such a person enjoys the pleasure of satisfying a healthy appetite, and doing so with ordinary prudence not only takes no harm, but consolidates the frame and enables it to resist those manifold unseen sources of evil which are prone to affect injuriously the feeble. On the other hand, if he is inactive, takes little exercise, spends most of his time in close air and in a warm temperature, shaping his diet nevertheless on the liberal scheme just described, the balance of unexpended nutriment soon tells more or less heavily against him, and must be thrown off in some form or another.

After the first half or so of life has passed away, instead of periodical sickness, the unemployed material may be relegated in the form of fat to be stored on the external surface of the body, or be packed among the internal organs, and thus he or she may become corpulent and heavy, if a facility for converting appropriate material into fat is consistent with the constitution of the individual; for some constitutions appear to be without the power of storing fat, however rich the diet or inactive their habits may be. When therefore this process cannot take place, and in many instances also when it is in action, the over-supply of nutritious elements ingested must go somewhere, more or less directly, to produce disease in some other form, probably at first interfering with the action of the liver, and next appearing as gout or rheumatism, or to cause fluxes and obstructions of various kinds. Thus recurring attacks of gout perform the same duty, or nearly so, at this period of life, that the bilious attacks accomplished in youth, only the former process is far more damaging to the constitution and materially injures it. In relation to liver derangement and inordinate fat production, we may see the process rapidly performed before our eyes, if we so desire, in the cellars of Strasbourg. For the unfortunate goose who is made by force to swallow more nutritive matter than is good for him in the shape of food which, excellent in appropriate conditions, is noxious to the last degree when not expended by the consumer—I mean good milk and barleymeal—falls a victim in less than a month of this gluttonous living to that form of fatty liver which under the name of *foie gras* offers an irresistible charm to the gourmet at most well-furnished tables.¹ The animal being thus fed is kept in a close, warm temperature and without exercise, a mode of feeding and a kind of life which

¹ In passing I would strongly commend the condition of those poor beasts to the consideration of the Antivivisection Society, since more disease is artificially produced among them in order to furnish our tables with the 'pâté,' than by all the physiologists of Europe who in the interest, not of the human palate, but of human progress as affected by therapeutic knowledge, sometimes propagate and observe certain unknown forms of disease among a few of the lower animals.

one need not after all go to Strasburg to observe, since it is not difficult to find an approach to it, and to watch the principle carried out, although only to a less considerable extent, anywhere and everywhere around us. Numerous individuals of both sexes, who have no claim by the possession of ornithological characteristics to consanguinity with the animal just named, may be said nevertheless to manifest signs of relation in some sort thereto—not creditable perhaps—to the goose, the Strasburg dietary being an enforced one—by their habit of absorbing superfluous quantities of nutriment while living a life of inactivity, and of course sooner or later become invalid in body, unhappy in temper, and decrepit in regard of mental power.

For let us observe that there are two forces concerned in this matter of bountiful feeding which must be considered a little further. I have said that a hearty, active young fellow may eat perhaps almost twice as much as he requires to replace the expenditure of his life and repair the loss of the machine in its working without much inconvenience. He, being robust and young, has two functions capable of acting at the maximum degree of efficiency. He has a strong digestion, and can convert a large mass of food into fluid aliment suitable for absorption into the system: that is function the first. But besides this he has the power of bringing into play an active eliminating force, which rids him of all the superfluous materials otherwise destined, as we have seen, to become mischievous in some shape: and that is function the second. To him it is a matter of indifference for a time whether the quantity of material which his food supplies to the body is greater than his ordinary daily expenditure demands, because his energy and activity furnish unstinted opportunities of eliminating the surplus at all times. 'But the neglect to adjust a due relation between the 'income' and the 'output' cannot go on for ever without signs of mischief in some quarter. A tolerably even correspondence between the two must by some means be maintained to ensure a healthy condition of the body. It is failure to understand, first, the importance of preserving a near approach to equality between the supply of nutriment to the body and the expenditure produced by the activity of the latter; and, secondly, ignorance of the method of attaining this object in practice, which give rise to various forms of disease calculated to embitter and shorten life after the period of prime has passed.

Let it be understood that in the matters of feeding and bodily activity a surplus of unexpended sustenance—here referred to as 'the balance'—is by its nature exactly opposite to that which prudent men desire to hold with their bankers in affairs of finance. In this respect we desire to augment the income, endeavouring to confine expenditure within such limits as to maintain a cash balance in our favour to meet exigencies not perhaps foreseen. But in order to preserve our health when that period of blatant, rampant, irrepressible

vigour which belongs to youth has passed away, it is time to see that our income of food and our expenditure through such activity as we have constitute an harmonious equality, or nearly so. It is the balance against us of nutritive material which becomes a source of evil. And it is a balance which it is so agreeable and so easy to form, and which often so insidiously augments, unless we are on our guard against the danger. The accumulated stores of aliment, the unspent food, so to speak, which saturate the system are happily often got rid of by those special exercises to which so large a portion of time and energy is devoted by some people. It is to this end that men at home use dumb-bells or heavy clubs, or abroad shoot, hunt, and row, or perform athletic and pedestrian feats, or sweat in Turkish baths, or undergo a drench at some foreign watering-place—all useful exercises in their way, but pursued to an extent unnecessary for any other purpose than to eliminate superfluous nutrient materials, which are occasioning derangements in the system, for which these modes of elimination are the most efficient cure, and are thus often ordered by the medical adviser. But as we increase in age—when we have spent, say, our first half-century—less energy and activity remain, and less expenditure can be made; less power to eliminate is possible at fifty than at thirty, still less at sixty and upwards. Less nutriment, therefore, must be taken in proportion as age advances, or rather as activity diminishes, or the individual will suffer. If he continues to consume the same abundant breakfasts, substantial lunches, and heavy dinners, which at the summit of his power he could dispose of almost with impunity, he will in time certainly either accumulate fat or become acquainted with gout or rheumatism, or show signs of unhealthy deposit of some kind in some part of the body, processes which must inevitably empoison, undermine, or shorten his remaining term of life. He must reduce his ‘intake,’ because a smaller expenditure is an enforced condition of existence. At seventy the man’s power has further diminished, and the nutriment must correspond thereto if he desires still another term of comfortable life. And why should he not? Then at eighty, with less activity there must be still less ‘support.’ And on this principle he may yet long continue, provided he is not the victim of an inherited taint or vice of system too powerful to be dominated, or that no unhappy accident inflicts a lasting injury on the machine, or no unfortunate exposure to insanitary poison has shaken the frame by long-exhausting fever; and then with a fair constitution he may remain free from serious troubles, and active to a right good old age, reaching far beyond the conventional seventy years which were formerly supposed to represent the full limit of man’s fruitful life and work on earth.

But how opposed is this system to the favourite popular theory. Have we not all been brought up in the belief that the perfection of conduct consists, truly enough, in temperate habits in youth and

middle life, such duty, however, being mostly enforced by the pleasant belief that when age arrived we might indulge in that extra 'support'—seductive term, often fruitful of mischief—which the feebleness of advancing years is supposed to deserve? The little sensual luxuries, hitherto forbidden, now suggested by the lips of loving woman, and tendered in the confidence of well-doing by affectionate hands, are henceforth to be gratefully accepted, enjoyed, and turned to profit in the evening of our declining years. The extra glass of cordial, the superlatively strong extract of food, are now to become delicate and appropriate aids to the enfeebled frame. Unhappily for this doctrine, it is, on the contrary, precisely at this period that concentrated aliments are not : . . . or wholesome, but are to be avoided as sources generally prolific of trouble. If the cordial glass and the rich food are to be enjoyed at any time, whether prudently or otherwise, like other pleasures they must be indulged when strength and activity are great, in other words, when eliminating power is at its maximum, assuredly not when the circulation is becoming slow and feeble, and the springs of life are on the ebb. For the flow of blood cannot be driven into any semblance of the youthful torrent by the temporary force of stimulants, nor is it to be overcharged by the constant addition of rich elements which can no longer be utilised. And thus it is impossible to deny that an unsuspected source of discomfort, which in time may become disease, sometimes threatens the head of the household—a source which I would gladly pass over if duty did not compel me to notice it, owing as it is to the sedulous and tender care taken by the devoted, anxious partner of his life, who in secret has long noted and grieved over her lord's declining health and force. She observes that he is now more fatigued than formerly after the labours of the day, is less vigorous for business, for exercise, or for sport, less energetic every way in design and execution. She naturally desires to see him stronger, to sustain the enfeebled power which age is necessarily undermining; and with her there is but one idea, and it is practically embodied in one method—viz. to increase his force by augmenting his nourishment! She remonstrates at every meal at what she painfully feels is the insufficient portion of food he consumes. He pleads in excuse, almost with the consciousness of guilt, that he has really eaten all that appetite permits, but he is besought with plaintive voice and affectionate entreaty 'to try and take a little more,' and, partly to stay the current of gentle complaint, partly to gratify his companion, and partly, as with a faint internal sigh he may confess to himself, 'for peace and comfort's sake,' he assents, and with some violence to his nature forces his palate to comply, thus adding a slight burden to the already satiated stomach. Or if perchance endowed with a less compliant nature he is churlish enough to decline the proffered advice, and even to question the value of a cup of strong beef-tea, or egg whipped up with sherry, which unsought

has pursued him to his study, or been sent to his office between eleven and twelve of the forenoon, and which he knows by experience must if swallowed inevitably impair an appetite for lunch, then not improbably he will fall a victim to his solicitous helpmeet's well-meaning designs in some other shape. There is the tasteless calf's-foot jelly, of which a portion may be surreptitiously introduced into a bowl of tea with small chance that its presence will be detected, especially if accompanied by a good modicum of cream; or the little cup of cocoa or of coffee masking an egg well beaten and smoothly blended to tempt the palate—types of certain small diplomatic exercises, delightful, first, because they are diplomatic and not direct in execution; and, secondly, because the supporting system has been triumphantly maintained, my lord's natural and instinctive objections thereto notwithstanding.

But the loving wife—for whom my sympathy is not more profound than is my sorrow for her almost incurable error in relation to this single department of her duty—is by no means the only source of fallacious counsel to the man whose strength is slowly declining with age. We might almost imagine him to be the object of a conspiracy, so numerous are the temptations which beset him on every side. The daily and weekly journals display column after column of advertisements, enumerating all manner of edibles and drinkables, and loudly trumpeting their virtues, the chief of which is always declared to be the abundance of some quality averred to be at once medicinal and nutritious. Is it bread that we are conjured to buy? Then it is warranted to contain some chemical element; let it be, for example, 'the phosphates in large proportion'—a mysterious term which the advertising tradesman has for some time past employed to signify a precious element, the very elixir of life, which somehow or other he has led the public to associate with the nutriment of the brain and nervous system, and vaunts accordingly. He has evidently caught the notion from the advertising druggist, who loudly declares his special forms of half-food, half-physis, or his medicated preparations of beef and mutton, to contain the elements of nutrition in the highest form of concentration, among which have mostly figured the aforesaid 'phosphates'—as if they were not among the most common and generally prevalent of the earthy constituents of all our food! Then, lest haply a stomach, unaccustomed to the new and highly concentrated materials, should, as is not improbable, find itself unequal to the task of digesting and absorbing them, a portion of gastric juice, borrowed for the occasion, mostly from the pig, is associated therewith to meet, if possible, that difficulty, and so to introduce the nourishment by hook or by crook into the system. I don't say the method described may not be useful in certain cases, and on the advice of the experienced physician, for a patient exhausted by disease, whose salvation may depend upon the happy combination referred to. But it

is the popular belief in the impossibility of having too much of that or of any such good thing, provided only it consists of nutritious food, that the advertiser appeals to, and appeals successfully, and with such effect that the credulous public is being gulled to an enormous extent.

Then even our drink must now be nutritious! Most persons might naturally be aware that the primary object of drink is to satisfy thirst, which means a craving for the supply of water to the tissues—the only fluid they demand and utilise when the sensation in question is felt. Water is a solvent of solids, and is more powerful to this end when employed free from admixture with any other solid material. It may be flavoured, as in tea and otherwise, without impairing its solvent power, but when mixed with any concrete matter, as in chocolate, thick cocoa, or even with milk, its capacity for dissolving—the very quality for which it was demanded—is in great part lost. So plentiful is nutriment in solid food, that the very last place where we should seek that quality is the drink which accompanies the ordinary meal. Here at least we might hope to be free from an exhortation to nourish ourselves, when desirous only to allay thirst or moisten our solid morsels with a draught of fluid. Not so; there are even some persons who must wash down their ample slices of roast beef with draughts of new milk!—an unwisely devised combination even for those of active habit, but for men and women whose lives are little occupied by exercise it is one of the greatest dietary blunders which can be perpetrated.

One would think it was generally known that milk is a peculiarly nutritive fluid, adapted for the fast growing and fattening young mammal—admirable for such, for our small children, also serviceable to those whose muscular exertion is great, and, when it agrees with the stomach, to those who cannot take meat. For us who have long ago achieved our full growth, and can thrive on solid fare, it is altogether superfluous and mostly mischievous as a drink.

Another agent in the combination to maintain for the man of advancing age his career of flesh-eater is the dentist. Nothing is more common at this period of life than to hear complaints of indigestion experienced, so it is affirmed, because mastication is imperfectly performed for want of teeth. The dentist deftly repairs the defective implements, and the important function of chewing the food can be henceforth performed with comfort. But without any intention to justify a doctrine of final causes, I would point out the significant fact that the disappearance of the masticating powers is mostly coincident with the period of life when that species of food which most requires their action—viz. solid animal fibre—is little, if at all, required by the individual. It is during the latter third of his career that the softer and lighter foods, such as well-cooked cereals, some light mixed animal and vegetable soups, and also fish,

for which teeth are barely necessary, are particularly valuable and appropriate. And the man with imperfect teeth who conforms to nature's demand for a mild, non-stimulating dietary in advanced years will mostly be blessed with a better digestion and sounder health than the man who, thanks to his artificial machinery, can eat and does eat as much flesh in quantity and variety as he did in the days of his youth. Far be it from me to undervalue the truly artistic achievements of a clever and experienced dental surgeon, or the comfort which he affords. By all means let us have recourse to his aid when our natural teeth fail, for the purpose of vocal articulation, to say nothing of their relation to personal appearance: on such grounds the artificial substitutes rank among the necessities of life in a civilised community. Only let it be understood that the chief end of teeth, so far as mastication is concerned, has in advancing age been to a great extent accomplished, and that they are now mainly useful for the purposes just named. But I cannot help adding that there are some grounds for the belief that those who have throughout life from their earliest years consumed little or no flesh, but have lived on a diet chiefly or wholly vegetarian, will be found to have preserved their teeth longer than those who have always made flesh a prominent part of their daily food.

Then there is that occasional visit to the tailor, who, tape in hand, announces in commercial monotone to the listening clerk the various measurements of our girth, and congratulates us on the gradual increase thereof. He never in his life saw you looking so well, and 'fancy, sir, you are another inch below your armpits'—a good deal below—'since last year!' insidiously intimating that in another year or so you will have nearly as fine a chest as Heenan! And you, poor deluded victim, are more than half willing to believe that your increasing size is an equivalent to increasing health and strength, especially as your wife emphatically takes that view, and regards your augmenting portliness with approval. Ten years have now passed away since you were forty, and by weight twelve stone and a half—a fair proportion for your height and build. Now you turn the scale to one stone more, every ounce of which is fat: extra weight to be carried through all the labours of life. If you continue your present dietary and habits, and live five or seven years more, the burden of fat will be doubled; and that insinuating tailor will be still congratulating you. Meantime you are 'running the race of life'—a figure of speech less appropriate to you at the present moment than it formerly was—handicapped by a weight which makes active movement difficult, upstairs ascents troublesome, respiration thick and panting. Not one man in fifty lives to a good old age in this condition. The typical man of eighty or ninety years, still retaining a respectable amount of energy of body and mind, is lean and spare, and lives on slender rations. Neither your heart nor your lungs can act easily and

healthily, being oppressed by the gradually gathering fat around. And this because you continue to eat and drink as you did, or even more luxuriously than you did, when youth and activity disposed of that moiety of food which was consumed over and above what the body required for sustenance. Such is the import of that balance of unexpended aliment which your tailor and your foolish friends admire, and the gradual disappearance of which, should you recover your senses and diminish it, they will still deplore, half frightening you back to your old habits again by saying 'you are growing thin: *what can be the matter with you?*' Insane and mischievous delusion!

It is interesting to observe that the principle I have thus endeavoured to illustrate and support, little as it is in accordance with the precept and practice of modern authority, was clearly enunciated so long ago as the sixteenth century. The writings of Luigi Cornaro, who was born of noble family in Venice soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, and was contemporary for seventy years with Titian, wrote his first essay on the subject of regimen and diet for the aged when eighty-three years of age, producing three others during the subsequent twelve years.² His object was to show that, with increasing age and diminished powers, a corresponding decrease in the quantity of food must be taken in order to preserve health. He died at Padua, 'without any agony, sitting in an elbow chair, being above an hundred years old.'

Thus he writes:—

There are old lovers of feeding who say that it is necessary they should eat and drink a great deal to keep up their natural heat, which is constantly diminishing as they advance in years; and that it is, therefore, their duty to eat heartily, and of such things as please their palate, be they hot, cold, or temperate; and that, were they to lead a sober life, it would be a short one. To this I answer that our kind mother, Nature, in order that old men may live still to a greater age, has contrived matters so that they should be able to subsist on little, as I do, for large quantities of food cannot be digested by old and feeble stomachs. . . . By always eating little the stomach, not being much burthened, need not wait long to have an appetite. It is for this reason that dry bread relishes so well with me; and I know it from experience, and can with truth affirm, I find such sweetness in it that I should be afraid of sinning against temperance, were it not for my being convinced of the absolute necessity of eating of it, and that we cannot make use of a more natural food. And thou, kind parent Nature, who attest so lovingly by thy aged offspring, in order to prolong his days, hast contrived matters so in his favour, that he can live upon very little; and, in order to add to the favour, and do him still greater service, hast made him sensible, that, as in his youth he used to eat twice a day, when he arrives at old age he ought to divide that food, of which he was accustomed before to make but two meals, into four; because, thus divided, it

² *Discorsi della Vita Sobria*, del Signor Luigi Cornaro. An English edition, with translation, was published by Benjamin White, at Horace's Head, in Fleet Street, London, 1768. Cornaro's first work was published in Padua in 1558. In his last, a letter written to Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia, he gives a description of his health and vigour when ninety-five years old. A paper in the *Spectator* was one of the first notices of him in this country. See vol. iii. No. 195.

will be more easily digested ; and, as in his youth he made but two collations in the day, he should, in his old age, make four, provided, however, he lessens the quantity as his years increase.

And this is what I do, agreeably to my own experience ; and, therefore, my spirits, not oppressed by much food, but barely kept up, are always brisk, especially after eating, so that I am obliged then to sing a song, and afterwards to write.

Nor do I ever find myself the worse for writing immediately after meals, nor is my understanding ever clearer, nor am I apt to be drowsy, the food I take being in too small a quantity to send up any fumes to the brain. Oh, how advantageous it is to an old man to eat but little ! Accordingly I, who know it, eat but just enough to keep body and soul together.

Cornaro ate of all kinds of food, animal as well as vegetable, but in very small quantity, and he drank moderately of the light wine of his country, diminishing his slender rations as age increased. I am quite aware that I am reciting a story which must be familiar to some of the readers of this Review. But it is by no means widely known, and is too apt an example of the value of the law under consideration not to be referred to here.

It must now be clearly understood, as a general rule for men at all ages, that the amount of food ingested ought to accord within certain narrow limits with the amount of force employed for the purposes of daily life. But there is a certain qualification, apparent but not real, of the principle thus enunciated which must be referred to here, in order to prevent misunderstanding or misinterpretation of my meaning in relation to one particular. It is right and fitting that a certain amount of storage material, or balance, should exist as a reserve in the constitution of every healthy man. Every healthy individual indeed necessarily possesses a stored amount of force, which will stand him in good stead when a demand arises for prolonged unusual exertion, or when any period of enforced starvation occurs, as during a lingering fever or other exhausting disease. The existence of this natural and healthy amount of reserved force is of course presupposed throughout all my remarks, and its extreme value is taken for granted. That undue amount of stored nutriment, that balance which has been referred to as prejudicial to the individual, is a quantity over and above the natural reserve produced by high health ; for when augmented beyond that point, the material takes the form of diseased deposit, and ceases to be an available source of nutriment. Even the natural amount of store or reserve is prone to exceed the necessary limit in those who are healthy or nearly so. Hence it is that in all systems of training for athletic exploits—which is simply a process of acquiring the highest degree of health and strength attainable, in view of great or prolonged exertion—some loss of weight is almost invariably incurred in developing a perfect condition. In other words, almost any man who sets himself to acquire by every means in his power the best health possible for his system, does in the process necessary thereto throw off redundant

materials, the presence of which is not consistent with the high standard of function required. Thus what is sometimes called 'overtraining' is a condition in which the storage is reduced too much, and some weakening is incurred thereby; while 'undertraining' implies that the useless fatty and other matters have not been sufficiently got rid of, so that the athlete is encumbered by unnecessary weight, and is liable to needless embarrassments, telling against his chances in more ways than one. The exact and precise balance between the two conditions is the aim of the judicious trainer.

We are thus led to the next important consideration, namely, that although broad rules or principles of diet may be enunciated as applicable to different classes of people in general, no accurate adaptation to the individual is possible without a knowledge of his daily habits and life, as well as to some extent of his personal peculiarities. No man, for example, can tell another what he can or ought to eat, without knowing what are the habits of life and work—mental and bodily—of the person to be advised. Notwithstanding which, no kind of counsel is more frequently tendered in common conversation by one stranger with another, than that which concerns the choice of food and drink. The adviser feels himself warranted by the experience that some particular combination of nourishment suits his own stomach, to infer without hesitation that this dish will be therefore acceptable to the stomachs of all his neighbours. Surely the intelligence of such a man is as slender as his audacity and presumption are large. It would not be more preposterous if, having with infinite pains obtained a last representing precisely the size and the peculiarities in form of his own foot, he forthwith solemnly adjured all other persons to adopt boots made upon that model, and on none other! Only it may be assumed that there is probably more difference between stomachs and their needs among different individuals, than among the inferior extremities referred to for the purpose of illustration. Thus, in regard of expenditure of food, how great is the difference between that of a man who spends ten or twelve hours of the day at the work of a navvy, as an agricultural labourer in harvest time, or in draining or trenching land, as a sawyer, a railway porter, or a bricklayer's labourer, or let me add that of an ardent sportsman, as compared with the expenditure of a clerk who is seated at the desk, of individuals engaged in literary and artistic pursuits, demanding a life mostly sedentary and spent indoors, with no exercise but that which such persons voluntarily take as a homage to hygienic duty, and for a short period borrowed at some cost from engagements which claim most of their time and nearly all their energies. While the manual labourers rarely consume more food than they expend, and are, if not injured by drink, or by undue exposure to the weather, mostly hale and hearty in consequence, the latter are often martyrs to continued minor ailments, which gradually increase, and

make work difficult, and life dreary. Few people will believe how easy it is in most instances to meet the difficulty by adopting appropriate food, and that such brain-workers can really enjoy a fair degree of health and comfort by living on light food, which does not require much force to digest, and much muscular activity to assimilate. A diet, moreover, which is important to some of these from another point of view—the financial one—inasmuch as it is at least less costly by one half than the conventional meals which habit or custom prescribes alike to large classes of men in varied conditions of life. But there is another and more important economic gain yet to be named, as realisable through the use of a light and simple dietary. It is manifested by the fact that a greater expenditure of nerve-power is demanded for the digestion of heavy meat meals, than for the lighter repasts which are suitable to the sedentary; from which fact it results of course that this precious power is reserved for more useful and more delightful pursuits than that of mere digestion, especially when this is not too well performed.

But those who have little time for exercise, and are compelled to live chiefly within doors, must endeavour to secure, or should have secured for them as far as possible by employers, by way of compensation, a regular supply of fresh air without draughts, an atmosphere as free from dust and other impurities as can be obtained, with a good supply of light, and some artificial warmth when needed. These necessities granted, cereal foods, such as well-made bread in variety, and vegetable produce, including fruits, should form a great part of the diet consumed, with a fair addition of eggs and milk if no meat is taken, and little of other animal food than fish. On such a dietary, and without alcoholic stimulants, thousands of such workers as I have briefly indicated may enjoy with very little exercise far better health and more strength than at present they experience on meat and heavy puddings, beer, baker's bread, and cheese. Of course there are workers who belong to neither of the two extreme classes indicated, and whose habits cannot be described as sedentary, but who occupy a middle place between the two. For such, some corresponding modification of the dietary is naturally appropriate. But it is a vulgar error to regard meat in any form as necessary to life; if for any it is necessary, it is for the hard-working outdoor labourers above referred to, and for these a certain proportion is no doubt desirable. Animal flesh is useful also as a concentrated form of nutriment, valuable for its portability; and for the small space it occupies in the stomach, unrivalled in certain circumstances. Like every other description of food, it is highly useful in its place, but is by no means necessary for a large proportion of the population. To many it has become partially desirable only by the force of habit, and because their digestive organs have thus been trained to deal with it, and at first resent a change. But this being gradually made, adaptation takes place, and

the individual who has consumed two or three meat meals daily with some little discomfort, chiefly from being often indisposed to make active exertions, becomes, after sufficient time has elapsed, stronger, lighter, and happier, as well as better tempered, and manifestly healthier, on the more delicate dietary sketched. People in general have very inadequate ideas of the great power of habit alone in forming what they believe to be innate personal peculiarities, or in creating conditions which are apparently part of a constitutional necessity, laws of their nature and essential to their existence. Many of these peculiarities are solely due to habit, that is, to long continuance in a routine of action, adopted it may be without motive or design; and people are apt to forget that if a routine of a precisely opposite character had been adopted, precisely opposite conditions would have been established, and opposite peculiarities would have become dominant, as their contraries are now. Alterations in the dietary, especially of elderly persons, should be made gradually and with caution. This condition fulfilled, a considerable change may be effected with satisfactory results, when circumstances render it necessary. To revert once more to the question of flesh-eating, it should be remarked that it appears to be by no means a natural taste with the young. Few children like that part of the meal which consists of meat, but prefer the pudding, the fruit, the vegetables, if well dressed, which unhappily is not often the case. Many children manifest great repugnance to meat at first, and are coaxed and even scolded by anxious mothers until the habit of eating it is acquired. Adopting the insular creed, which regards beef and mutton as necessary to health and strength, the mother often suffers from groundless forebodings about the future of a child who rejects flesh, and manifests what is regarded as an unfortunate partiality for bread and butter and pudding. Nevertheless I am satisfied, if the children followed their own instinct in that matter, the result would be a gain in more ways than one. Certainly if meat did not appear in the nursery until the children sent for it, it would be rarely seen there, and the young ones would as a rule thrive better on milk and eggs, with the varied produce of the vegetable kingdom.

A brief allusion must be made to the well-known and obvious fact that the surrounding temperature influences the demand for food, which therefore should be determined as regards quantity or kind according to the climate inhabited, or the season of the year as it affects each climate. In hot weather the dietary should be lighter, in the understood sense of the term, than in cold weather. The sultry period of our summer, although comparatively slight and of short duration, is nevertheless felt by some persons to be extremely oppressive; but this is mainly due to the practice of eating much animal food or fatty matters, conjoined as it often is with the habit of drinking freely of fluids containing a small quantity of alcohol.

Living on cereals, vegetables, and fruit, with some proportion of fish, and abstaining from alcoholic drinks, the same persons would probably enjoy the high temperature, and be free from the thirst which is the natural result of consuming needlessly substantial and heating food.

There is a very common term, familiar by daily use, conveying unmistakably to every one painful impressions regarding those who manifest the discomforts indicated by it—I mean the term indigestion. The first sign of what is so called may appear even in childhood; not being the consequence of any stomach disorder, but solely of some error in diet, mostly the result of eating too freely of rich compounds in which sugar and fatty matters are largely present. These elements would not be objectionable if they formed part of a regular meal, instead of being consumed as they mostly are between meals, already abounding in every necessary constituent.

Sugar and fat are elements of value in children's food, and naturally form a considerable portion of it, entering largely into the composition of milk, which nature supplies for the young and growing animal. The indigestion of the child mostly terminates rapidly by ejection of the offending matter. But the indigestion of the adult is less acutely felt and is less readily disposed of. Uneasiness and incapacity for action, persisting for some time after an ordinary meal, indicate that the stomach is acting imperfectly on the materials which have been put into it. These signs manifest themselves frequently, and if nature's hints that the food is inappropriate are not taken, they become more serious. Temporary relief is easily obtained by medicine; but if the unfortunate individual continues to blame his stomach, and not the dietary he selects, the chances are that his troubles will continue, or appear in some other form. At length, if unenlightened on the subject, he becomes 'a martyr to indigestion,' and resigns himself to the unhappy fate, as he terms it, of 'the confirmed dyspeptic.'

Such a victim may perhaps be surprised to learn that nine out of ten persons so affected are probably not the subjects of any complaint whatever, and that the stomach at any rate is by no means necessarily faulty in its action—in short, that what is popularly termed 'indigestion' is rarely a disease in any sense of the word, but merely the natural result of errors in diet. For most men it is the penalty of conformity to the eating habits of the majority; and a want of disposition or of enterprise to undertake a trial of simpler foods than those around them consume, probably determines the continuance of their unhappy troubles. In many instances it must be confessed that the complaint, if so it must be called, results from error, not in the quality of the food taken, but in the quantity. Eating is an agreeable process for most people, and under the influence of very small temptation, or through undue variety furnishing a source of provocation

to the palate, a considerable proportion of nutritious material above what is required by the system is apt to be swallowed. Then it is also to be remembered that stomachs which vary greatly in their capacity and power to digest, may all nevertheless be equally healthy and competent to exercise every necessary function. In like manner we know that human brains which are equally sound and healthy, often differ vastly in power and in activity. Thus a stomach which would be slandered by a charge of incompetence to perform easily all that it is in duty bound to accomplish, may be completely incapable of digesting a small excess beyond that natural limit. Hence, with such an organ an indigestion is inevitable when this limit is only slightly exceeded. And so when temptations are considerable, and frequently complied with, the disturbance may be, as it is with some, very serious in degree. How very powerful a human stomach may sometimes be, and how large a task in the way of digestion it may sometimes perform without complaint, is known to those who have had the opportunity of observing what certain persons with exceptional power are accustomed to take as food, and do take for a long time apparently with impunity. But these are stomachs endowed with extraordinary energy, and woe be to the individual with a digestive apparatus of moderate power who attempts to emulate the performance of a neighbour at table who perchance may be furnished with such an effective digestive apparatus.

But, after all, let not the weaker man grieve overmuch at the uneven lot which the gods seem to have provided for mortals here below in regard of this function of digestion. There is a compensation for him which he has not considered, or perhaps even heard of, although he is so moderately endowed with peptic force. A delicate stomach which can just do needful work for the system and no more, by necessity performs the function of a careful door porter at the entrance of the system, and like a jealous guardian inspects with discernment all who aspire to enter the interior, rejecting the unfit and the unbidden, and all the common herd.

On the other hand, a stomach with superfluous power, of whom its master boastfully declaims that it can 'digest tenpenny nails,' and that he is unaccustomed to consult its likes and its dislikes if it have any, is like a careless hall porter who admits all comers, every pretender, and among the motley visitors many whose presence is damaging to the interior. These powerful feeders after a time suffer from the unexpended surplus, and pay for their hardy temerity in becoming amenable to penalty, often suddenly declared by the onset of some serious attack, demanding complete change in regimen, a condition more or less grave. On the other hand, the owner of the delicate stomach, a man perhaps with a habit of frequently complaining of slight troubles, and always careful, will probably in the race of life, as regards the preceding pilgrim, take the place of the

tortoise as against the hare. It is an old proverb that 'the creaking wheel lasts longest,' and one that is certainly true as regards a not powerful but nevertheless healthy stomach which is carefully treated by its owner; to whom this fact may be acceptable as a small consolation for the possession of a delicate organ.

For it is a kind of stomach which not seldom accompanies a fine organisation. The difference is central, not local; a difference in the nervous system chiefly; the impressionable mental structure, the instrument of strong emotions, must necessarily be allied with a stomach to which the supply of nerve power for digestion is sometimes temporarily deficient and always perhaps capricious. There are more sources than one of compensation to the owner of an active impressionable brain, with a susceptible stomach possessing only moderate digestive capabilities—sources altogether beyond the imagination of many a coarse feeder and capable digester.

But it is not correct, and it is on all grounds undesirable, to regard the less powerful man as a sufferer from indigestion, that is, as liable to any complaint to be so termed. True indigestion, as a manifestation of diseased stomach, is comparatively quite rare, and I have not one word to say of it here, which would not be the fitting place if I had. Not one person in a hundred who complains of indigestion has any morbid affection of the organs engaged in assimilating his food. As commonly employed, the word 'indigestion' denotes, not a disease, but an admonition. It means that the individual so complaining has not yet found his appropriate diet: that he takes food unsuited for him, or too much of it. The food may be 'wholesome enough in itself,' a popular phrase permitted to appear here, first, because it conveys a meaning perceived by every one, although the idea is loosely expressed; but secondly, and chiefly, for the purpose of pointing out the fallacy which underlies it. There is no food 'wholesome in itself;' and there is no fact which people in general are more slow to comprehend. That food only is wholesome which is so to the individual; and no food can be wholesome to any given number of persons. Milk, for example, may agree admirably with me, and may as certainly invariably provoke an indigestion for my neighbour; and the same may be said of almost every article of our ordinary dietary. The wholesomeness of a food consists solely in its adaptability to the individual, and this relation is governed mainly by the influences of his age, activity, surroundings, and temperament or personal peculiarities.

Indigestion, therefore, does not necessarily, or indeed often, require medicine for its removal. Drugs, and especially small portions of alcoholic spirit, are often used for the purpose of stimulating the stomach temporarily to perform a larger share of work than by nature it is qualified to undertake; a course which is disadvantageous for the individual if persisted in. The effect on the stomach is that

of the spur on the horse: it accelerates the pace, but 'it takes it out' of the animal; and if the practice is long continued, shortens his natural term of efficiency.

It is an erroneous idea that a simple form of dietary, such as the vegetable kingdom in the largest sense of the term furnishes, in conjunction with a moderate proportion of the most easily digested forms of animal food, may not be appetising and agreeable to the palate. On the contrary I am prepared to maintain that it may be easily served in forms highly attractive, not only to the general but to a cultivated taste. A preference for the high flavours and stimulating scents peculiar to the flesh of vertebrate animals, mostly subsides after a fair trial of milder foods when supplied in variety. And it is an experience almost universally avowed, that the desire for food is keener, that the satisfaction in gratifying appetite is greater and more enjoyable, on the part of the general light feeder, than with the almost exclusively flesh-feeder. For this designation is applicable to almost all those who compose the middle class population of this country. They consume little bread and few vegetables; all the savoury dishes are of flesh, with decoctions of flesh alone for soup. The sweets are compounds of suet, lard, butter, eggs, and milk, with very small quantities of flour, rice, arrowroot, &c., which comprise all the vegetable constituents besides some fruit and sugar. Three-fourths at least of the nutrient matters consumed are from the animal kingdom. A reversal of the proportions named, that is, a fourth only from the latter source with three-fourths of vegetable produce, would furnish greater variety for the table, tend to maintain a cleaner palate, increased zest for food, a lighter and more active brain, and a better state of health for most people not engaged on the most laborious employments of active life. While even for the last named, with due choice of material, ample sustenance in the proportions named may be supplied. For some inactive, sedentary and aged persons the small proportion of animal food indicated might be advantageously diminished. I am frequently told 'by individuals of sixty years and upwards that they have no recollection of any previous period since reaching mature age, at which they have possessed a keener relish for food than that which they enjoy at least once or twice a day since they have adopted the dietary thus described. Such appetite at all events as has rarely offered itself during years preceding, when the choice of food was conventionally limited to the unvarying progression and array of mutton and beef, in joint, chop and steak, arriving after a strong meat soup, with a possible interlude of fish, and followed by puddings of which the ingredients are chiefly derived from animal sources. The penetrating odours of meat cookery which announce their presence by escape from the kitchen, and will pervade the air of other rooms in any private house but a large one, and which are encountered in clubs,

restaurants and hotels without stint, alone suffice to blunt the inclination for food of one who, returning from daily occupation fatigued and fastidious, desires food easy of digestion, attractive in appearance, and unassociated with any element of a repulsive character. The light feeder knows nothing of the annoyances described, finds on his table that which is delightful to a palate sensitive to mild impressions, and indisposed to gross and over-powerful ones. After the meal is over, his wit is fresher, his temper more cheerful, and he takes his easy chair to enjoy fireside talk, and not to sink into a heavy slumber, which on awakening is but exchanged for a sense of discontent or stupidity.

The doctrine thus briefly and inadequately expounded in this paper may probably encounter some opposition and adverse criticism. I am quite content, that this should be so. Every proposal which disturbs the current habits of the time, especially when based on long prevalent custom, infallibly encounters that fate. But of the general truth, and hence of the ultimate reception of the principles I have endeavoured to illustrate, there cannot be the faintest doubt. And I know that this result, whenever it may be accomplished, will largely diminish the painful affections which unhappily so often appear during the latter moiety of adult life. And having during the last few years widely inculcated such general dietetic principles and practice, with abundant grounds for my growing conviction of their value, it appears to be a duty to call attention to them somewhat more emphatically than in preceding contributions already referred to. In so doing I have expressly limited myself to statements relating to those simple elementary facts concerning our everyday life, which ought to be within the knowledge of every man, and therefore such as may most fitly be set forth in a publication outside of that field of special and technical record which is devoted to professional observation and experience.

HENRY THOMPSON.

SHAKESPEARE AND STAGE COSTUME.

IN many of the somewhat violent attacks which have recently been made on that splendour of mounting which now characterises our Shakespearian revivals in England, it seems to have been tacitly assumed by the critics that Shakespeare himself was more or less indifferent to the costume of his actors, and that, could he see Mr. Irving's production of his *Much Ado about Nothing*, or Mr. Wilson Barrett's setting of his *Hamlet*, he would probably say that the play, and the play only, is the thing, and that everything else is leather and prunella. While, as regards any historical accuracy in dress, Lord Lytton, in an article in this Review, has laid it down as a dogma of art that archæology is entirely out of place in any play of Shakespeare's, and that the attempt to introduce it is one of the stupidest pedantries of an age of prigs.

Lord Lytton's position I will examine later on ; but, as regards the theory that Shakespeare did not busy himself much about the costume-wardrobe of his theatre, anybody who cares to study Shakespeare's method will see that there is absolutely no dramatist of the French, English, or Athenian stage who relies so much for his effects on the dress of his actors as Shakespeare does himself.

Knowing how the public is always fascinated by beauty of costume, he constantly introduces into his plays masques and dances, merely for the sake of the pleasure which they give the eye ; and we have still his stage-directions for the three great processions in *Henry the Eighth*, directions which are characterised by the most extraordinary elaborateness of detail down to the collars of S.S. and the pearls in Anne Boleyn's hair. Indeed it would be quite easy for a modern manager to reproduce these pageants absolutely as Shakespeare designed them ; and so accurate were they that one of the Court officials of the time, writing an account of the last performance of the play at the Globe Theatre to a friend, actually complains of their realistic character—notably of the production on the stage of the Knights of the Garter in the robes and insignia of the order—as being calculated to bring ridicule on the real ceremonies ;¹ much in the same spirit in which the French Government, some time ago, prohibited that

¹ *Reliquiæ Wotton.*

delightful actor, M. Christian, from appearing in uniform, on the plea that it was prejudicial to the glory of the army that a colonel should be caricatured. And elsewhere the gorgeousness of apparel which distinguished the English stage under Shakespeare's influence was attacked by the contemporary critics, not as a rule, however, on the grounds of the democratic tendencies of realism, but usually on those moral grounds which are always the last refuge of people who have no sense of beauty.

The point, however, which I wish to emphasise is, not that Shakespeare appreciated the value of lovely costumes in adding picturesqueness to poetry, but that he saw how important costume is as a means of producing certain dramatic effects. Many of his plays, such as *Measure for Measure*, *Twelfth Night*, the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Cymbeline*, the *Merchant of Venice*, and others, depend entirely on the character of the various dresses worn by the hero or the heroine; the delightful scene in *Henry the Sixth*, on the modern 'miracles of healing by faith, loses all its point unless Gloster is in black and scarlet; and the *dénouement* of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* hinges on the colour of Anne Page's gown. As for the uses Shakespeare makes of disguises the instances are almost numberless. Posthumus hides his passion under a peasant's garb, and Edgar his pride beneath an idiot's rags; Jessica flees from her father's house in boy's dress, and Julia ties up her yellow hair in fantastic love-knots, and dons hose and doublet; Henry the Eighth woos his lady as a shepherd, and Romeo his as a pilgrim; Prince Hal and Poins appear first as footpads in buckram suits, and then in white aprons and leather jerkins as the waiters in a tavern: and as for Falstaff, does he not come on as a highwayman, as an old woman, as Herne the hunter, and as the clothes going to the laundry?

Nor are the examples of the employment of costume as a means of intensifying dramatic situations less numerous. After the slaughter of Duncan, Macbeth appears in his night-gown as if aroused from sleep; Timon ends in rags the play he had begun in splendour; Richard flatters the London citizens in a suit of mean and shabby armour, and, as soon as he has stepped in blood to the throne, marches through the streets in crown and George and Garter; the climax of the *Tempest* is reached when Prospero, throwing off his enchanter's robes, sends Ariel for his hat and rapier, and shows himself as the great Italian Duke; the very Ghost in *Hamlet* changes his mystical apparel to produce different effects; and as for Juliet, a modern playwright would probably have lain her out in her shroud, and made the scene a scene of horror merely, but Shakespeare arrays her in rich and gorgeous raiment, whose loveliness makes the vault 'a feasting presence full of light,' turns the tomb into a bridal chamber, and gives the cue and motive for Romeo's speech of the triumph of Love over Life, and of Beauty over Death.

Even small details of dress, such as the colour of a major-domo's stockings, the pattern on a wife's handkerchief, the sleeve of a young soldier, and a fashionable woman's bonnets, become in Shakespeare's hands points of actual dramatic importance, and by some of them the action of the play in question is conditioned absolutely. Many other dramatists have availed themselves of costume as a method of expressing directly to the audience the character of a person on his entrance, though hardly so brilliantly as Shakespeare has done in the case of the dandy Parolles, whose dress, by the way, only an archæologist can understand; the fun of a master and servant exchanging coats in presence of the audience, of shipwrecked sailors squabbling over the division of a lot of fine clothes, and of a tinker dressed up like a duke when he is in his cups, may be regarded as part of that great career which costume has always played in comedy from the time of Aristophanes down to Mr. Gilbert; but nobody from the mere details of apparel and adornment has ever drawn such irony of situation, such immediate and tragic effect, such pity and such pathos, as Shakespeare himself has. Armed cap-à-pié, the dead King stalks on the battlements of Elsinore because all is not right with Denmark; Shylock's Jewish gaberdine is part of the stigma under which he writhes; Arthur begging for his life can think of no better plea than the handkerchief he had given Hubert—

Have you the heart? when your head did but ache,
I knit my handkercher about your brows,
(The best I had, a princess wrought it me)
And I did never ask it you again.

And Orlando's blood-stained napkin strikes the first sombre note in that exquisite woodland idyll, and shows us the depth of feeling that underlies Rosalind's comedy.

Last night 'twas on my arm; I kissed it;
I hope it be not gone to tell my lord
That I kiss aught but he,

says Imogen, jesting on the loss of the bracelet which was already on its way to Rome to rob her of her husband's faith; the little Prince passing to the Tower plays with the dagger in his uncle's girdle; Duncan sends a ring to Lady Macbeth the night of his murder, and the ring of Portia turns the tragedy of the merchant into a wife's comedy. The great rebel York dies with a paper crown on his head; Hamlet's black suit is a kind of colour-motive in the piece, like the mourning of Chimène in the *Cid*; and the climax of Antony's speech is the production of Cæsar's cloak:—

If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time ever Cæsar put it on.
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
The day he overcame the Nervii.—

Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:
 See, what a rent the envious Casca made:
 Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed. . . .
 Kind souls, what, weep you when you but behold
 Our Cæsar's vesture wounded?

The flowers which Ophelia carries with her in her madness are as pathetic as the violets that blossom on a grave; the effect of Lear's wandering on the heath is intensified beyond words by his fantastic attire; and when Cloten, stung by the taunt of that simile which his sister draws from her husband's raiment, arrays himself in that husband's very garb to work upon her the deed of shame, we feel that there is nothing in the whole of modern French realism, nothing even in *Thérèse Raquin*, that masterpiece of horror, which for terrible and tragic significance can compare with that strange scene in *Cymbeline*.

In the actual dialogue also some of the most striking passages are those suggested by costume. Rosalind's

Dost thou think, though I am caparisoned like a man, I have a doublet and hose in my disposition?

Constance's

Grief fills the place up of my absent child,
 Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form;

and the quick sharp cry of Elizabeth—

Ah! cut my lace asunder!

are only a few of the many examples one might quote. One of the finest effects I have ever seen on the stage was Salvini, in the last act of *Lear*, tearing the plume from Kent's cap and applying it to Cordelia's lips when he came to the line,

This feather stirs; she lives!

Mr. Booth, whose Lear had many noble qualities of passion, plucked, I remember, some fur from his archæologically-incorrect ermine for the same business; but Salvini's was the finer effect of the two, as well as the truer. And those who saw Mr. Irving in the last act of *Richard the Third* have not, I am sure, forgotten how much the agony and terror of his dream was intensified, by contrast, through the calm and quiet that preceded it, and the delivery of such lines as

What, is my beaver easier than it was?
 And all my armour laid into my tent?
 Look that my staves be sound and not too heavy—

lines which had a double meaning for the audience, remembering the last words which Richard's mother called after him as he was marching to Bosworth:—

Therefore take with thee my most grievous curse,
 Which in the day of battle tire thee more
 Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st.

As regards the resources which Shakespeare had at his disposal, it is to be remarked that, while he more than once complains of the smallness of the stage on which he has to produce big historical plays, and of the want of scenery which obliges him to cut out many effective open-air incidents, he always writes as a dramatist who had at his disposal a most elaborate theatrical wardrobe, and who could rely on the actors taking pains about their make-up. Even now it is difficult to produce such a play as the *Comedy of Errors*; and to the picturesque accident of Miss Ellen Terry's brother resembling herself we owe the possibility of seeing *Twelfth Night* adequately performed. Indeed, to put any play of Shakespeare's on the stage, absolutely as he himself wished it to be done, requires the services of a good property-man, a clever wigmaker, a costumier with a sense of colour and a knowledge of textures, a master of the methods of making up, a fencing-master, a dancing-master, and an artist to personally direct the whole production. For he is most careful to tell us the dress and appearance of each character. 'Racine abhorre la réalité,' says Auguste Vacquerie somewhere; 'il ne daigne pas s'occuper de son costume. Si l'on s'en rapportait aux indications du poète, Agamemnon serait vêtu d'un sceptre et Achille d'une épée.' But with Shakespeare it is very different. He gives us directions about the costumes of Perdita, Florizel, Autolycus, the Witches in *Macbeth*, and the Apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, several elaborate descriptions of his fat knight, and a detailed account of the extraordinary garb in which Petruchio is to be married. Rosalind, he tells us, is tall, and is to carry a spear and a little axe; Celia is smaller, and is to paint her face brown so as to look sunburnt. The children who play at fairies in Windsor Forest are to be dressed in white and green—a compliment, by the way, to Queen Elizabeth, whose favourite colours they were—and in white, with green garlands and gilded vizors, the angels are to come to Katharine in Kimbolton. Bottom is in homespun, Lysander is distinguished from Oberon by his wearing an Athenian dress, and Launce has holes in his boots. The Duchess of Gloucester stands in a white sheet with her husband in mourning beside her. The motley of the Fool, the scarlet of the Cardinal, and the French lilies brodered on the English coats, are all made occasion for jest or taunt in the dialogue. We know the pattern on the Dauphin's armour and on the Pucelle's sword, the crest on Warwick's helmet and the colour of Bardolph's nose. Portia has golden hair, Phœbe is black-haired, Orlando has chestnut curls, and Sir Andrew Aguecheek's hair hangs like flax on a distaff, and won't curl at all. Some of the characters are stout, some lean, some straight, some hunchbacked, some fair, some dark, and some are to blacken their faces. Lear has a white beard, Hamlet's father a grizzled one, and Benedict is to shave his in the course of the play. Indeed, on the subject of stage beards Shakespeare is quite elaborate: tells us of the

many different colours in use, and gives a hint to actors to always see that their own are properly tied on. There is a dance of reapers in rye-straw hats, and of rustics in hairy coats like satyrs; a masque of Amazons, a masque of Russians, and a classical masque; several immortal scenes over a weaver in an ass's head, a riot over the colour of a coat which it takes the Lord Mayor of London to quell, and a scene between an infuriated husband and his wife's milliner about the slashing of a sleeve.

As for the metaphors Shakespeare draws from dress, and the aphorisms he makes on it, his hits at the costume of his age, particularly at the ridiculous size of the ladies' bonnets, and the many descriptions of the *mundus muliebris*, from the song of Autolycus in the *Winter's Tale* down to the account of the Duchess of Milan's gown in *Much Ado About Nothing*, they are far too numerous to quote; though it may be worth while to remind people that the whole of the Philosophy of Clothes is to be found in Lear's scene with Edgar—a passage which has the advantage of brevity and of style over that prolonged struggle between the Scotch dialect and the German irregular verbs which is such an exciting quality in *Sartor Resartus*. But I think that from what I have already said it is quite clear that Shakespeare was very much interested in costume. I do not mean in that shallow sense by which it has been concluded from his knowledge of deeds and daffodils that he was the Blackstone and Paxton of the Elizabethan age; but that he saw that costume could be made at once impressive of a certain effect on the audience and expressive of certain types of character, and is one of the essential factors of the means which a realistic dramatist has at his disposal. Indeed to him the deformed figure of Richard was of as much value as Juliet's loveliness; he sets the serge of the radical beside the silks of the lord, and sees the stage effects to be got from both; he has as much delight in Caliban as he has in Ariel, in rags as he has in cloth of gold, and recognises the artistic beauty of ugliness.

The difficulty Ducis felt about translating *Othello* in consequence of the importance given to such a vulgar thing as a handkerchief, and his attempt to soften its grossness by making the Moor reiterate, 'Le bandeau! le bandeau!' may be taken as an example of the difference between *la tragédie philosophique* and the drama of real life; and the introduction for the first time of the word *mouchoir* at the Théâtre Français was an era in that romantic-realistic movement of which Hugo is the father and M. Zola the *enfant terrible*. Just as the classicism of the earlier part of the century was emphasised by Talma's refusal to play Greek heroes any longer in a powdered periwig—one of the many instances, by the way, of that desire for archæological accuracy in dress which has distinguished the great actors of our age.

In criticising the importance given to money in *La Comédie*

Humaine, Théophile Gautier says that Balzac may claim to have invented a new hero in fiction, *le héros métallique*. Of Shakespeare it may be said that he was the first to see the dramatic value of doublets, and that a climax may depend on a crinoline.

The burning of the Globe Theatre—an event, by the way, due to the realism of Shakespeare's stage management—has unfortunately robbed us of many important documents; but in the inventory, still in existence, of the costume wardrobe of a London theatre in Shakespeare's time,² there are mentioned particular costumes for cardinals, shepherds, kings, clowns, friars, and fools; green coats for Robin Hood's men, and a green gown for Maid Marian; a white and gold doublet for Henry the Fifth, and a robe for Longshanks; besides surplices, copes, damask gowns, gowns of cloth of gold and of cloth of silver, taffeta gowns, calico gowns, velvet coats, satin coats, frieze coats, jerkins of yellow leather and of black leather, red suits, grey suits, French Pierrot suits, a robe 'for to goo invisibell,' which seems inexpensive at 3*l.* 10*s.*, and, I regret to say, four fardingales—all of which show a desire to give every character an appropriate dress. There are also entries of Spanish, Moorish, and Danish costumes, of helmets, lances, painted shields, imperial crowns, and papal tiaras, as well as of costumes for Turkish Janissaries, Roman Senators, and all the gods and goddesses of Olympus, which are evidences of a good deal of archæological research on the part of the manager of the theatre. It is true that there is a mention of a bodice for Eve, but probably the *donnée* of the play was after the Fall.

Indeed anyone who cares to examine the age of Shakespeare will see that archæology was one of its special characteristics. After that revival of the classical forms of architecture which was the occasion of the Renaissance, and the printing at Venice and elsewhere of the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature, had come naturally an interest in the ornamentation and costume of the antique world. Nor was it for the learning that they could acquire, but rather for the loveliness that they might create, that the artists studied these things. The curious objects which were being constantly brought to light by excavations were not left to moulder in a museum, for the contemplation of a callous curator, and the ennui of a policeman bored by the absence of crime. They were used as motives for the production of a new art, which was to be not beautiful merely, but also strange.

Infessura tells us that in 1485 some workmen digging on the Appian Way came across an old Roman sarcophagus inscribed with the name 'Julia, daughter of Claudius.' On opening the coffer they found within its marble womb the body of a beautiful girl of about fifteen years of age, preserved by the embalmer's skill from corruption and the decay of time. Her eyes were half open, her hair

² Henslowe's *Diary*. Malone.

rippled round her in crisp curling gold, and from her lips and cheek the bloom of maidenhood had not yet departed. Borne back to the Capitol, she became at once the centre of a new cult, and from all parts of the city crowded pilgrims to worship at the strange shrine, till the Pope, fearing lest those who had found the secret of beauty in a Pagan tomb might forget what secrets Judæa's rough and rock-hewn sepulchre contained, conveyed the body away by night, and in secret buried it. Legend though it may be, yet the story is none the less valuable as showing us the attitude of the Renaissance towards the antique world. Archæology to them was not merely a science for the antiquarian; it was a means by which they could touch the dry dust of antiquity into the breath and beauty of life, and fill with the new wine of romanticism forms that else had been old and outworn. From the pulpit of Niccola Pisano down to Mantegna's 'Triumph of Cæsar,' and the service Cellini designed for King Francis, the influence of this spirit can be traced; nor was it confined merely to the immobile arts—the arts of arrested movement—but its influence was to be seen also in the great classical masques which were the constant amusement of the gay Courts of the time, and in the public pomps and processions with which the citizens of big commercial towns greeted the princes that chanced to visit them; pageants, by the way, which were considered so important that large prints were made of them and published—a fact which is a proof of the general interest at the time in matters of the kind.

And this use of archæology in shows, so far from being a bit of priggish pedantry, is in every way legitimate and beautiful. For the stage is not merely the meeting place of all the arts, but is also the return of art to life. Sometimes in an archæological novel the use of strange and obsolete terms seems to hide the realism beneath the learning, and I dare say that many of the readers of *Notre-Dame de Paris* have been much puzzled over the meaning of such expressions as *la casaque à mahoîtres*, *les voulgiers*, *le gallimard taché d'encre*, *les craaquiniers*, and the like; but with the stage how different it is: the ancient world wakes from its sleep, and history moves as a pageant before our eyes, without obliging us to have recourse to a dictionary or an encyclopædia for the perfection of our enjoyment. Indeed there is not the slightest necessity that the public should know the authorities for the mounting of any piece. From such materials, for instance, as the disk of Theodosius, materials with which the majority of people are probably not very familiar, Mr. Godwin created the marvellous loveliness of the first act of *Claudian*, and showed us the life of Byzantium in the fourth century, not by a dreary lecture and a set of grimy casts, not by a novel which requires a glossary to explain it, but by the visible presentation before us of all the glory of that great town. And while the costumes were true to the smallest points of colour and design, yet the details were not

assigned the abnormal importance which they must necessarily be given in a piecemeal lecture, but were subordinated to the rules of lofty composition and the unity of artistic effect. Mr. Symonds, speaking of that great picture of Mantegna's now in Hampton Court, says that the artist has converted an antiquarian motive into a theme for melodies of line. The same can be said with equal justice of Mr. Godwin's scene. Only the foolish called it pedantry, only those who would neither look nor listen spoke of the passion of the play being killed by its paint. It was in reality a scene not merely perfect in its picturesqueness, but absolutely dramatic also, in getting rid of the necessity of tedious descriptions, and in showing us, by the colour and character of Claudian's dress, and the dress of his attendants, the whole nature and life of the man, from what school of philosophy he followed, down to what horses he backed on the turf.

And indeed archæology is only really delightful when transfused into some form of art. I have no desire to underrate the services of laborious scholars, but I think that the use Keats made of Lemprière's Dictionary is of far more value to us than Max Müller's treatment of the same mythology as a disease of language. Better *Endymion* than any theory, however sound, of an epidemic among adjectives! And who does not feel that the chief glory of Piranesi's book on Vases is that it gave Keats the suggestion for his 'Ode on a Grecian Urn'? Art, and art only, can make archæology beautiful; and the theatric art can use it most directly and most vividly, for it can combine in one exquisite presentation absolute reality with the grace and charm of the antique world.

But the sixteenth century was not merely the age of Vitruvius; it was the age of Vecellio also. Every nation seems suddenly to have become interested in the dress of its neighbours. Europe began to investigate its own clothes, and the amount of books published on national costumes is quite extraordinary. At the beginning of the century the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, with its two thousand illustrations, reached its fifth edition, and before the century was over seventeen editions were published of Munster's *Cosmography*. Besides these two books there were also the works of Michael Colyns, of Hans Weigel, of Amman, and of Vecellio himself, all of them well illustrated, some of the drawings in Vecellio being probably from the hand of Titian. Nor was it only from books and treatises that people acquired their knowledge; but the rise of foreign travel, the increased commercial intercourse between countries, and diplomatic missions, gave every nation many opportunities of studying the various forms of contemporary dress. After the departure, for instance, from England of the ambassadors from the Czar, the Sultan, and the Prince of Morocco, Henry the Eighth and his friends gave several masques in the strange attire of their visitors. Later on London saw, perhaps too often, the sombre splendour of the Spanish Court, and to Elizabeth came

envoys from all lands, whose dress, Shakespeare tells us, had an important influence on English costume.

And the interest was not confined merely to classical dress, or the dress of foreign nations; there was also a good deal of research, among theatrical people specially, into the ancient costume of England itself: and when Shakespeare, in the prologue to one of his plays, expresses his regret at being unable to produce helmets of the period, he is speaking as an Elizabethan manager and not merely as an Elizabethan poet. At Cambridge, for instance, during his day, a play of *Richard the Third* was performed in which the actors were attired in real dresses of the time, procured from the great collection of historical costume in the Tower, which was always open to the inspection of managers, and sometimes placed at their disposal. And I cannot help thinking that this performance must have been far more artistic, as regards costume, than Garrick's mounting of Shakespeare's own play on the subject, in which he himself appeared in a nondescript fancy dress, and everybody else in the costume of George the Third, Richmond especially being much admired in the uniform of a young guardsman.

For what is the use to the stage of that archæology which has suddenly become the *bête noire* of the critics, but that it, and it alone, can give us the architecture and apparel suitable to the time in which the action in the play passes? It enables us to see a Greek dressed like a Greek, and an Italian like an Italian; to enjoy the arcades of Venice and the balconies of Verona; and, if the play deals with any of the great eras in our country's history, to contemplate the age in its proper attire, and the king in his habit as he lived. And I wonder, *par parenthèse*, what Lord Lytton would have said some time ago, at the Princess's Theatre, had the curtain risen on his father's Brutus reclining in a Queen Anne chair, attired in a flowing wig and a flowered dressing-gown, a costume which in the last century was considered peculiarly appropriate to an antique Roman! For in those halcyon days of the drama no archæology troubled the stage, or distressed the critics, and our inartistic grandfathers sat peaceably in a stifling atmosphere of anachronisms, and beheld with the calm complacency of the age of prose an Iachimo in powder and patches, a Lear in lace ruffles, and a Lady Macbeth in a large crinoline. I can understand archæology being attacked on the ground of its excessive realism, but to attack it as pedantic seems to be very much beside the mark. However, to attack it for any reason is foolish; one might just as well speak disrespectfully of the equator. For archæology, being a science, is neither good nor bad, but a fact simply. Its value depends entirely on how it is used, and only an artist can use it. We look to the archæologist for the materials, to the artist for the method.

In designing the scenery and costumes for any of Shakespeare's

plays, the first thing the artist has to settle is the best date for the drama. This should be determined by the general spirit of the play, more than by any actual historical references which may occur in it. Most *Hamlets* I have seen were placed far too early. *Hamlet* is essentially a scholar of the Revival of Learning; and if the allusion to the recent invasion of England by the Danes puts it back to the ninth century, the use of foils brings it down much later. *Once, however, that the date has been fixed, then the archæologist is to supply us with the facts, which the artist is to convert into effects.*

It has been said that the anachronisms in the plays themselves show us that Shakespeare was indifferent to historical accuracy, and a great deal of capital has been made out of Hector's indiscreet quotation from Aristotle. Upon the other hand, the anachronisms are really few in number, and not very important, and, had Shakespeare's attention been drawn to them by a brother artist, he would probably have corrected them. For, though they can hardly be called blemishes, they are certainly not the great beauties of his work; or at least, if they are, their anachronistic charm cannot be emphasised unless the play is accurately mounted according to its proper date. In looking at Shakespeare's plays as a whole, however, what is really remarkable is their extraordinary fidelity as regards his personages and his plots. Many of his *dramatis personæ* are people who had actually existed, and some of them might have been seen in real life by a portion of his audience. Indeed the most violent attack that was made on Shakespeare in his time was for his supposed caricature of Lord Cobham. As for his plots, Shakespeare nearly always draws them either from authentic history, or from the old ballads and traditions which served as history to the Elizabethan public, and which even now no scientific historian would dismiss as absolutely untrue. And not merely did he select fact instead of fancy as the basis of his imaginative work, but he always gives to each play the general character, the social atmosphere in a word, of the age in question. Stupidity he recognises as being one of the permanent characteristics of all civilisations; so he sees no difference between a London mob of his own day and a Roman mob of Pagan days, between a silly watchman in Messina and a silly Justice of the Peace in Windsor. But when he deals with higher characters, with those exceptions of each age which are so fine that they become its types, he gives them absolutely the stamp and seal of their time. *Virgilia* is one of those Roman wives on whose tomb was written '*Domi mansit, lanam fecit,*' as surely as *Juliet* is the romantic girl of the Renaissance. He is even true to the characteristics of race. *Hamlet* has all the imagination and irresolution of the Celt, and the Princess *Katharine* is as entirely French as the heroine of *Divorçons*. *Harry the Fifth* is a pure Englishman, and *Othello* a perfect Moor.

Again, when Shakespeare deals with the history of England from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, it is wonderful how careful he is to have his facts perfectly right—indeed he follows Holinshed with curious fidelity. The incessant wars between France and England are described with extraordinary accuracy down to the names of the besieged towns, the ports of landing and embarkation, the sites and dates of the battles, the titles of the commanders on each side, and the lists of the killed and wounded. In the account of the Civil Wars of the Roses we have many elaborate genealogies of the seven sons of Edward the Third; the claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster to the throne are discussed at length; and as for the English aristocracy, if they will not read Shakespeare as a poet, they should certainly read him as a sort of early Peerage. There is hardly a single title in the Upper House, with the exception of course of the uninteresting titles assumed by the law lords, which does not appear in Shakespeare, along with many details of family history, creditable and otherwise. Indeed if it be really necessary that the School Board children should know all about the Wars of the Roses, they could learn their lessons just as well out of Shakespeare as out of shilling primers, and learn them, I need not say, far more pleasurably. Even in Shakespeare's own day this use of his plays was recognised. 'The historical plays teach history to those who cannot read it in the chronicles,' says Heywood in a tract about the stage, and yet I am sure that sixteenth-century chronicles were much more delightful reading than nineteenth-century primers are.

Of course the æsthetic value of Shakespeare's plays does not, in the slightest degree, depend on their facts, but on their truth, and truth is independent of facts always, inventing or selecting them at pleasure. But still Shakespeare's adherence to facts is a most interesting part of his method of work, and shows us his attitude towards the stage, and his relations to realism. Indeed he would have been very much surprised, at any one classing his plays with 'fairy tales,' as Lord Lytton does; for one of his aims was to create for England a national historical drama, which should deal with incidents with which the public was well acquainted, and with heroes that lived in the memory of a people. Patriotism, I need hardly say, is not a necessary quality of art; but it means, for the artist the substitution of a universal for an individual feeling, and for the public the presentation of a work of art in a most attractive and popular form. It is worth noticing that Shakespeare's first and last successes were both historical plays.

It may be asked, what has this to do with Shakespeare's attitude towards costume? I answer that a dramatist who laid such stress on historical accuracy of fact would have welcomed historical accuracy of costume as a most important adjunct to his realistic method. And I have no hesitation in saying that he did so. The allusion to

helmets of the period in the prologue to *Henry the Fifth* may be considered fanciful, though Shakespeare must have often seen

The very casque .
That did affright the air at Agincourt,

where it still hangs in the dusky gloom of Westminster Abbey, along with the saddle of that 'imp of fame,' and the dinted shield with its torn blue velvet lining and its tarnished lilies of gold; but the use of military tabards in *Henry the Sixth* is a bit of pure archæology, as they were not worn in the sixteenth century; and the King's own tabard, I may mention, was still suspended over his tomb in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in Shakespeare's day. For, up to the time of the unfortunate triumph of the Philistines in 1645, the chapels and cathedrals of England were the great national museums of archæology, and in them was kept the armour and attire of the heroes of English history. A good deal of course was preserved in the Tower, and even in Elizabeth's day tourists were brought there to see such curious relics of the past as Charles Brandon's huge lance, which is still, I believe, the admiration of our country visitors; but the cathedrals and churches were, as a rule, selected as the most suitable shrines for the reception of the historic antiquities. Canterbury can still show us the helm of the Black Prince, Westminster the robes of our kings, and in old St. Paul's the very banner that had waved on Bosworth field was hung up by Richmond himself.

In fact, everywhere that Shakespeare turned in London he saw the apparel and appurtenances of past ages, and it is impossible to doubt that he made use of his opportunities. The employment of lance and shield, for instance, in actual warfare, which is so frequent in his plays, is drawn from archæology, and not from the military accoutrements of his day; and his general use of armour in battle was not a characteristic of his age, a time when it was rapidly disappearing before firearms. Again, the crest on Warwick's helmet, of which such a point is made in *Henry the Sixth*, is absolutely correct in a fifteenth-century play when crests were generally worn, but would not have been so in a play of Shakespeare's own time, when feathers and plumes had taken their place—a fashion which, as he tells us in *Henry the Eighth*, was borrowed from France. For the historical plays, then, we may be sure that archæology was employed, and as for the others I feel certain it was the case also. The appearance of Jupiter thunderbolt in hand on his eagle, of Juno with her peacocks, and of Iris with her many-coloured bow; the Amazon masque and the masque of the Five Worthies, may all be regarded as archæological; and the vision which Posthumus sees in prison of Sicilius Leonatus—'an old man,' 'attired like a warrior, leading an ancient matron'—is clearly so. Of the 'Athenian dress' by which Lysander is distinguished from Oberon I have already spoken; but one of the most marked instances is

in the case of the dress of Coriolanus, for which Shakespeare goes directly to Plutarch. That historian, in his *Life of the great Roman*, tells us of the oak-wreath with which Caius Marcius was crowned, and of the curious kind of dress in which, according to ancient fashion, he had to canvass his electors; and on both of these points he enters into long disquisitions, investigating the origin and meaning of the old customs. Shakespeare, in the spirit of the true artist, accepts the facts of the antiquarian and converts them into dramatic and picturesque effects: indeed the gown of humility, the 'woolvish gown,' as Shakespeare calls it, is the central note of the play. There are other cases I might quote, but this one is quite sufficient for my purpose; and it is evident from it at any rate that, in mounting a play in the accurate costume of the time, according to the best authorities, we are carrying out Shakespeare's own wishes and method.

Even if it were not so, there is no more reason that we should continue any imperfections which may be supposed to have characterised Shakespeare's stage-mounting than that we should have Juliet played by a young man, or give up the advantage of changeable scenery. A great work of dramatic art should not merely be made expressive of modern passion by means of the actor, but should be presented to us in the form most suitable to the modern realistic spirit. Racine produced his Roman plays in Louis-Quatorze dress, on a stage crowded with spectators; but we require different conditions for the enjoyment of his art. Perfect accuracy of detail, for the sake of perfect illusion, is necessary for us. What we have to see is that the details are not allowed to usurp the principal place. They must be subordinate always to the general motive of the play. But subordination in art does not mean the disregard of truth; it means the conversion of fact into effect, and the assigning to each detail its proper relative value.

Les petits détails d'histoire et de vie domestique (says Hugo) doivent être scrupuleusement étudiés et reproduits par le poète, mais uniquement comme des moyens d'accroître la réalité de l'ensemble, et de faire pénétrer jusque dans les coins les plus obscurs de l'œuvre cette vie générale et puissante au milieu de laquelle les personnages sont plus vrais, et les catastrophes, par conséquent, plus poignantes. Tout doit être subordonné à ce but. L'Homme sur le premier plan, le reste au fond.

The passage is interesting as coming from the first great French dramatist who employed archæology on the stage, and whose plays, though absolutely correct in detail, are known to all for their passion, not for their pedantry—for their life, not for their learning. It is true that he has made certain concessions in the case of the employment of curious or strange expressions. Ruy Blas talks of M. de Priego as 'sujet du roi' instead of 'noble du roi,' and Angelo Malipieri speaks of 'la croix rouge' instead of 'la croix de gueules.' But they are concessions made to the public, or rather to a section of it. 'J'en offre ici toutes mes excuses aux spectateurs intelligents,' he says in a

note to one of the plays; 'espérons qu'un jour un seigneur vénitien pourra dire tout bonnement sans péril son blason sur le théâtre. C'est un progrès qui viendra.' And, though the description of the crest is not couched in accurate language, still the crest itself was accurately right. It may, of course, be said that the public do not notice these things; upon the other hand, it should be remembered that Art has no other aim but her own perfection, and proceeds entirely by her own laws, and that the play which Hamlet describes as being caviare to the general is a play he highly praises. Besides, in England at any rate, the public has undergone a transformation; there is far more appreciation of beauty now than there was a few years ago; and though they may not be familiar with the authorities and archæological data for what is shown to them, still they enjoy whatever loveliness they look at. And this is the important thing. Better to take pleasure in a rose than to put its root under a microscope. *Archæological accuracy is merely a condition of fine stage effect; it is not its quality.* And Lord Lytton's proposal that the dresses should simply be beautiful without being accurate is founded on a misapprehension of the nature of costume, and of its value on the stage. This value is twofold, picturesque and dramatic; the former depends on the colour of the dress, the latter on its design and character. But so interwoven are the two that, whenever historical accuracy has been disregarded, and the various dresses in a play taken from different ages, the result has been that the stage has been turned into that chaos of costume, that caricature of the centuries, the Fancy Dress Ball, to the entire ruin of all dramatic and picturesque effect. For the dresses of one age do not artistically harmonise with the dresses of another; and, as far as dramatic value goes, to confuse the costumes is to confuse the play. Costume is a growth, an evolution, and a most important, perhaps the most important, sign of the manners, customs, and mode of life of each century. The Puritan dislike of colour, adornment, and grace in apparel was part of the great revolt of the middle classes against Beauty in the seventeenth century. An historian who disregarded it would give us a most inaccurate picture of the time, and a dramatist who did not avail himself of it would miss a most vital element in producing a realistic effect. The effeminacy of dress that characterised the reign of Richard the Second was a constant theme of contemporary authors. Shakespeare, writing two hundred years after, makes the King's fondness for gay apparel and foreign fashions a point in the play, from John of Gaunt's reproaches down to Richard's own speech in the third act on his deposition from the throne. And that Shakespeare examined Richard's tomb in Westminster Abbey seems to me certain from York's speech:—

See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,
As doth the blushing discontented sun

From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory.

For we can still discern on the King's robe his favourite badge—the sun issuing from a cloud. In fact, in every age the social conditions are so exemplified in costume, that to produce a sixteenth-century play in fourteenth-century attire, or *vice versâ*, would make the performance seem unreal because untrue. And, valuable as beauty of effect on the stage is, the highest beauty is not merely comparable with absolute accuracy of detail, but really dependent on it. To invent an entirely new costume is impossible, and as for combining the dress of different centuries into one, the experiment would be dangerous, and Shakespeare's opinion of the value of such a medley may be gathered from his incessant satire of the Elizabethan dandies for imagining that they were well dressed because they got their doublets in Italy, their hats in Germany, and their hose in France. And it should be noted that the most lovely scenes recently produced on our stage have been those which were distinguished by perfect accuracy, such as Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft's eighteenth-century revivals at the Haymarket, Mr. Irving's superb production of *Much Ado about Nothing*, and Mr. Barrett's *Claudian*. Besides, and perhaps this is the most complete answer to Lord Lytton's theory, it must be remembered that neither in costume nor in dialogue is beauty the dramatist's primary aim at all. The true dramatist aims first at what is characteristic, and no more desires that all his personages should be beautifully attired than he desires that they should all have beautiful natures or speak beautiful English. *The true dramatist, in fact, shows us life under the conditions of art, not art in the form of life.* The Greek dress was the loveliest dress the world has ever seen, and the English dress of the last century one of the most monstrous; yet the Screen scene from the *School for Scandal* would not be in the slightest degree improved by Lady Teazle being dressed as Chloe, and Joseph Surface as Daphnis, even though Sir Peter's own costume were accurately copied from an Athenian vase of the best period. For, as Polonius says in his excellent lecture on dress, a lecture to which I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my obligations, one of the first qualities of dress is its expressiveness. And the affected style of dress in the last century was the natural characteristic of a society of affected manners and affected conversation—a characteristic which the realistic dramatist will highly value down to the smallest detail of accuracy, and the materials for which he can only get from archæology.

But it is not enough that a dress should be accurate; it must be also appropriate to the stature and appearance of the actor, and to his supposed condition, as well as to his necessary action in the play. In the recent production of *As you like it* at the St. James's Theatre,

for instance, the whole point of Orlando's complaint that he is brought up like a peasant, and not like a gentleman, was spoiled by the gorgeousness of his dress, and the splendid apparel worn by the banished Duke and his friends was quite out of place. Mr. Lewis Wingfield's explanation that the sumptuary laws of the period necessitated their doing so, is, I am afraid, hardly sufficient. Outlaws, lurking in a forest and living by the chase, are not very likely to care much about ordinances of dress. They were probably attired like Robin Hood's men, to whom, indeed, they are compared in the course of the play. And that their dress was not that of wealthy noblemen may be seen by Orlando's words when he breaks in upon them. He mistakes them for robbers, and is amazed to find that they answer him in courteous and gentle terms. Lady Archibald Campbell's production of the same play in Coombe Wood was, as regards mounting, far more artistic. At least it seemed so to me. The Duke and his companions were dressed in serge tunics, leathern jerkins, high boots, and gauntlets, and wore bycocket hats and hoods. And, as they were playing in a real forest, they found, I am sure, their dresses extremely convenient. To every character in the play was given a perfectly appropriate attire, and the brown and green of their costumes harmonised exquisitely with the ferns through which they wandered, the trees beneath which they lay, and the lovely English landscape that surrounded the Pastoral Players. The perfect naturalness of the scene was due to the absolute accuracy and appropriateness of everything they wore. Nor could archæology have been put to a severer test, or come out of it more triumphantly. The whole production showed once for all that, unless a dress is archæologically correct, and artistically appropriate, it always looks unreal, unnatural, and theatrical in the sense of artificial.

Nor, again, is it enough that there should be accurate and appropriate costumes of beautiful colours; there must be also beauty of colour on the stage as an *ensemble*, and as long as the background is painted by one artist, and the foreground figures independently designed by another, there is a danger of a want of harmony in the scene as a picture. For each scene the colour-scheme should be settled as absolutely as for the decoration of a room, and the textures which it is proposed to use should be mixed and re-mixed in every possible combination, and what is discordant removed. Then, as regards the particular kinds of colours, the stage is often made too glaring, partly through the excessive use of hot, violent reds, and partly through the costumes looking too new. Shabbiness, which is merely the tendency of the lower orders towards tone, is not without its artistic value, and modern colours are often much improved by being a little faded. Blue also is too frequently used: it is not merely a dangerous colour to wear by gaslight, but it is really difficult in England to get a thoroughly good blue. The fine Chinese blue,

which we all so much admire, takes two years to dye, and the English public will not wait so long for a colour. Peacock blue, of course, has been employed on the stage, notably at the Lyceum, with great advantage; but all attempts at a good light blue, or good dark blue, which I have seen have been failures. The value of black is hardly appreciated; it was used effectively by Mr. Irving in *Hamlet* as the central note of a composition, but as a tone-giving neutral its importance is not recognised. And this is curious, considering the general colour of the dress of a century in which, as Baudelaire says, 'Nous célébrons tous quelque enterrement.' The archæologist of the future will probably point to this age as a time when the beauty of black was understood; but I hardly think that, as regards stage-mounting or house decoration, it really is. Its decorative value is, of course, the same as that of white or gold; it can separate and harmonise colours. In modern plays the black frock coat of the hero becomes important in itself, and should be given a suitable background. But it rarely is. Indeed the only good background for a play in modern dress which I have ever seen was the dark grey and cream-white scene of the first act of the *Princesse Georges* in Mrs. Langtry's production. As a rule, the hero is smothered in *bric-à-brac* and palm-trees, lost in the gilded abyss of Louis-Quatorze furniture, or reduced to a mere midge in the midst of marqueterie; whereas the background should always be kept as a background, and colour subordinated to effect. This, of course, can only be done when there is one single mind directing the whole production. The facts of art are diverse, but the essence of artistic effect is unity. Monarchy, Anarchy, and Republicanism may contend for the government of nations; but a theatre should be under the absolute power of a cultured despot. *There may be division of labour, but there must be no division of mind.* Whoever understands the costume of an age understands of necessity its architecture and its surroundings also, and it is easy to see from the chairs of a century whether it was a century of crinolines or not. In fact, in art there is no specialism, and a really artistic production should bear the impress of one master, and one master only, who not merely should design and arrange everything, but should have complete control over the way in which each dress is to be worn.

Mademoiselle Mars, in the first production of *Hernani*, absolutely refused to call her lover '*Mon Lion!*' unless she was allowed to wear a little fashionable *toque* then much in vogue on the Boulevards; and many young ladies on our own stage insist to the present day on wearing stiff-starched petticoats under Greek dresses, to the entire ruin of all delicacy of line and fold; but these wicked things should not be allowed. And there should be far more dress rehearsals than there are now. Actors such as Mr. Forbes-Robertson, Mr. Conway, and others, not to mention older artists, can move with ease and

elegance in the attire of any century; but there are not a few who seem dreadfully embarrassed about their hands if they have no side pockets, and who always wear their dresses as if they were costumes. Costumes, of course, they are to the designer; but dresses they should be to those who wear them. And it is time that a stop should be put to the idea, very prevalent on the stage, that the Greeks and Romans always went about bareheaded in the open air—a mistake the Elizabethan managers did not fall into, for they gave hoods as well as gowns to their Roman senators.

More dress rehearsals would also be of value in explaining to the actors that there is a form of gesture and movement which is not merely appropriate to each style of dress, but really conditioned by it. The extravagant use of the arms in the eighteenth century, for instance, was the necessary result of the large hoop, and the solemn dignity of Burghley owed as much to his ruff as to his reason. Besides until an actor is at home in his dress, he is not at home in his part.

Of the value of beautiful costume in creating an artistic temperament in the audience, and producing that joy in beauty for beauty's sake without which the great masterpieces of art can never be understood, I will not here speak; though it is worth while to notice how Shakespeare appreciated that side of the question in the production of his tragedies, acting them always by artificial light, and in a theatre hung with black; but what I have tried to point out is that archæology is not a pedantic method, but a method of realism, and that costume is a means of displaying character without description, and of producing dramatic situations and dramatic effects. I think it is a pity that so many critics should have set themselves to attack one of the most important movements on the modern stage before that movement has at all reached its proper perfection. That it will do so, however, I feel as certain as that we will require from our dramatic critics in the future higher qualifications than that they can remember Macready or have seen Benjamin Webster: we will require of them, indeed, that they cultivate a sense of beauty. *Pour être plus difficile, la tâche n'en est que plus glorieuse.* And if they will not encourage, at least they must not oppose, a movement which Shakespeare of all dramatists would have most approved; for it has Truth for its aim, and Beauty for its result.

OSCAR WILDE.

THE RED MAN.

THE hackneyed question of mental capacity, relative and positive, of the Red Man is continually thrust forward in connection with the policy pursued towards him. It is the favourite theme of the frontiers, as it involves not only the possibility of his civilisation but—in the expansive conclusions of border logic and of white man's avarice—his right to the soil. Its satisfactory solution—satisfactory to the white man only—is deemed a plausible justification of the white man's aggression; and, as if it were an opiate for distressed consciences, he 'shakes it' (before the world!) and 'takes it.'

How mental capacity, or rather how a finer tissue of brain organism can affect the dispensation, or the suspension, of justice, any more than it can affect the remission of sin, is a point which the pale-face conveniently ignores. With a benignant flourish of the hand he waves aside such disturbing questions—feigning to regard them as the drivel of 'sentimentalism.' With that term, in lieu of argument, he satirises every expression of sympathy and philanthropy. Sentiment it may be; justice it is; and it will no more be waved back by a flourish of the hand than would the billows from the beach. It is developing, intensifying. Since the war that emancipated another race, the hand of civilisation has been left free to remove other obstructions from its path. The sympathies of the world—at least of the Great Republic—are concentrating upon another object, the Red Man. During the past year fifteen Indian Rights Associations have been established in as many of the principal cities of the States. Independent of these, or as adjuncts to them, the good women of America are diligently organising Indian Women's Aid Associations. Well may the abused Red Man look upward, and take courage. He is by no means ignorant of these organisations, nor of their object. Craniology is not the subject of their deliberations. The question of brain-pans and crania is left to the discussion of those who have an eye upon the Indian's estate; and they readily set up the usual plea of impatient heirs—the owner is incompetent, a lunatic, an imbecile. But neither mental nor physical supremacy has anything to do with the establishment of an honourable policy. Even if it had, there are some perplexing problems for those who would deny either

the intelligence or the virility of the aborigine. I shall leave one or two here for their consideration. The average of estimates made by competent authorities shows that the slaying of each Indian warrior has cost the lives of fifteen soldiers. During the Seminole war twenty-five hundred warriors resisted, for seven years, a force of twenty-five thousand regulars at a cost to the Government of thirty million dollars; and the Seminoles were finally subdued with the assistance of a thousand Indians from hostile tribes.

If the natural endowments of the Red Man are to be judged by his ability to cope with the Machiavellian diplomacy of the conventional 'agent,' the Red Man must yield—just as sagacity is overreached by intrigue. Ever since the shrewd 'agent' at Council Bluffs sent up a man in a balloon to convince the assembled and astonished Indians that he received his mandates direct from the Great Spirit in the Sky, the Indian chiefs themselves have lost some confidence both in the justness of their cause and in their comparative intelligence. 'No use' (exclaimed Onpatonga, as the man and balloon disappeared skyward), 'no use—beat Indian every time—me talk no more—give me quill, sign paper-talk quick!' Such subtle, such ethereal diplomacy is, it must be confessed, too much for the primitive sagacity of the aborigine.

But an ethnographic view of the subject is not to the present purpose, and I turn to one of more service, merely remarking that the Red Man's capabilities for civilisation are less doubted with every year's progress, and doubted the least by those who know him best.

That there are three hundred thousand people whom the law places in such a singularly unique position, so insulated from mankind, that even upon their own territory they are neither denizens nor aliens, neither citizens nor foreigners, is inconceivable but true. That the Indians, by possessory rights actual and constructive, do own the territory which they occupy, and which they occupied before Federal laws were in existence, is acknowledged, tacitly at least, in the very operation of bargaining for their lands, and negotiating treaties with the tribal chiefs.

It is this vague and indefinable position before the law that has been, from the beginning, the main source of trouble with the Indians.¹ Not an alien, nor a denizen, nor a subject, the Federal law is mystified in defining his legal *status*, and suspiciously regards

¹ In his notes to the Indian romance, *Onnalinda*, Mr. W. J. Byam states very concisely the vague and various designations given by the Federal Attorneys-General to the Indian: 'The red man is not a citizen, and he is not a foreigner. He is a nondescript. At different periods he has received different designations: years ago he was a "domestic subject;" then a "perpetual inhabitant with diminutive rights;" now he is the Government's "ward." The latter is manifestly a misnomer, for the "ward" in this case, in order to bring a suit against his guardian, must first obtain his guardian's permission.'

him as a sort of unclassified heteroclite, but still under the Federal jurisdiction! Perhaps the closest approximation that can be made towards defining his unique position before the law—but with the usual contradiction in terms that characterises the Indian controversy—is, that the Indian is a *perpetual sojourner* upon lands which are his, but whose right to that land is subordinate to the Government's desire to purchase.

The absurdity in making treaties with these Indian clans as so many sovereignties does not appear to have occurred to Congress until the year of grace 1871. Years prior to that, treaties were made with the great tribes in the east, and, in consideration of certain pensions, rations, &c., and of ceding to them a certain territory in the Far West, 'to have and to hold while grass grows or waters run,' they were induced to migrate. But the territory thus ceded to these migratory tribes was already occupied by more barbarous Indians. *Their* title to the land had never been extinguished by any stipulation, grant, or pension. If such extinguishment was ever made, the Government has not deemed it advisable to honour it with official record. Probably it may be placed (with the Council Bluffs affair) under the broad head of balloon diplomacy!

Fifty years ago that tract of land ceded to the Indians, though of enormous extent, was not deemed of great value to the white man; the schoolboy's atlas of that time represented the greater part of that territory as an 'unexplored region,' or as the 'Great American Desert.' But that schoolboy—the incipient Congressman!—has since discovered his error. The lustful eyes of the border settlers soon espied oases, and very big ones too, in this Sahara. Congress soon learned through innumerable and importunate petitions that it was a fertile, a wonderfully fertile, country: covered with 'vegetable mould a yard deep,' says one of the petitions—a sudden accretion to the schoolboy's Sahara! Pioneers advanced. Then another discovery—Gold! The Indian Reservation (the 'Great American Desert') was a Pactolus! Crowds invaded it; settlers occupied it; squatters claimed it. Railways dumped upon its borders—like so much volcanic scoriæ—the rabble, the scum and dregs of eastern cities. Naturally enough the result was a pandemonium of lust, rapine, and murder. All at once the newspapers set up their many-lined pica headings: 'Terrible atrocities!' 'Savages rampant!' 'Defenceless whites murdered!'—followed by a coagulating triple-leaded despatch from—from whom?—from those 'defenceless whites' while resting from their work of pillaging or debauching wigwams. These scoriæ are the plaintiffs, and all the evidence is purely *ex parte*; the defendant is silent—the Red Man has neither pens nor telegraphs. He could only do what their chief Yosoyahola did—clutch a handful of green grass, and with one hand hold it up before the Indian Commissioner, and with the other point to the Arkansas

river! More expressive than words was that pantomime: The grass grows and the waters run—you, pale-face, have broken the treaty.

But the pressure upon the Government increased. Troops were ordered to advance upon the Indian territory to protect—whom? Not the poor Indian in the rights granted him by solemn treaty, but the marauders, the squatters.

Congress suddenly realised its dilemma and the fearful mistakes in its policy—mistakes it had been committing for a hundred years—and on March 3, 1871, an Act was passed declaring that 'no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged as an independent nation, tribe, or power, with whom the United States may contract by treaty.'² This was not only a humiliating admission of a hundred years of blundering diplomacy, but also a tacit ratification of all the treaties made during that time. Whether the passage of this Act was a blunder more conspicuous than usual, is a problem yet to be solved. *It was only one step.* It brought the Red Man more fully under Federal jurisdiction, but it gave him no legal rights, no civic privileges. It is for the purpose of urging another step in advance that the Indian Rights Associations, before alluded to, are being instituted. Their object is to influence public sentiment, and through that to bring a pressure upon Congress to grant the Indian, first, his land in severalty; second, citizenship. This is the only possible solution of the problem that has vexed the Federal Government for a century, and made its policy vacillating, inconsistent, humiliating, cruel. The allotment of land in severalty to the Indian—I mean to each head of a family—will be a benefaction the advantages of which cannot be here enumerated. It will be an incentive to thrift, for he may then count upon reaping where he sows; but more broadly than that, it will enable him to sunder his tribal affiliations and his allegiance to tyrannic chiefs, and thereby remove the only legal obstacle in his way to adoption as a citizen. As a citizen he may maintain his rights in the courts of law; for (be it known to the world, and be it said with due humiliation) the Indian has now *no legal redress!* The white man may sue, prosecute or persecute, an Indian; but an Indian cannot, personally or by attorney, sue a white man—not even for his hard-earned wage: not even for injury to person or property.

It is not proposed to confer the elective franchise without discrimination, but with certain qualifications which the native sagacity of the Indian, stimulated by the happy prospect before him, will speedily acquire. That there are, even now, hundreds of Indians better qualified for exercising the political rights of citizenship than are many thousands of the whites who poll their unread ballots, is

² Revised Stat. U.S. sec. 2,097.

evident enough. Perhaps there is no man living whose opinion on this matter should outweigh that of General Crook. Year after year, both as soldier and commissioner, he has been in actual contact with the various tribes of Red Men, and as a soldier he will not be accused of sentimentalism. He says:—

The proposition I make in behalf of the Indian is, that he is at this moment capable, with very little instruction, of exercising every manly right. He does not need so much *guardianship* as many people would have us believe. What he does need is protection under the law; the privilege of suing in the courts, which privilege, to be of the slightest value, must be founded upon the franchise.

And he says in conclusion:—

I wish to say most emphatically that the American Indian is the intellectual peer of most, if not all, the various nationalities we have assimilated to our laws, customs, and language.

People who talk of the ‘possibility’ of civilising the Indian are ignorant of the progress made during the last decade. The Government schools at Hampton, Carlisle, Forest Grove, and other places have demonstrated not only the possibility but the astonishing aptitude for advancement shown by Indian children. After their course of instruction they return to their homes and forests as so many lanterns of civilisation and Christianity. I admit that, here and there, a pupil under the influence of his old surroundings has ‘gone back’ into barbarism. But if a lamp here and there go out in the darkness, shall no more lamps be lighted? The influence of these trained pupils among their less fortunate kindred is incalculable. Their manly deportment is emulated by their untutored brethren; they are efficient aids to the Christian mission-schools; they bring to their tribes unimpeachable evidence that the settlers, squatters, and (be it said with shame) some of the Government’s agents, are not exponents nor samples of civilisation. Instances of the immediate influence exerted by these trained pupils are numerous. I shall note one, from ‘The Record of Hampton’s Returned Pupils’—in answer to the question whether the American Indians are willing to have their children taken to school.

A mother, who heard of our being on the Reservation, brought her boy sixty miles to ask us to take him. He is at Hampton to-day. . . . After our leaving the Agency for the steamboat landing, some three miles off, a boy appeared, having ridden fifteen miles, and earnestly asked to be taken to school. We sent him to the Agency physician to be examined. He went at full speed, and returned, bringing a note from the doctor stating that the boy had enlargement of the thyroid gland, and had better not go. When told the contents of the note he was greatly disappointed, and volunteered to run the risk, insisting that he must go. He agreed, if too sick to stay at school, to pay his own way home (from Hampton, Virginia, a distance of 1,000 miles) by selling some cattle he had. Of course we brought that boy.

Voters of all shades, from white to ebon, are being made of worse material than such as that Red boy. With the ballot in his hand the Red Man will need no guardianship, no protection. He may bury his tomahawk. In his presence, political parties will vie with each other in the meekness of their salaams. His welfare, his health, his wife, and all his papooses, will suddenly become objects of tender solicitude. He will be agreeably surprised at his quick metamorphosis from a 'bloody savage' and a 'whooping lyena' into a full-blown gentleman with a presented button-hole posy on his lapel. But his surprise will gradually vanish as he learns the potency of that bit of 'talking-paper'—a power to send those sycophants to Washington or to the plough-tail—to hold a portfolio or a hoe-handle.

The severalty-allotment of land to the Indians will enable the Government to discontinue, gradually, the granting of subsidies, rations, &c.—a system that has wrought incalculable mischief, morally and physically. Its result is, naturally enough, to pauperise the *donees*—making them improvident, vagrant, contentious. It is radically wrong; for the Red Man is not slow to observe that the bellicose tribes are the favoured ones—obtaining their pensions more promptly, and their rations of better quality! I was struck with the pointed and really graphic way a good-natured Sioux put the case: 'Bad Indian shake tomahawk—raise shoot-gun, get pay quick! Me peace-Indian good, stay in teepee, papoose hungry; bimebye bread come 'long—sour! bimebye meat come 'long—stink! Me shake tomahawk too, guess bimebye!' Nor does the Indian fail to take another view of the subject, equally disheartening. He knows what he gives the white man is imperishable—the land lasts for all time; but what he receives in return is only for to-day, and sometimes for a day long past, as an Indian once remarked after driving his hatchet into a barrel of pork furnished by a knavish Agent: 'Pfew! guess Great Father meant um for last week!'

It is no longer necessary to inquire whether the Red Man will avail himself of the privilege of allodial tenure. Proof is at hand. A special treaty made with the Santee Sioux, in Northern Nebraska, provides that each Indian may assume a claim on the Reservation, and, in the event of his tilling and improving his land, can obtain from the Government a patent for his claim, and become at once a citizen. During the last year over one hundred of the Santee Sioux have availed themselves of the offer, and are now thrifty and happy—living in comfortable adobe houses, and courteously recognised by their white brethren. Why the Government does not grant similar privileges to other and equally worthy clans, is perhaps best known to those initiated in the mysteries of the lobby of the House. The Senate—all honour to that noble body!—passed a Bill ('the Coke Bill') which was satisfactory to the friends of the Indian; but it was

defeated in the House—defeated through the machinations of those men who fancy that the best land is ever around and under an Indian's wigwam, and, *consequently*, 'the best Indian is a dead one.' That Bill was defeated by the same spirit that now actuates the so-called Oklahoma Boomers in their scheme of aggression and robbery.

The unhappy, and to the Red Man disastrous, effects of the present system of dole and subsidy—giving a perishable commodity for an imperishable—in short the ill-effects of the general policy pursued towards the Indian, may be clearly shown by one example. For the Indians of Montana—the Blackfeet, the Piegan, and others—Congress made an appropriation for the year ending July 1, 1884, which by some unaccountable folly was 84,000 dollars less than what was asked for and deemed absolutely necessary by the Department. That deficiency and the delay in making the appropriation, together with the scarcity of game during the season, brought indescribable misery upon that poor people. It is estimated that during the spring and summer of last year, four hundred Indians of Montana died from starvation. At the Blackfeet Agency from four to six burial boxes were issued daily to a population of twenty-five hundred. Around Fort Belknap—a large military establishment—the suffering was *apparently* less. But the means adopted for mitigating these horrors, or rather the conditions exacted by the 'civilised' white population for such mitigation, are infamous, revolting, incredible. There are truths that should make the pen of the writer to tremble, and the reader to shudder, and we must turn away from these atrocious crimes. But when a suffering people, defrauded of their heritage and their bread, are saved from starvation by the sacrifice of the purity and innocence of wives and daughters, the truth should be known to the world, however revolting and humiliating it may be to our civilisation.

The remedy for these monstrous evils, and for all the woes of the Red Man, is in granting to him the rights of citizenship—rights that are not withheld from the most degraded white man or black. These rights can be acquired only through legislation, and this through the influence and pressure of public opinion. To invigorate that influence the good men and the good women of America are labouring to place before the world the simple truth concerning the Red Man.

One of the chief obstacles in the way of progress is the antagonism of certain politicians and writers for the press, who, urged on by their greedy constituents and patrons of the border, falsify the condition of the Red Man, and blacken his character. The fabrications of these men in their attempts to debase the Indian in the sight of the world, in order to instigate a crusade upon his territory, show a talent that in a better cause would be potent indeed. Their hostility to the *friends* of the Red Man, to the advancement of education, and even to Christianity itself, is perhaps always to be expected, and can be bravely

met. But their slanders, cast upon a people whose lips are closed, are even more abominable. The silent Red Man can utter no Macedonian cry; but may he not look up into the faces of Christian men and Christian women for his vindication—even to the eminent prompters of public opinion, abroad as well as at home?

J. H. McNAUGHTON.

DEATH.

THE universality of death amongst the visible living creation is so striking a fact that it is not surprising that death has been through all time regarded as one of the properties which characterise living matter. Living bodies have often been distinguished from non-living bodies by the mode in which their existence is terminated, and hence a termination by death has been considered one of the characteristics of life.

Any one bold enough to attack the general proposition that 'death is the end of life' is likely to be rather severely criticised, for if he succeeds in proving this statement to be false, what will all those poets and moralists do who never seem to tire of reiterating the mortality of all living beings? In spite of such considerations, a distinguished German philosopher, Professor Weismann, has been recently led, in a series of most interesting speculations on the nature of heredity, the duration of life, &c., to throw some doubt upon the generally assumed statement that death is dependent upon causes lying in the nature of life itself, or that all living beings bear the seeds of death. In these speculations Professor Weismann points out the fact, which naturalists hitherto seem to have overlooked, that death is by no means an attribute of all living organisms. But before considering the accuracy of this statement, it will be advantageous to clear the ground by some preliminary considerations as to the nature of the organic world.

All living organisms, whether plants or animals, consist of one or more cells, and in accordance with this fact they may be classed in two great divisions: the Unicellular, and the Multicellular. The unicellular animals are termed Protozoa, the unicellular plants Protophyta; the multicellular animals and plants Metazoa and Metaphyta respectively. It is unnecessary to point out that the unicellular organisms present the phenomena of life in their simplest and most elementary forms, but in order to clearly understand Professor Weismann's views, it will be worth while to review the life-history of some such typical unicellular form as the *Amœba*.

The *Amœba* is an animal of such a simple nature that it may be looked upon as the biologist's unit. It forms the starting-point from which both morphologists and physiologists set out to study the

structure and functions of the more complicated organisms. It consists of a small particle of more or less granular protoplasm, part of which may be differentiated into a nucleus. It lives in water, and creeps slowly over the surface of any support on which it happens to be resting, by pushing out a protuberance in front of it, and then slowly flowing up to the protuberance; hence its external configuration is continually changing. At times, however, when the surrounding conditions become unfavourable—when, for instance, the water in which it lives dries up—the *Amœba* assumes a spherical form, and surrounds itself with a wall or cyst. This process is termed the Encystment. After a longer or shorter time the *Amœba* resumes its former motile condition. It lives by taking in any particles of food with which it comes in contact, and these, by the wonderful power protoplasm possesses of converting foreign matter into itself, add to the size of the animal. When it has reached a certain size, it divides into two, the resulting halves being in all particulars exactly alike, and quite indistinguishable. Each half will then pass through a life-history similar to that of the mother individual.

Such a life-history may be taken as a type for the unicellular organisms. Many of them pass through more complicated changes, being modified by their surrounding conditions, by parasitic habits, &c., but in essentials they do not differ from the *Amœba*. It is this great division of unicellular organisms to which Professor Weismann refers when he says, 'Death is by no means an attribute of all organisms.'

It is perfectly obvious, when it has been once pointed out, that in such a life-history as that of the *Amœba*, there is no permanent cessation of the vital functions comparable with the death of the multicellular organisms. But so universal is the presence of death amongst multicellular beings, and so widely spread is the conviction that death is the necessary consequence of life, that the attempt has always been made to force the Protozoa into accordance with other living beings; some observers maintaining that death as found among the Metazoa is represented in the process of reproduction, whilst others consider the encystment of the Protozoa is comparable to the death of the Metazoa.

Before considering these objections which have been urged against the view of the immortality of the Protozoa, it will be advisable to clearly define what is meant by death. Our conceptions of death have been acquired almost exclusively from the higher animals, and may possibly be too one-sided. The death of the cells and tissues which follows upon the death of the organism they compose must be included in order to differentiate clearly between genuine death and trance or other conditions of suspended animation, when the vital functions are reduced to a minimum. Death may then be defined as a 'definite standstill of life:' it is an irretrievable loss of life.

Some of those philosophers who hold that death is a necessity inherent in life itself, have seen in the process of encystment among the Protozoa a phenomenon analogous with the death of higher organisms. They consider that during this process the structure of the individual undergoes a dissolution into organic, non-living matter, and that this matter is able after a certain period of quiescence to give rise to a new individual of the same species.

The idea of death is inseparably associated in our minds with something that dies, but in an encysted Protozoon what is it that dies? where is the corpse? If the animal within the cyst really dies, then in the birth of the succeeding individual, an animal is raised from the dead, a phenomenon infinitely more startling than that it should never cease to live, and only comparable to the palingenesis of the fabulous Phoenix. Further it is a well-known fact, that after death an organism undergoes a rapid oxidation, but in the case of an encysted Protozoon no such decay occurs. It is even possible to perform experiments demonstrating the error of this view. An encysted Protozoon placed in fresh water produces a living individual; one which has been killed, in the same circumstances produces only decomposition of the dead organic matter. Here the same external conditions produce different results because they act upon bodies in two different conditions, and it is inconsistent to designate by the same name conditions so entirely different.

One of the most important reasons for regarding encystment as death is the cessation of vital activity and the simplification of structure which accompanies the process. But these are by no means universal accompaniments of the encysted condition; one of the larger Infusoria, when encysted, retains not only its complex organisation, but its mobility, continuing to rotate vigorously whilst within the cyst. It is surely absurd to speak of this as death.

A more reasonable explanation, and one which is accepted by the majority of biologists who have especially devoted themselves to the study of unicellular organisms, is that encystment is an adaptation for purposes of protection against drought, cold, or any other external influences which might prove fatal to the life of the mobile form. It is a device to enable the organism to tide over unfavourable periods.

Another class of critics who have attacked Professor Weismann's views maintain that though the Protozoa do not die, still the individual ceases to exist at the moment of the fission which will produce the two daughter individuals. It is impossible here to enter into a discussion as to the significance of the term individual, and the relation which a unicellular individual bears to a multicellular. But it is worth while pointing out that 'the identity of a living person depends not upon the identity of matter, but upon the continuity of the independent living body.' If this were not the case, the man of to-day

would be a different individual from the boy of twenty years ago, for it is a well-known fact that the actual matter of the body is undergoing continual change. On the other hand, loss of substance involves no change of individuality; a man who has lost an arm, or a leg, or both, is the same individual as he was before the loss of his limbs.

The Protozoa, then, are endowed with the potentiality of eternal life. This does not imply that they, like the gods of the ancients, cannot die, but only that, if a kind Providence shields them from all fatal accidents, they do not die a natural death, but live on and on, growing continually in size, and, when the limit in size is reached, dividing into two or more Protozoa. Thus, every Protozoon of the present day is infinitely older than the human race, almost as old as life itself.

The Metazoa or multicellular plants and animals, however, do die a natural death. The greatest care and foresight which can be exercised in protecting them from such accidental deaths as arise from disease, &c., will only succeed in staving off the inevitable dissolution for a very short time. But multicellular organisms are without doubt descended from unicellular ones, which are endowed with the capability of everlasting life; hence the multicellular beings must have developed the power of dying when they ceased to consist of a single cell. This power is closely connected with the physiological division of labour which is one of the most advantageous results of a multicellular manner of living. Certain cells in these more complex organisms are grouped into organs which have certain definite functions to carry on in the economy of the plant or animal, to the more or less complete exclusion of other functions.

In the unicellular animal, the whole body is engaged in feeding, moving, respiring, reproducing, &c.; but in the multicellular organism certain groups of cells are set apart to perform these functions for the whole animal. This division of labour becomes more marked as the organism becomes more specialised; the number of functions a cell performs becomes more and more limited as the body becomes more complex.

The cells of the multicellular beings reproduce, like the Protozoa, by division, but only a certain group of them possess that power of unlimited division which characterises the Protozoa, and these are the reproductive cells. The remaining cells of the plant or animal possess only a limited power of division, and it is to this limitation that we owe the phenomenon of death. The cells which compose the complex body of the Metazoon can, from this point of view, be divided into two categories—the reproductive cells, and the somatic cells. The former have inherited from the Protozoa the capability of unlimited reproduction; the latter have but a limited power of reproducing themselves, and, since they compose the organism, with the

attainment of that limit the individual dies. The reproductive cells are the essential factors for the species, the somatic for the individual.

The separation into these two kinds of cells is very gradual; among the lower animals the somatic cells still retain considerable power of reproducing the organism: very small pieces of a Hydra or a sea Anemone will grow up into a new Hydra or sea Anemone; but as the complexity of the body is increased, the power of reproducing large portions of the organism is lost, though it is a well-known fact that a lizard can replace its lost tail, or a frog its lost toes.

Death was thus rendered possible among the Metazoa by the division into reproductive and somatic cells, and as we see it has made its appearance. Among the unicellular organisms, it was not possible, since the individual and the reproductive cell were one and the same, and the death of the former would involve the loss of the latter, and with that the extinction of the species. But so far only the possibility of death has been shown; the advantage of such an arrangement is perhaps not quite so obvious.

At present no physiological reasons can be given to explain why the somatic cells divide a certain number of times and then cease to do so—why the cells of a Carp divide such a number of times, and at such a rate, as to enable it to live over a century, whilst those of a May-fly multiply only to such an extent as to allow it to exist for a few hours. But when viewed from the point of view of the species and not of the individual, the advantages of death become more apparent. It cannot be too strongly insisted that the individual exists for the good of the species of which it is a member, and not for any selfish and private ends. And any arrangement which promotes the interests of the species and which is compatible with the structure of the individual is likely sooner or later to make its appearance in the life-history of the latter. The advantage which death possesses for the species, is rendered apparent by considering the consequences which would ensue, were one of the more complex animals endowed with the potentiality of immortal life. Such an animal would lose all value for its species. Even supposing it was able to avoid all fatal accidents so that it was not killed, it would be impossible to avoid minor accidents, each of which would permanently affect its welfare. Time would injure it as it injured Tithonus—

But thy strong Hours indignant work'd their wills,
And beat me down and marr'd and wasted me,
And tho' they could not end me, left me maim'd.

An immortal animal would but cumber the earth, occupying the place of younger and more vigorous forms which are better adapted to fill the place in nature set apart for the species in question. Organisms become injured by their surroundings, and it is therefore

advantageous for them to be replaced by younger and more perfect forms, and this substitution is rendered possible by death.

These considerations do not apply to unicellular organisms; the simplicity of their structure renders any such arrangement as death superfluous. When slightly injured, they can replace the part affected in such a way that their structure becomes as complete as before. Each half of an Infusorian which has been bisected, can reproduce its complemental half. If, however, the injury is too severe, they are killed; the alternative is always perfect integrity or total destruction. Thus to ensure a succession of perfect and healthy organisms any such arrangement as death is unnecessary among unicellular beings; but it is necessary among the more complex multicellular organisms, and it has made its appearance. Having once appeared, it has become hereditary, and although, as the above considerations are intended to show, death is but a secondary adaptation, it can no more be avoided by the more complex organisms than if it were a phenomenon inherent in the nature of life itself.

ARTHUR E. SHIPLEY.

*OUR SYSTEM OF INFANTRY TACTICS:
WHAT IS IT?*

STANDING on the brink of a great war, the time is not inopportune for asking whether the tactics prescribed for our infantry are in such a condition as to inspire our general and battalion commanders with confidence. So far as my experience goes, I should answer the question in the negative. During the last thirteen years we have been experimentalising on different 'formations for attack,' but without the practical lessons that can only be afforded by the flight of actual bullets. Recently a new order of attack has been issued, which, although an improvement on the previous ones, is still complicated and calculated to insure confusion and the mixing up of different commands at the most critical moment of a battle. Our autumn manœuvres, while they have been a valuable exercise for generals and staff-officers, so far as regards the combinations preceding an attack, have been not only useless but mischievous in respect to any lessons to be inferred from them by battalion and company commanders.

At the Salisbury manœuvres I saw a battalion of 400 men in extended order, and covering a front of 600 yards, sent forward to attack the same extent of front defended by the enemy in close order, and therefore outnumbering the assailants by three to one.

The invariable practice followed was such as to magnify the advantages of offensive tactics and to inspire the belief that the attacking party must always win. Like the Russian advances in Central Asia, the attacking troops always crammed themselves into forward positions which they could not possibly have reached if bullets had been flying, and then claimed a success, which was too frequently conceded by the umpires, just as in the case of Russia her successive advances have been acquiesced in by our Governments.

After the Franco-German war, success-worshippers were loud in advocating 'loose order' and a close imitation of everything German in tactics, and were very intolerant of opposite views: and because the offensive tactics of the Germans, armed with their breech-loaders which they used skilfully and well, were usually successful against the French, armed with the 'chassepot' of which they had not

mastered the use, it was hastily concluded that breech-loading fire had increased the advantages of 'the attack' and diminished those of 'the defence'—a conclusion which all subsequent experience has signally disproved.

Writing in 1864, I expressed the opinion that 'the increased range and accuracy of projectiles will bestow on the defence of a position an advantage over the attack which it has not hitherto possessed—that is to say, in an open country.'¹ At the same time I wished to explain that the attack possessed inherent advantages, which must always remain the same in kind though diminished in degree, in proportion to the rapidity and accuracy of fire.

The army which awaits attack in a chosen and prepared position has an advantage, and one, as has been explained, which increases in the same ratio as the range and accuracy of fire-arms, whether great or small. Hitherto it has been considered, however, that the advantages attending the attack are greater than those attached to the 'defensive.' These are all derived from moral causes. What the French term the *élan* of the soldier is lost in a defensive attitude.

Two armies face each other. The assailant has formed his plan: he goes straight to his object; there is neither uncertainty nor hesitation. Though he endeavours to throw dust in the eyes of his opponent, and to mislead him by feints and manœuvres as to his serious intention, all his movements have one object clearly defined to himself. The defender, on the other hand, cannot at once divine where the blow is to be planted; he may lose time in hesitation, and at last perhaps guesses wrong and makes a false move.

The same idea was afterwards expressed by Count von Moltke:—

At first sight it would appear that the defence would gain more from the peculiarities of improved fire-arms than the attack. An army acting on the defensive may have it in its power to choose such a position as to oblige the enemy to cross an open plain; it will also probably have time to ascertain the distance of certain fixed points, so as to produce the greatest effect from its fire. On the other hand, the advantages that an attacking force possesses are also very considerable. As its commander has only to consult his own judgment, he regulates his movements according to the dispositions of the enemy. He, being the assailant, has a definite object before him, and chooses his own way of attaining it; while the defender has first to find out his adversary's intentions, and then to make the best arrangements for frustrating them. On the one side, confidence and resolution; on the other, uncertainty and anxiety.

The foregoing quotations express the moral advantages inherent in 'the attack,' but these, though not destroyed, are so considerably diminished by the material gains derived by 'the defence' from breech-loading fire that the deduction I drew was as follows:—

The difficulty and uncertainty attending the assault of a position under the present conditions will assimilate the strategy of every campaign to that which is the true method of making war in mountains. The great art of a general, even in

¹ *Modern Warfare*. John Murray, 1864.

² *Influence of Arms of Precision on Modern Tactics*. By Field-Marshal Baron von Moltke. Translated from the German by Lieutenant Craufurd. W. Mitchell & Co., 1871.

offensive warfare, will consist in taking up such positions as, while they cover his own line of retreat, will threaten the communications of his enemy, and so oblige the latter to become the assailant.

This view again was curiously confirmed by the great Prussian strategist in the following words:—

Offensive operations are not solely confined to tactics; a skilful general will often be able to choose defensive positions of a nature so strategically offensive that the enemy will be obliged to attack them.

On the general question of defence *versus* attack Von Moltke writes:—

An open plain is more favourable for the defence, and broken ground for the attack. A small and gentle incline, commanded to a distance of three or four thousand yards, on the reverse slope of which the reserves can remain under cover, affords of itself a strong position, against which a direct attack can have little hope of success.

And again:—

What has been already said about the defence shows that, when both sides are equal, a direct attack against an open front is not likely to succeed.

And the German drill instructions teach the maxim that good infantry, defending a position which must be approached over open ground, is, so far as concerns a front attack, invincible.

All writers on this subject agree that the success of any such attack must depend on the previous success of the artillery and infantry of the attack, in . . . by their fire the artillery and infantry of the defence; which ought to be impossible, supposing the latter to be equally powerful and equally well handled.

At St. Privat nearly 300 guns were concentrated against the defenders of the post, who, nevertheless, drove back the Prussian Guard with dreadful slaughter, and held their ground until after their flank was turned and their artillery and small-arm ammunition were expended.

Perhaps the greatest advantage derived by 'the defence' from breech-loading fire, so far as regards the effect on the general issue of a battle, is that the defensive general may safely occupy the front of his position more slightly than of old, and, consequently, may hold in reserve a proportionally larger number of battalions either to meet the enemy's serious attack when developed, or to deliver a counter-blow. Indeed, the parts of a position having open ground in front may be lined very thinly, provided the reserves are available when wanted. On this subject Von Moltke remarks:—

The long range of artillery and the rapidity of infantry fire render it only necessary to place immediately in the front a limited number of men, and thus make it possible to keep back a large reserve until the designs of the enemy become fully apparent.

Should the enemy meditate an attack on one of the flanks, he could not march

in column within range of the artillery; he would have to move on an arc, having a radius of three or four thousand yards; while, on the other hand, the reserves could be brought up against him to the threatened point by the shortest and most direct route. *Even if the position were a mile in depth* (meaning if the reserves were a mile in rear of the crest of the position), there need be no danger of coming up too late.

The limits of this article do not admit of this part of the subject being further treated in detail, but all writers on tactics are agreed that 'the defence' has gained in the following particulars—namely, in the local superiority of infantry fire possessed by troops awaiting attack; in the general advantage possessed by the defensive artillery; in the power of keeping in reserve a larger proportion than formerly of the defensive troops; in the increased difficulty of accurate reconnaissance by the assailants; in being able to dispense with obstacles along the open front of a position; in the great difficulty of retreat for the attacking troops if defeated.

But, although a clear view of the relative advantages of the 'attack' and 'defence' is an indispensable guide to a general in making his dispositions, it should not be concluded that military positions will in future be unassailable in front. Such a conclusion would destroy all enterprise and neutralise all genius. It will happen rarely, if ever, that a position occupied by an army of any extent will not present some weak points to the enterprise of a skilful general. The very length of the defensive line must still give to the assailant the same advantage in kind belonging to the 'initiative,' though diminished in degree, which has often counterbalanced the most formidable obstacles.

The gains of the defence from the present conditions of fire have been here insisted on, in order to combat the idea, widely prevalent after the Franco-German war, that even when opposed to breech-loaders the old charging tactics formed the only method of attack calculated to insure victory. And our drill-book has appeared to teach that, by forming a battalion practically in four attenuated lines, it could advance over open ground with such immunity from loss, that by a rush over the last 200 yards it would be able to capture the enemy's position, though lined with rifles capable of firing ten shots while the assailants were charging over that last stage of distance.

This sort of teaching had its natural result in the disaster of Isandhlwana, where the officer in command left his ground to advance in a thin skirmish line with flanks unprotected, against savages outnumbering him by five to one. After this another change came over the spirit of our dream: an overweening confidence gave way to an excess of caution; and now British troops are not to be trusted in a closed line formation, either against a regular enemy or against savages. The battle of Ulundi was gained by *standing* in square to

receive the Zulu attack; and since then it has not been considered safe for British troops, armed with breech-loaders, to attack a savage enemy, armed for the most part with spears and swords, and outnumbering the former by only two to one, except in cumbrous squares composed of many battalions.’³

The question of massive squares will be adverted to by-and-by; meanwhile it is desirable to examine the latest formation for infantry attack promulgated by authority.

The formation of a battalion, to be assumed before coming within effective range of the enemy's guns, is that of two half-battalion columns side by side. The two front companies of each half-battalion are then sent forward to form the ‘attacking line,’ which will at first consist of half of each of those companies extended to cover the same front the battalion would occupy if deployed in a closed line. The remaining halves of those companies are to follow at 150 or 200 yards distance. And thus each half-company in the front line will be supported by its twin half-company in rear, the last being called up whenever the company-commanders may think it necessary. This arrangement is so far an improvement on the old method, inasmuch as the mixing up of different companies is avoided during the early stages of the advance; but it will be seen that such mixing up of companies, which forms the great blot on the German system, is insured just at the most critical moment—that of the final charge. For the remaining companies of each half-battalion which are to form the supporting line are to follow the attacking line at a distance of from 200 to 300 yards in such formation as may be deemed advisable. When the attacking line has reached to within 300 yards of the enemy's position, it is to be reinforced by the supporting line, called up to fill the intervals in the first. There is a distinct advance on old ideas in the abolition of what has been called the battalion reserve, which would be a simple absurdity in the case where a battalion should form only one out of several others engaged, and is intended to be thrown into the fight as a whole; in such a case the reserve should obviously consist of other troops. Moreover, the *quasi*-close formation prescribed for this useless battalion reserve would expose it to be almost wiped out by a few well-directed shells.

The battalion now is supposed to have arrived at a point 300 yards from the enemy, and is formed in dense order; it is then, in some unexplained manner, to keep down the enemy's fire so as to enable it to creep on to within 150 yards of his muzzles. The last 150 yards are then to be passed over by the battalion charging and cheering, with the result, on paper, that the enemy is beaten and retires.

Now the question must be asked, is there any semblance of reality or probability in the method of proceeding here described? I venture to think there is none, and for the following reasons:—

³ ‘The Late Battles in the Soudan.’ *Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1884.

1. The defenders being stationary can fire continuously and with a *minimum* amount of exposure, since they may be behind cover; while the attackers can only fire intermittently and with a complete exposure of their troops. •

2. The defenders in close order can develop a fire whose intensity is represented by two rifles to a pace; while the attackers, until they arrive within 300 yards of the enemy, can only develop a fire represented by one rifle to two paces; in other words, the attackers are exposed during their advance to a fire fourfold more powerful than their own.

3. The extension of the fighting line secures for the men composing it a smaller loss than they would suffer if in a closed line; but the bullets which might pass harmlessly over the first will many of them find their billets among the supporting line in rear.

It results from the three preceding conditions, that the attackers will have suffered far greater loss while advancing over 600 yards of open ground, than the defenders during the same interval of time; and that when the attackers have arrived within 150 yards of the enemy, an attacking battalion will have still to clear that 150 yards, in close order, and exposed to an unanswered fire from rifles each capable of firing eight shots before it can come to close quarters; and there will still remain the task of defeating with the bayonet the enemy's troops, who during the rush will not have lost one additional man! How this is to be accomplished is a mystery, unless on the hypothesis that the defenders should not dare to await the shock; but the basis of any possible argument of this nature must be that the troops on both sides are equally good, equally well armed, and that they start with equal numbers.

The regulations under discussion prescribe that the advance of infantry should always be preceded by a concentrated fire of artillery on the enemy's infantry at the point selected for attack; but, if the defensive artillery are equally powerful and equally well handled, and if the guns of the attack fire exclusively on the infantry of the defence, while the guns of the defence fire exclusively at those of the attack, the latter will soon be silenced. At St. Privat, although the Germans concentrated the fire of 300 guns on the French infantry, the latter were not only not shaken, but 'the effect of their fire even at a distance of 1,500 paces was so murderous that according to the accounts received nearly 6,000 men fell in ten minutes, and the advance had to be immediately discontinued.' •

If, then, it is essential to the plan of a general to push home any local attacks against certain portions of the enemy's line, they must partake of the nature of the assault of a breach, which can only succeed at the cost of great loss and by sheer weight of numbers;

• *The System of Attack of the Prussian Infantry.* By Lieutenant Field-Marshal the Duke of Württemberg.

and their execution being confided to specific bodies of troops, he must insure their success by massing behind those bodies such a force as may suffice to overbear all opposition at any cost.

The conclusion must be that a general would not be justified in directing a front attack against an open part of the enemy's position unless he is able, either by superior arrangements or by reason of his possessing a superiority of force, to develop a great local preponderance of artillery and infantry.

The question must now be asked, have we yet hit on the proper solution of the problem as regards the formation most suitable for the avoidance of loss during the advance and of mixing up bodies that ought to be kept separate at the critical moment of collision?

It appears to me that the true solution is to be found in the proper use of 'skirmishers' in the old sense of the term, and that the error of all the theoretical formations we have been trying has consisted in discarding the employment of such light troops to cover and protect the advance of the attacking columns. In the old glorious days of the 'thin red line,' now apparently voted an anachronism, English battalions in advancing to attack were always preceded by a thick line of skirmishers, whose mission it was partly to explore the ground over which the attacking troops must pass, partly to draw away from those troops the attention and fire of the enemy. The men composing the first line of our formations of attack have entirely different functions. 'Skirmishers' are troops who, not being intended for close fighting, are employed to cover those who are so intended; they may be quite independent of the attacking troops whose front they cover, and may be at any number of paces interval without deranging the formation in their rear, behind which they may rally after they have played their part. The rapid fire of breech-loaders has immensely increased the value of skirmishers, both in attracting the attention of the enemy and in veiling by its smoke the advance of the line of battle behind; for if a skirmisher can now fire four times as far, four times as fast, and four times as correctly as of yore, he can produce now at least as much effect with his one rifle as eight men could formerly have done with their muskets. The shower of bullets a skirmish line, say at two paces interval, could now send into an enemy's position would oblige the latter in self-defence to direct his fire against the skirmishers, whose loss would be small in proportion to their extension. The German author of the *Frontal Attack of Infantry* (translated by General Newdigate) remarks:—'When the skirmishers,' meaning the first line of attack in extended order, 'are once involved in a fire action with the enemy, closed detachments can come forward with insignificant losses;' and it may be doubted whether a closed two-deep line, preceded by active skirmishers, would be likely to suffer more in advancing over open ground than the same number of men would do if distributed in several open lines one

behind the other and not preceded by skirmishers; for the bullets that would miss the two-deep line would hurt nobody, whereas those that missed the first of several open lines might find their billets in some of the lines in rear. The question has not yet been tested in practice, for the losses sustained by the German and Russian troops in assaulting an enemy's position arose to a great extent from their having attacked in a *quasi-column* formation, to which also I venture to think that our own system of attack would in practice be certain to degenerate.

For instance, we have it on the authority of the Duke of Würtemberg that at St. Privat 'the front of attack included little more than 2,000 paces, so that there were about ten men to the pace;' the consequence being, according to the same author, previously quoted, that 6,000 men were struck down in ten minutes.

There seems to be a disposition among ourselves, in imitation of German practice, to deprive the field officers of a battalion of all their functions as soon as a battle is once engaged, and to trust the general conduct of a fight to the discretion of company-commanders; the effect of which would be to split up the front of battle into a number of small independent actions unconnected by any general plan. The result of such a system was seen at the battle of Wörth, where the mob of German infantry who repulsed the famous charge of French cuirassiers was composed of men of nineteen different battalions. Supposing the Germans on that occasion to have been attacked, instead of by horsemen, by infantry in formation—what a hopeless rout must have ensued!

We have dislocated our old system and discredited our traditional mode of fighting in line so peculiarly suited to the national character, and which troops of no other nation whatever have been able successfully to practise, without putting anything definite in their places; but when the removal of ancient landmarks is advocated on the ground of new experience, it becomes essential to examine narrowly into its nature and value. The experience of the Franco-German war, so far as regards results, is not to be trusted without 'large qualification; and since the conclusions of the Prussian school are founded on the German successes in that contest, the causes of success should be rigidly analysed. One of the most thoughtful commentators on that war describes one of the principal causes as follows. Speaking of the French mode of firing, he says:—

Frivolity and established custom, together with the remembrance by the older soldiers of the former method of firing from the hip without any calculation, led very rapidly to the habit (or rather bad habit) of holding the rifle in the left hand at an angle of nearly 45°, with the stock downwards, pushing in cartridge after cartridge rapidly with the right, and, without aiming, firing away in the probable direction of the enemy. The term of '*Moulin à Café*' (the coffee-mill) was invented for this mode of firing. . . . Countless proofs corroborate the assertion of Prussian officers and soldiers that the French, especially during the latter part of the war, fired exclusively in this manner. . . . It had the advantage of ease and safety, and was de-

structive, if by chance a body of troops came within reach of the shower of bullets; but it plainly tempted the enemy towards the nearer and less dangerous zone, from whence he could commence effective fire with his own inferior weapon; and (by reason of the extravagant waste of ammunition) it very soon left the marksman defenceless.⁵

The same writer sums up his critical analysis of the different battles of the war with the words:—‘One must, however, be cautious in drawing conclusions regarding the possible result of tactics in the future from what the Prussians succeeded in doing.’

In proof that I do not come to the consideration of this subject only of recent years, I may here mention that I was the first writer in England or elsewhere to suggest the attack in extended order. In 1864 I wrote:—

The great military problem of the day is, to adapt infantry movements generally to the new conditions of warfare introduced by such engines of destruction as the Armstrong shell; one of which conditions is, as has been already said, that all infantry must be in future what has hitherto been distinguished by the name of light infantry; and the subject is one of so great moment that a committee of carefully selected officers might well be employed to consider the best means of effecting the required object.

The point for our consideration is, whether movements in extended order, hitherto limited to light infantry, may not be applied to all offensive movements, where troops marching to the attack may have to pass over open ground under fire; whether it may not be possible to form a highly-trained infantry which could advance rapidly in extended order, and yet concentrate for attack without confusion.⁶

Twenty-one years have passed since the above was written, and I must now express the conviction, derived from the military events of that interval and from our own experiments, that the formation of attacking troops in extended order is unnecessary, and that it would not yield satisfactory results in actual conflict. The object of our various attempted formations is to bring up a battalion line two deep to the charging point with the least possible loss; and I am convinced that a closed line, each man occupying a yard of front, covered and protected by a thick screen of skirmishers, gaining ground by the rushes of alternate files or alternate companies, and lying down when not in motion, would not suffer more loss in advancing under fire than if the men were disposed in several open lines not covered by skirmishers. Various methods have been proposed, all of them, I think, preferable to our authorised system. General McMurdo suggested the closed line, gaining ground by rushes of alternate files. Colonel MacDonald advocates the formation of fours. Both methods would avoid changing the order in which companies stand in the battalion line, and would render unnecessary the alterations which have been imported of late years into our infantry drill.

⁵ *System of Attack of the Prussian Infantry.*

⁶ *Modern Warfare*, chapter on Infantry Tactics.

At the Cannock Chase manœuvres Sir Daniel Lysons always employed skirmishers to cover the troops destined to charge the enemy's position; and he brought up the latter in deployed battalion lines, of which the odd and even companies gained ground by alternate rushes—lying down when not in motion. There are none whose opinions are entitled to greater weight than the distinguished officers above named, and it is to be hoped that they, as well as others, may be induced to contribute their views to the discussion of this all-important subject.

The mode of fighting persistently practised in the Soudan takes us back 2,000 years, to the days of the Pyrrhic Phalanx, and supplies a curious commentary on our 'formations for attack,' which are based on the principle of combining the utmost celerity of movement with the presentation of an uncertain mark to the enemy's rifles. The formation of several thousand men in one huge square, bearing in its womb crowds of camels and all the *impedimenta*, seems expressly devised for ensuring a *maximum* of loss from hostile fire, and a *maximum* of confusion, combined with a *minimum* of mobility.

The *Standard* correspondent, describing the battle of Hasheen, informs us that the retreat of the British force was covered by the three battalions of Guards formed in one square, for which, having to retreat under fire, rapidity of movement meant the saving of life; yet this cumbrous formation took three-quarters of an hour to march one mile, which is not surprising when we learn that the whole of the artillery and the greater part of the cavalry and mounted infantry—who would surely have been better employed in covering the retreat—were shut up inside the square, together with the baggage train, the ambulance train, the ammunition train, and camels and mules by the hundred!

The practice of fighting in square is apparently a legacy from the massacre of our troops at Isandhlana. Since that time the formation has always been employed even in attack, with one brilliant exception, that of General Earle's successful tactics at the battle of Kirbekan. The battle of Ulundi was the first instance where our troops, having advanced far into an enemy's country and being liable to attack from all points of the compass, fought in the formation referred to. In that battle, however, the square did not attempt to manœuvre, but stood to receive the enemy's attack on commanding ground. The next two examples were not in their results such as to encourage imitation, since General Hicks's army was massacred to a man, and of General Baker's force only those survived who saved themselves by flight. In those cases, the square formation was probably the only one in which the poor creatures with whom Hicks and Baker were forced by positive orders, and in spite of their remonstrances, to advance against the Arabs, could have been persuaded to stand for a

moment ; but to huddle up British troops for the sake of safety in a cramped formation in which they can neither march nor fight with effect, betrays a want of confidence in them which they have signally proved they do not deserve. It is doubtless true that a massive square of British infantry is impenetrable by any number of fanatic spearmen, supposing no mistakes to be made or no accidents to happen ; but when it is found that, owing either to mistake or accident, a terrible disaster was narrowly escaped on three different occasions, the fact is calculated to discredit the formation. Supposing everything to go right, however, the enemy, whether in charging or retreating, is only exposed to the fire of one face of the square, or at the most of two, and three-fourths or one-half of the rifles are therefore neutralised. When the news of General Earle's successful tactics at Kirbekan was received in England, it was hoped they would mark a return to the old fighting traditions of our army ; for surely, if the fanatic Arab is a formidable enemy in the open, he must be at least as formidable when occupying a strong position, carefully entrenched, by which his strength would be practically quadrupled. The enemy there numbered 1,500 men armed mostly with Remingtons ; yet General Earle, with 1,000 infantry in all and two guns, after five hours' fighting, turned them out of all their defences—one of them being a fort on the summit of a steep hill only to be reached by climbing on hands and knees—the result being a larger comparative loss to the enemy than in any of the previous battles, with a loss to ourselves in killed of less than one per cent. A writer in *Blackwood* for the present month of April characterises the massive square as 'an unintelligent and antiquated formation—inexcusable except when it can await attack on its own ground, and then only when the fire-arms in the hands of the enemy are small in number and inferior in quality—a formation which neutralises the advantages of superior training and weapons on the part of the soldier and of superior science on the part of the general.'

There is no doubt that the rush of fanatic spearmen, eager to purchase the Mahomedan paradise with their lives, is more formidable than a charge of cavalry. So long ago as 1854, Sir Colin Campbell, at Balaclava, beat off a large body of Russian cavalry with the 93rd regiment formed in a two-deep line, armed only with muzzle-loaders ; and for years past we have been taught that a line of infantry two deep could hold their own against any cavalry. In the Soudan it has been conclusively proved over and over again that the same sort of line, defended by steady breech-loading fire, is unapproachable in front by any number of savages, however devoted. The impression prevails that all of the thousands of Arabs engaged against us in the different battles have been fanatic Ghazis, whereas probably not more than one-fifth have been of that description. These have represented only the steel tip to the lance, the remainder being as

careful of their lives as ordinary people. In the Soudan the motive power of the fanatic lies in his belief in the Mahdi's divine mission; and when he finds that English bullets do not fall off his skin like rain, as he was told they would do, and that the standards blessed by their Prophet are captured by the infidel and their devoted bearers slain, his motive power is at once destroyed.

At El-Teb the British square, composed of six battalions of infantry, besides the Royal Engineers and Naval Brigade, on approaching the enemy's entrenched position found itself opposite to his right flank, which was the strongest; it was then wheeled bodily to the right, and moving at a snail's pace passed along the enemy's front, presenting a mark that could hardly be missed to the fire of his rifles and Krupp guns, and finally reaching his left, discarded the square formation and rolled the enemy up by a flank attack executed in the proper fighting order of British infantry. Our loss on that occasion was 35 killed and 155 wounded, the larger number of the casualties being occasioned by the enemy's bullets taking effect on the square. At Tamai 4,300 British troops, of whom 750 were mounted, with 12 guns and 6 machine guns, encountered 10,000 savages; yet our force, which, deployed in line, would have covered more than a mile of front, was formed in two cumbrous squares, the effect of which was to impede their mobility and to reduce the front of fire to one-fourth of what it ought to have been. On this occasion our loss was 107 killed and 116 wounded.

Skill in tactics is shown by such an arrangement of troops as, while every rifle can be brought to bear on the enemy, shall insure the safety of the flanks as well as the complete protection of everything in rear of the general line; and the tactical instruction imparted at the Military College can be of little value if a Sandhurst cadet is unable to solve successfully the problem presented by the above conditions. At Tamai our loss was occasioned by the square having been broken either through a mistake or through a misconception of orders. At Abu-Klea our loss (85 killed and 92 wounded out of 1,400 engaged) was again occasioned by the breaking of the square, which was due to the fact that our skirmishers, running for their lives before the sudden rush of thousands of spearmen, clouded our defensive fire, so that pursuers and pursued reached the square together, and the pursuers broke in. An eye-witness described the scene as follows:—

Our skirmishers just got home in front of the enemy, and that was all. The latter had risen from a mass in the ditch under their flags, and came on more like a torrent of water than anything else, quite silently. What told against us was our own men coming back, and so preventing our firing till they were among us. Then came a scene I pray God I may never see again. They started first against our side of the square, but our fire turned them on to the Heavies' corner, where they broke in. I was on No. 2 face; the enemy killed a great many of the Heavies, but we still went on firing with our backs to No. 1 face, so they could not

get at us well on account of the camels. By degrees they began to waver, and, thank God, they began to fall back, when between ourselves I thought it was all up.

Both at Tamai and at Abu-Klea there is little doubt that not a few of our casualties were occasioned by our own fire. When a square is pierced, each of its faces is taken in the rear, and not a man can fire a shot against the enemy rampaging within without running the risk of shooting a comrade. It is clear from the above-quoted letter, that when the Arabs broke in at Abu-Klea at the corner between numbers two and three faces, number two face fell back, and with their backs to number one face fired indiscriminately on the camels and on the struggling mass of Arabs mixed up with our own soldiers.

If a square formation is desirable for British troops in an encounter with savages at all, which is very doubtful, independent battalion squares might be employed. These can be formed in a moment from column of march; they permit complete freedom of movement and a rapid conversion to line for attack. Camels and baggage would be perfectly safe within the system of battalion squares, for these being disposed so as to afford each other mutual flanking defence, would bring so destructive a cross fire to bear on the enemy who might attempt to penetrate between the squares, that any desultory attacks on the baggage could easily be dealt with by the baggage guard. But it appears to me that the best disposition would be that of battalion lines in echelon advancing either from the centre or from one flank according to the general direction of the enemy's advance. This disposition would bring every rifle into play; the flank of each line would be protected by the fire of that next in succession, the enemy would be forced to make a long *détour* in order to turn the retired flank or flanks, and the flank battalion could assume the square formation in a few seconds if necessary. The general disposition of a force in advancing in such a case should be the leading battalion on line, the flank battalions in double column of companies in the centre, a formation whereby the flanking battalion could form square, or form line to the front, or form line to the flank, or form line half to the front half to the flank, in a few seconds of time.

The Arabs are probably clever enough to know that the formation we have persistently adopted has been the most favourable for them, the most unfavourable for ourselves; and their repulse on every occasion but one with tremendous losses will perhaps have all the greater effect in discouraging them. On the road from Suakin to Berber, Osman Digma's power for mischief has been sensibly diminished, if not destroyed; and the construction of the railroad might proceed unmolested if guarded by the friendly tribes who are ready to fight on our side, provided only our Government will assure them

of protection in future against the vengeance of the Hadendowas, who are the fiercest and most numerous of our enemies. Circumstances have hitherto proved too strong for Ministerial consistency, and perhaps they will again prove too powerful in the present case.

On the Nile the Mahdi bubble seems likely to burst from within, without the aid of British bayonets to prick it. The capture of Berber is the primary object of our military operations, for which purpose General Graham's force ought to suffice. According to present appearances Lord Wolseley and General Graham are to advance on Berber by two different lines of operation, from points divided by 500 miles of distance, without any possibility of communication excepting through Berber, which is held by the enemy. If the Mahdi's power is waning, and if the reported losses suffered by Osman Digma have discouraged the tribes and discredited the divine claims of their false Prophet, as there is reason to believe, it seems unnecessary to lock up 9,000 of our best troops at a distance of 1,400 miles from their transports at Alexandria; and it would be a distinct gain if Lord Wolseley should assume the personal direction of affairs on the Suakin-Berber route.

P. L. MACDOUGALL.

A FARM THAT REALLY PAYS.

THE article contributed to the October number of this Review by Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell, entitled 'A Farm that pays,' created a wide-spread interest in agricultural circles throughout Shropshire as well as many other parts of the kingdom. As a clever literary effusion it was warmly commended. As a faithful portraiture of the life of a Shropshire farmer and his family its reception was, as a rule, accompanied by scepticism.

Before referring to Lady Catherine's opinions let me briefly recapitulate her description of the inmates of Copse-Wood Farm and their management of this 400-acre holding.

The family consist of Mr. and Mrs. Bilston, two sons, and five daughters; they rise at four o'clock in the morning, and work with but slight intermission until nine o'clock at night. Mr. Bilston, in addition, it is presumed, to undertaking the general supervision of the farm, still 'guides his plough himself and leads his team at harvest.' Mrs. Bilston rouses her daughters at 3.45 A.M., and after they have 'jumped on their clothes' they commence 'minding their beasts.' The details of the hours subsequently occupied with the dairy, poultry, house-keeping, &c., are then graphically depicted. The particular employment of the sons is not set forth, but as 'they all do sum'ut' we must assume they are kept at work on the various operations of the farm under the keen superintendence of papa Bilston; William Bilston, junior, is especially commended, for he 'lets the gals alone.'

The members of this hard-working family are very frugal in their fare. Breakfast consists of bread and milk; at dinner they have at 'most times broth, and rice or sago pudding, and winter times an apple tart, or for a treat like a jam roll; and then there is a glass of cider for Bilston and the men, and there's milk for the gals.' But it appears from an after statement that the family are sometimes indulged at this meal with a 'slice of bacon or an ancient fowl.' They have afternoon tea at four o'clock, and, as Mrs. Bilston seems to be a person of thrifty habits and states that 'she keeps the tea-caddy

locked, for she won't have any trifling with the tea,' the probability is that no ill effects supervene from the undue strength of this refreshing beverage. In the evening, when at needle-work, Mrs. Bilston permits her daughters to join her in the songs of her youth, such as 'Cherry Ripe,' 'Little Boy Blue,' and 'Sally in our Alley.' The girls' clothes are made at home, and are constructed somewhat on the principles recommended by the Dress Reform Association.

So much for the daily routine of their life; let us now turn to the management of the farm. Lady Catherine does not enlighten her readers much on this point, or as to the amount of remuneration derived from the steadfast assiduity of this laborious family. We are informed that good milking cows are kept, and that Mr. Bilston is specially successful in the management of his flock, that in spite of the last wet years he has never lost any sheep from disease. In reply to the question, 'How is it you have never lost sheep by the rot in spite of its being such a scourge in this part of the country?' Mr. Bilston replied, 'Most like folks' own fault. Sheep is always worser by letting them bide in the low ground when they got the rot. When they's took bad, look to their feet and move them on the high ground and shift them about as much as you can.' Lady Catherine further says that Mr. Bilston is a cautious man, and in changing food for his stock he would advocate getting in only a small quantity, 'for if it does good it's a good job, but if it turns to mischief there's no great harm done.'

The conclusions arrived at by Lady Catherine are that it is only under some such circumstances that 'a good living'—save the phrase—'can be made of farming,' while she is cheered by the thought that many lives like those pursued by the Bilstons are being led in the heart of England.

The object of this paper is to review this striking sketch of rural life and the inferences drawn by the essayist. 'Are such conclusions correct? Is such a system of farming as that recommended desirable, and does it pay? What are the social aspects of such a condition of rural economy? Would the classes directly identified with agriculture benefit by the general adoption of such a system? How would it affect other sections of society? Would it mark an epoch of progress or retrogression?

With respect to the paying nature of this farm it would be interesting to have had somewhat fuller details. Mr. Bilston commenced with no capital, and now farms 400 acres. He has made a livelihood for himself and family. We are told also that Bilston has good milking cows and is successful in the management of his flock, but no idea of his returns from these and other sources is vouchsafed to assist the solution of the difficult problem 'how to make farming pay.' The fact cited that Bilston through personal attention cured foot-rot in his flock is creditable enough to him, but

not by any means exceptional among farmers even on 'the Edge,' Foot-rot is a troublesome complaint among sheep, causing lameness, but not a fatal malady, as Lady Catherine supposes. The decimation of farmers' flocks a few years back was attributable to sheep-rot caused by liver-fluke, and due to a continuation of unprecedented wet seasons. There is no cure for this dire disease. High feeding with cake or corn is considered the best preventive, and, as Bilston is represented as being cautious in such purchases, it seems fair to assume that his immunity from this scourge was due more to good luck than to good management.

The moderate sum of 4,000*l.* should be employed in stocking and working a farm of the size of that referred to. Let us imagine that sum fairly invested, independently of farming, yielding 200*l.* per annum. Let us then estimate the value of the work of the family, supposing them to assume the rôle of labourers only. There are nine persons in all working earnestly and zealously seventeen hours a day, or, in other words, one day and a half per diem.

	£	s.	d.	
3 males at 2s. each per nominal day (10½ h.)		9	0	per Bilston day
6 females at 1s. " "		9	0	"
Total		18	0	"
		× 313		
Or for the year of 313 working days	281	6	0	"
To which add assumed interest on capital	200	0	0	"
Making a total income for the family, irrespective of farming, of.	481	6	0	"

Does this 'farm that pays' leave a clear profit equivalent to this respectable sum? Does it produce the amount, of the labour bill with interest on a smaller capital, less the value of the house-rent and the frugal fare this pattern family manage to live on? And if so, what has happened? Not one single farthing of it can be legitimately credited to the holding. But enough of the financial result for the moment: I shall revert to it anon.

Oh, but, putting money considerations aside, I shall be answered, 'Look at the independence of the life.' Pretty independence! There is no such word in the vocabulary of either *père* or *mère* Bilston; their motto is 'All work and no play,' and the fruits of it may perhaps some day prove far worse than making 'Jack a dull boy.' Presumably not a single member of that family has one thought beyond the linhay or the poultry yard; no one atom of sentiment pervades the monotony of the young people's lives. They exist to drudge, without apparently being allowed the slightest discretion, and their mental powers must soon fall to the level of the relentless drudgery that is imposed upon them. But says the tone of Lady Catherine's article, 'Cui bono?' What is the use of putting nonsense into the heads of such people? Let them think only of their work; otherwise it will unfit them for their future station in life.

But does such an education as that instilled into their children by the Bilstons best qualify them for their future career? Toil far more incessant and fare not more luxurious than that of the poorest of labourers is the fate of this family on a 400-acre farm. And for what career is the domestic life of this household so graphically described, with its seventeen hours a day of unflagging labour on poor diet, calculated to fit these children in after life? Clearly for nothing but menial employment. All hope of social improvement is barred, all intellectual pleasure extinguished. It illustrates a phase of rural economy unequalled to my knowledge excepting, perhaps, that existing under the system of *la petite culture* in France and Belgium, fully described by Mr. H. M. Jenkins (sec. R.A.S.E.) in different numbers of the *R.A.S.E. Journal*, and more particularly referred to in his report to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, Denmark and the North of France (C. 3375, iv.). And the intolerance of the Bilston curriculum is not limited to the physical training of their children, for is it not set forth that Mrs. Bilston confines her daughters' proclivities for literary entertainment to Bible reading alone, and that permitted only on Sundays, while she restrains their melodies to the popular tunes of the days of her own girlhood? Excellent as may be the airs of 'Cherry Ripe,' and 'Little Boy Blue,' and 'Sally in our Alley,' it does seem rather inconsistent on Mrs. Bilston's part that at any rate she does not give her girls the same latitude in this respect that she enjoyed herself in her coyish maiden days. The echoes of Copse-Wood Farm would then no doubt be stirred in the eventide by the more lively and catchy airs of *Les Cloches de Corneville*, *Pinafore*, and *Patience*, as well as the older songs alluded to, and a connecting link with the past would be thus established.

Why should a life of domestic drudgery for the British farmer, unalleviated by a break of relaxation, find favour in the sight of such as Lady C. M. Gaskell, and in her opinion best fit its recipients for their after life? And why should Lady Catherine determine this for the farmers? Truly they have many advisers—the radical doctrinaire, the successful and unsuccessful commercial man, M.P.'s utterly destitute of any practical knowledge of farming and unassociated with agricultural constituencies, and well-meaning ladies like Lady Catherine, who naturally cannot be thoroughly versed in the subject of her theme.

It would be interesting to be informed why a farmer of 400 acres of land, who ought to be employing a capital of 4,000*l.*, should be selected from all other classes of society to supply the still-room at the hall, or ladies' maids for the neighbouring mansions, from members of his own family. Does the difficulty experienced in securing good household servants from the ordinary sources suggest this idea, which, by the way, is not altogether novel? for I recollect somewhat similar

advice being given a few years ago by a Shropshire divine. This worthy representative of the Church recommended the subdivision of large holdings to effect the same object; and had his project been carried out it would probably have been more effective than Lady Catherine's, because, being drawn from more numerous sources, there would have been a larger supply of the required article.

I remember some years ago a friend of mine relating an incident, which occurred in the house of an English nobleman with whom he was staying, that may indirectly bear on the latent feelings that superinduce such sentiments as Lady Catherine's. When engaged in conversation one morning the servant entered the room and said, 'Mr. Thompson' (a tenant) 'has called to see you, my Lord.' 'Oh,' replied his Lordship, 'tell him I will see him;' and then, as the servant left the room, the peer turned to my friend and said, 'Confound that Thompson! he has come to bother me about the repairs of his pump again.' 'Well,' replied my friend, 'why don't you give him a lease, and then let him undertake such expenses himself?' 'Oh,' hang him!' returned the nobleman; if I did that, the fellow wouldn't touch his hat when he met me.' Does a lurking apprehension, as in the case of this nobleman, exist in the mind of Lady Catherine and those whose views she represents that, without retaining absolute power over those whose destinies have placed them in a less exalted sphere, the position and rights of their order cannot in this nineteenth century be sustained? Does the feeling prevail that as 'knowledge is power' so ignorance in some senses may be considered synonymous with weakness, and that therefore it is desirable to retard intellectual proclivities and any tendency to culture or refinement among the farmers, and to consign them to a life of unedifying toil, such as, in the case of the Bilstons, has cheered the heart of Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell? Those who think thus are surely mistaken. True respect is much more likely to be voluntarily tendered, where it is due, from knowledge and culture than from ignorance. Those who rely upon the despotism of their own wills, regardless of the sensibilities and aspirations of others, may be correct in taking the former view, and to such, an unreflecting, narrow-minded, ignorant man, like Lady Catherine's ideal farmer Bilston, would be a most desirable tenant. Such a one would blindly do the owner's bidding, but only as long as it paid him and no longer, and would support as far as lay in his power any policy advocated at head-quarters, whether parochial or imperial. No trouble with Bilston in voting for Parliamentary or municipal candidate, in vestry, highway board, sanitary committee, or poor-law union. The fiat goes forth, and the faithful Bilston registers it.

Let me now describe another farm in Shropshire, and compare it with Copse-Wood. I would that I could wield the pen of Lady Catherine to place the merits of its management and the character-

istics of its residents succinctly before my readers. But this cannot be, and my cursory statement must suffice. This farm, which I will style 'A Farm that really pays,' contains about 500 acres, 200 acres being permanent pasture and 300 arable. The labour bill paid has averaged during the last five years about 625*l.* per annum, or 25*s.* per acre. The other payments for rent, manures, feeding stuffs, &c., seeds purchased, stock, implements, repairs, interest on capital, and sundry farm charges are estimated to amount to about 3,000*l.*, or equivalent to an outlay of about 6*l.* per acre per annum. The income from the farm derived from the sale of stock and cereals, &c., averages about 3,500*l.* per annum, a return of about 7*l.* per acre, and I have no doubt the moderate margin left is sufficient to defray the cost of the exceedingly comfortable and well-managed establishment connected with the holding. The farm is clean and in a high state of condition and cultivation. The fences and roads are well kept. The occupier, like Billy Bilston, is both industrious and persevering; he thoroughly understands all the ramifications of his business. He does not consider that it would be true economy to endeavour to earn half a crown a day by manual labour on his own farm. He is fond of most kinds of sport and takes advantage of his opportunities in this direction. He is well-informed, and reads, and takes an intelligent interest in all the topics of the day, more especially those bearing on his own profession. He considers that any man who would not do so is not worth his salt. The ladies of his family, who are conversant with the management of household duties, are kindly disposed towards literature, read a good deal, and rather affect reviews. The article on Copse-Wood Farm afforded them much gratification from an artistic point of view and a good deal of amusement in other respects. If not accomplished musicians they rank well up in that direction, and it will therefore be patent that the pianoforte is no *bête noire* in this establishment. On the contrary, it provides a source of pleasure to the inmates and of gratification to their friends.

So much was I impressed with the description of Copse-Wood Farm that I decided to visit the locality to see the ideal home of the Bilstons, this 'Arcadia of the Edge,' and to study more methodically the system of management initiated by Billy Bilston; and this is the nearest to it that I discovered: A farm containing about 380 acres, of which about 130 are arable under cultivation and 250 acres are in permanent pasture. The labour bill paid is estimated at 80*l.* per annum, or about 4*s.* 2½*d.* per acre. The other outgoings, made up of rent, manures, feeding stuffs, &c., seeds purchased, stock, implements, repairs, interest on capital, and sundry farm charges, are estimated to amount to about 550*l.* per annum, equivalent to an outlay of 29*s.* per acre. The income from the farm derived from the sale of stock, cereals, &c., is estimated to average about 580*l.*, which amounts to about 30*s.* 6*d.* per acre per annum. The farm is not in

any better condition than similar farms in the neighbourhood, but, considering the recent wet seasons, its state of cultivation is not discreditable to the occupier, and the fences and roads are fairly attended to for the district. Summarised these respective holdings show the following results per 500 acres :—

The Edge Farm.

	£	s.	d.
Receipts	763	3	0
Expenditure :			
Labour paid	105l. 5s.		
Other items	618l. 8s.	723	13 0
Balance	40	0	0, or 1s. 7d. per acre.

A Farm that really Pays.

	£	s.	d.
Receipts	3,500	0	0
Expenditure :			
Labour paid	625l.		
Other items	2,375l.	3,000	0 0
Balance	500	0	0, or 20s. per acre.

Let us consider what deductions can be drawn from a comparison of these two farms.

Extraneous labour is employed on the 'Edge' to the extent of 4s. 2½d. per acre. The estimated receipts leave a balance over outgoings of 40l. per annum. How, then, is the family maintained? Billy Bilston is an industrious individual, but that won't keep his family on 40l. a year. Does he concentrate all his energies upon his farm, or does he, in order to support his olive branches, supplement his income from other sources? I am free to confess that the latter conclusion seems to me irresistible. Compare this small balance of 40l. with the sum of 281l. 6s. due to this family for labour, and what is the result? A hopeless deficit. Who, then, benefits by this system of farming? Certainly not the landowner, for under it the productive power of the soil, if not impaired, will at best remain stationary. Certainly not the tenant or his family, because, although they live no better and work twice as hard as farm labourers, no fund has accrued to pay them even ordinary wages, to say nothing of the legitimate reward of their toil. That the working population of the district suffer is apparent, because this family, choosing to work hard for next to nothing, limits the demand for and value of their services. And the paucity of the products raised on this Edge farm gives no cause of rejoicing to the consuming masses of the country. Through such treatment they have to spend so much more of their money for the necessities of life on foreign comestibles instead of those of our own country. This enhances the prices of commodities to them; it increases foreign competition to the English farmer, and diminishes the spending power of all classes in the nation.

The very generous system adopted in the management of 'A Farm that really pays' reverses all this. The landowner's property is in a progressive state of improvement. The occupier lives a life of comfort and culture, and is a useful member of society. A large fund is devoted to the employment of labour, which is well paid. The production of augmented quantities of food is beneficial to the consuming masses of the country, and the considerable sums employed in the business circulate and fructify in the pockets of all who are directly or indirectly contributing towards the maintenance of the undertaking.

The doctrine propounded by Lady Catherine that farmers must understand their business to make farming pay is no new theory. It existed before we entered into the acute stages of agricultural depression some ten years ago, and from which we are still suffering. During that period most amateur farmers have disappeared in Shropshire as in other parts. The practical element remaining is quite as likely to be able to decide how to manage their business and regulate their households as are their numerous advisers.

The farmers are lectured as to the time they should rise, what they should do in the way of supervision, and what they should leave undone in the way of hunting, &c. Their wives and daughters are told they must devote their time and energies to the dairy and poultry yard, and eschew lawn tennis, French fashions, and the pianoforte—that dreadful instrument! how much it has to answer for! Is this altogether good taste, and does it not instinctively provoke the *tu quoque*? Would not the word presumption be used if the case were reversed [and] the farmers dictated to the landowners of England the number of balls or dinner parties that should be given, or the correct retinue that should be maintained in establishments on estates of different sizes?

The large majority of farmers are not only an industrious but they are also an economical race. There are many varieties of farming, but Lady Catherine seems to imagine that that ancient and honourable occupation is confined to the keeping of a few cows and poultry. Such is not the case. Lady Catherine disapproves of hunting farmers. I regret to see there are so few left who take part in this national pastime, which has done so much in the past to cement the friendship of the different classes identified with country life. Thirty years ago, when I first went out, they mustered in goodly numbers at the various appointments in their respective neighbourhoods. Now they are like swallows in autumn. At any meet in these parts they can be counted on the fingers of your one hand. What will the issue be? I regret to prognosticate it, for the abolition of hunting, which entirely depends on the goodwill of the farmer, will depreciate several sources of agricultural revenue, and tend more and more to alienate the complex sections of which modern English

society is constituted. I commend the study of the character of Tom Turnbull in Whyte-Melville's *Inside the Bar* as an illustration of some of the advantages of fox-hunting as a means to help to make farming pay, to all those who would see the British agriculturist conspicuous by his absence from the hunting field.

I have always been an advocate of a considerable number of small and medium as well as large farms, as being most to the advantage of the rural population of this country, principally by affording through the former an opportunity for the industrious and thrifty labourer to gradually improve his position. I deprecate the increase of the size of farms without there being reasonable probability of equally good if not improved conditions of agriculture ensuing. There is now rather a tendency to diminish large holdings, but I imagine that this practice will be evanescent, because the expenses of farming itself and of estate management will be much multiplied by its adoption. This temporary tendency has arisen from the difficulties that have so persistently beset agriculture during the last decade. These, combined with disagreeables from above and below and with serious financial deficiencies, have led too many enterprising agriculturists to retire, and have hitherto prevented men of capital and intelligence from filling up the gaps. But some of these drawbacks are removed and other combinations are daily appearing to revive agricultural operations on a large scale. This must be so, because it is transparent to all who have studied the subject closely that valuable as a mixture of small holdings may be for the labouring classes where they can supplement their returns by earned wages, no amount of personal hard work can replace in a small way the saving to be effected by the introduction of expensive machinery, which can only be utilised on a large scale.

The regeneration of British agriculture can only reappear by a discontinuance of such well-nigh obsolete practices as resorting to the bare fallow, which I found practised at the Edge farm, by diminishing the large proportion of wheat usually grown and by substituting a larger quantity of green crops, the feeding of more stock, the raising of more dairy produce. It matters not whether the British farmer is raising potatoes or pigs, cabbages or mutton, beef or butter, chickens or cheese; each and all of them can be more economically produced on a large than on a very small scale. The dairy will be as much revolutionised by new machinery as the field. A full-sized Danish cream separator* will divide cream from the milk of two hundred cows in the same time as Mrs. Bilston, after waiting twelve hours for it to rise, can skim it from the output of any two of her dairy kine, and the former process will effectually remove every particle of cream, while the latter at the best is imperfectly accomplished. What chance, then, has Mrs. Bilston with the separator?

No prejudices against the simple elementary education accorded

to the labouring classes in the rural districts will undo its value to the recipients. Difficult problems in arithmetic and the study of polysyllabic words are, I quite agree, uncalled for in the future life of the majority of agricultural labourers, but the simple third standard admits of the child's partial exemption from school at any age, and he forthwith buckles to his work. The Scotch labourer has received a better education than his English brother for two centuries past, and it has not in any way unfitted him to fulfil his allotted functions. Surely elementary education need not debar the acquisition of the knowledge of any useful technical work, whether it be the details of an agricultural household or the duties of a lady's-maid.

Truly crazes run through society nowadays, as Lady Catherine says, and the latest among certain classes is the desire to throw back British agriculture half a century and resuscitate the smock-frock farmer. As well try to restore the heptarchy!

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LUNACY LAW REFORM.

PUBLIC attention has of late been so urgently called to the state of the lunacy laws and their proposed reform, that no apology is needed for the subject which I am about to consider. But, when I confess that I am engaged in the care of the insane, I am well aware that no excuse would be sufficient in the eyes of many to justify my intervention, and that most people will receive what I may say with much suspicion and prejudice. I am quite ready to admit that such feelings are natural, and to a great extent reasonable. The mystery and horror which surround those unfortunates who bear human form, and yet stand without the pale of human intelligence, necessarily extend in some degree to their guardians. When we add to this, that the insane are for the most part kept out of sight of the world, we need no more to explain the way in which their 'keepers' are regarded. The thought that any organisation exists which is secret in its conduct and proceedings, has a strange fascination for many minds; and those who have charge of the insane cannot wonder if their calling is looked upon with something of the interest, not wholly benevolent, which is inspired by bodies of such very diverse character as the Jesuit order or the Russian diplomatic service.

This feeling, usually latent, is easily roused in anyone who fears there is any chance of his being immured, though sane, in an asylum, a fate which rightly appeals with as much force to the imagination as the similar danger of being buried alive.

A few instances of evident abuse of the present lunacy laws are thus only needed to produce an epidemic of fear and righteous indignation which would sweep away all that might seem a danger to liberty.

It is not likely that legislation in a panic, and by persons necessarily little acquainted with the subject, would be more successful in this case than it proves in others. It seems therefore desirable to anticipate the danger, and discuss beforehand the probable results of any change, some of which may on inquiry seem likely to prove very different from what are at present anticipated. In saying this, I do not wish to suggest that no alteration should be made. There are various gaps in the law as it stands, which everyone admits should be filled up; but, beyond this, it is at least matter for very anxious considera-

tion whether the present Acts answer the purposes for which they were designed by the Legislature. It can certainly be to no one's interest to leave things as they are without further inquiry. Even supposing the present law to be perfect, it is necessary to its efficiency that the public should be satisfied of its substantial justice. In the case of the criminal law, I believe, jurists are wont to insist upon the importance of this condition, and to depart for its sake from many of the rules which they would consider most perfect; it is at least as much required when the procedure in question is a private, not a public one.

What I have to say will deal exclusively with private lunatics, of whom only I can speak from any experience, and whose case indeed is exclusively engaging attention at present. The questions that have been raised fall under two heads, according as they relate either to the reception of the insane into asylums or to the expediency of allowing them to be detained under private care.

I.

As the subject is one of which most persons are happily ignorant, I had better give a brief summary of the law which at present regulates the admission of the insane, not being paupers, into an asylum.

1. What is termed an 'order,' but is really a request, for the admission of the patient, has to be signed by some relative or other person who voluntarily assumes this responsibility. It is addressed to the authorities of the asylum, and bears on its face the statements that the signer of the order has seen the patient within one month of its date, the place where he was last seen, and the nature of the relationship or other connection between them. To this is annexed a short 'statement' of the age, sex, occupation, and such other circumstances of the patient as are deemed most necessary to be known by those who are to have charge of him.

2. Two medical certificates. The medical men signing these must be duly registered under the Medical Acts, they must be independent of each other, they must have examined the patient without the presence of any other medical man, and within seven days before his admission into the asylum. Each certificate must set forth the facts, observed by the certifier himself, which lead him to consider the patient not merely unsound in mind, but also fit to be detained under care and treatment. He may also state facts, related to him by other persons (whom he must name), in support of his opinion.

3. These documents justify the proprietor or superintendent of an asylum, to whom the order is addressed, in receiving the patient. But they do not appear to justify a patient's detention, unless the asylum authorities also consider him insane; and it has not been

sufficiently noticed that the law fixes the responsibility upon them also of declaring that he is so. Within seven days of his admission the superintendent of the asylum has to certify that he has examined the patient, and to specify the form of insanity from which he is suffering. This certificate has to be forwarded to the Commissioners in Lunacy, to whom copies of the order and medical certificates have been already transmitted. The Lunacy Board has, therefore, before them all the documentary evidence of the patient's insanity within a week of his detention. Every asylum superintendent and proprietor can testify to the jealous care with which these papers are scrutinised by them; errors of form or substance (which I am sure the public would often think very trivial or immaterial) being at once pointed out, and their amendment required.

The Commissioners in Lunacy were, therefore, fully justified in their expressions of satisfaction in their report for 1879. Mr. Dillwyn's Select Committee, after sitting twenty-seven days, and examining a large number of witnesses opposed to the present law, were able to conclude that 'no allegations of *mala fides*, or of serious abuses, were substantiated.' The Commissioners then confined themselves to making suggestions for filling up obvious deficiencies in the present law, which they consider works on the whole satisfactorily. The most important of these proposals are for increasing the responsibility of the person signing the order, whose connection with the patient should be more clearly defined, and who should visit him in person or by proxy at stated intervals.

Since the date of this Report the medical certificates have been made the special subject of adverse criticism, the most weighty being in the debate on Lord Milltown's motion in the House of Lords last session. On that occasion, the venerable Chairman of the Lunacy Commission, Lord Shaftesbury, was able to support his defence of the present system of certification by the strongest evidence.

From 1855 to 1877 there had passed (he said) through the office of the Commissioners 185,000 certificates. Of these, some six or seven had demanded the attention of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; but all, upon investigation, were found to be just and good. During the same interval there had been 90,000 liberations, of which 22,000 were from private houses. The returns up to the present day were equally satisfactory—a sufficient refutation of the common assertion that persons thrust into private asylums would never get out. There were, he believed, fewer cases of mistake in placing patients under care and treatment than of miscarriages of justice in Courts of Law.

No one will suspect this eminent philanthropist of a desire to cling to a system which fails to satisfy the claims of humanity and justice; and his weighty words will probably be sufficient evidence that the present lunacy laws work in practice at least as well as laws in other departments which no one seeks to reform. This, however, is not all. It is not enough to show that no abuses do occur; the public must

be satisfied that none are within reasonable possibility, and that everything has been done to insure the liberty of the subject consistently with the due care of the insane.

There is, indeed, too much reason to fear that no conceivable change in the law would dispel all suspicion. In a recent case, which was tried before a judge and jury with exceptional care, the jury was unanimous, with the agreement of the judge, that the patient was insane; but public opinion, if the newspapers may be taken as its exponents, was far from acquiescing in the verdict. Now this is the very process which the most radical would-be reformers of the law propose for adoption in all cases. The objections to it are obvious: the least would be the considerable expense entailed upon the lunatic and his friends, as he could not be refused the privilege of engaging a solicitor and counsel for his defence. The delay in calling for a trial, and appointing a time for hearing, would be much more serious—indeed, some provision would have to be made for the detention of an alleged lunatic while his trial was pending. Most grievous of all to his friends, and to himself on his recovery, would be the necessary publicity of the proceedings and the exposure of his infirmities to the public gaze.

There can be no doubt that the chief result of such a change in the law would be to increase largely the number of lunatics kept at home, or placed illegally with strangers under no official supervision whatever. There is good reason to believe that this is even now much too commonly done, and that it constitutes a much more real danger to liberty than those which are now so clamorously pointed out. Even under the present law there is great excuse for the friends of a lunatic if they endeavour to conceal what may be so injurious to his own prospects and those of his family; what would it be if he were tried publicly? In some of the American States, where trial by jury for insanity prevails, the results do not appear to be encouraging. Accounts have been from time to time published—flavoured with much grim Yankee humour, but professedly genuine—of such trials, where the patient has been induced to attend as a disinterested spectator, and ‘found’ a lunatic without his knowledge. These may well be exaggerated; but it seems inevitable that such subterfuges would have to be resorted to if the law were to be of universal application.

It has also been proposed that persons of unsound mind, should only be committed to asylums on the order of a magistrate, thus extending to private patients what is at present the law for paupers. The drawbacks of publicity and delay would apply much less to this plan than to trial by jury; and the really serious objection to it is one which does not seem to occur to the public. A magistrate’s order for the committal of a lunatic would necessarily lessen, if not remove, the responsibility incurred by the friends wishing to place a lunatic in an asylum, and by the medical men certifying. It is

highly probable, at least, that they would all shelter themselves behind the justice's order in case of an action, while the justice himself would be unassailable. There is also reason to fear that the magistrate would in many instances carry out this duty in a somewhat perfunctory manner, relying in turn upon the medical certificates as sufficient evidence of insanity. Nor is the objection without some weight, which at first sight seems only sentimental, that everything is to be avoided which makes lunacy resemble crime, and committal to an asylum follow the same procedure as committal to a prison. It seems, however, advisable that a magistrate's order should be required in all cases where that of a relative cannot be obtained; and some such provision will doubtless be introduced into any future legislation on the subject.

Another proposal has been that every alleged lunatic should be examined by a special public officer, and only admitted into an asylum on his certificate. From one point of view this plan is certainly the best. It is commonly said that men accused of a crime would rather be tried by a judge if innocent; but if guilty would prefer the chances of acquittal by a jury. So I am quite sure all who are conversant with insanity would prefer to be examined by a specialist, if there were any question of their confinement; unless indeed they had any lurking doubts of their own soundness of mind. This question has, however, to be decided by the public at large, and they, rightly or wrongly, have made up their minds that lunacy is an exception to the universally admitted value of experience. They will admit without much difficulty that sailors are the best judges of the seaworthiness of a ship, lawyers of the soundness of a legal case, soldiers of the art of war; but they have come to the conclusion that a practical study of insanity is not the best qualification for judging of a man's soundness or unsoundness of mind. I have already suggested some of the causes for what seems a strange inconsistency. I need not return to them, and am only now concerned to point out that this unflattering estimate of 'specialists' would be fatal to their employment for certifying lunatics. There would soon be an uneasy feeling abroad that men's liberty was at the mercy of the 'mad doctors,' and a single plausible case only would be needed to raise this fear to panic height.

Another serious objection to this scheme would be the payment of such officials. In London and the large towns, perhaps sufficient work might be found for their adequate remuneration; but in country districts, where the distances they would have to traverse would be greater, the number of patients to be certified would be too few to make it worth any man's while to accept such a post. And if (as has been suggested) they were employed also as sub-commissioners or inspectors, to relieve the present Lunacy Board of some of its work, they would not be available at short notice for certifying

patients. If such public officials are to be appointed at all, it seems more advisable that they should visit patients within the first few days of their admission to an asylum, and confirm independently, or reject, the previous order and certificates.

It will be seen that I am on the whole in favour of continuing the present system of certifying patients. Its great advantage seems to me the introduction of non-specialists and outsiders to estimate the mental condition of an alleged lunatic. The only cure for the distrust with which the public views asylums and all connected with them is to multiply the points of contact between these establishments and the world outside. Yet I cannot think that the power of certifying patients, and depriving them of their liberty, should be left indiscriminately to every medical man. Many are too young and inexperienced, not merely in the diagnosis of insanity, but still more in that general knowledge of the world which is an important element in forming a correct judgment in this matter. Many, again, are not sufficiently established in practice to be entirely above the suspicion of unworthy or corrupt motives. It is, indeed, much to the credit of the medical profession that in no single instance has the grave responsibility which the law entrusts to them been known to be abused. But it ought to be impossible to cast any serious doubt on the competency and honesty of anyone signing a certificate. This could easily be done by providing that not every medical man, but only those appointed for the purpose by some competent authority, such as the Lord Chancellor, should have the power of giving certificates in lunacy. If this were restricted, say, to medical men of ten years' standing and of known respectability, a great step would have been taken towards allaying the public feeling on this subject. There is precedent for it in the case of the 'commissionerships,' which are held by solicitors, but only given to practitioners of standing and responsibility. I believe the arrangement is found to work without any drawbacks among lawyers, and I can imagine no reason why it should not do so in the case of the important semi-judicial function which is imposed on medical men.

The medical men signing each of the two certificates at present required by the law have to examine the patient 'separately from any other medical practitioner.' This provision of the law has been objected to by eminent authorities, who have urged the advantages of consultation in ordinary cases, as a reason for believing that a certificate in lunacy would be more weighed and careful if it were the joint production of two medical men. The point is at least doubtful. A certificate, though based upon medical grounds, is in its nature a judicial act; nothing should therefore be done to lessen the personal responsibility of anyone who undertakes to collect evidence and come to such a grave conclusion, and it is quite possible that a joint certificate might have this effect.

II.

If the public were satisfied that there was no chance of any sane person's being committed to an asylum or detained there, I suppose the most serious objection to private asylums would be removed. There would remain, indeed, the fear that the insane would not be so well cared for, as to which I shall have something to say presently, and, beyond this, only the argument that the State alone is the proper guardian of all who have to be deprived of their liberty. But against this last may be set the counter-argument that all citizens have an inherent right to place their insane friends under what they consider the best care. In this, as in so many other instances, the science of legislation is not sufficiently advanced to admit of our arguing to any advantage from abstract propositions. The inquiry should be an *à posteriori*, not an *à priori* one, the sole test we can apply being the probable or certain advantage of the individuals of which the State is made up.

I suppose, however, there is no doubt that if we now had to decide for the first time how persons of unsound mind should be cared for, we should recognise no distinction between them on the ground of fortune. The system which has actually grown up also began by treating all alike, although, strangely enough, it followed the reverse direction to that which we should now take. Modern legislators, if they had to choose, would commit the insane, rich and poor alike, to the care of the State, while our ancestors left all to private care or public charity. The remains of this system is to be seen still in the 1,400 pauper patients who are now under care and treatment in the licensed private asylums in this country. The majority of the inmates of these houses (3,381 at the close of last year) belong of course to the 'private' class, and this number, to which we must add 449 'single patients,' shows the amount of accumulation which would be required for the insane not paupers.

The difficulty of providing for so many, even if a fresh start only had to be made, would not be inconsiderable. But it would be much increased by our having to compensate the present asylum proprietors, not merely for the loss of their incomes, but for the very large sums they have expended in providing comfortable (and sometimes very luxurious) accommodation for their clients. There is no reason to suppose that the counties or boroughs would avail themselves of the simply permissive powers which one Bill introduced into the House of Commons proposed to give them. It would be manifestly unfair to expect that they should do so, as in many instances they would be burdening the local finances to provide for the reception of patients from other parts of the country. Whether new asylums were erected or the existing ones purchased from their proprietors, there can

be no doubt that a heavy expense would fall upon the State. Of course this should not stand in the way of reform, if needed; it should only make us very sure that the change would be for the general advantage. And this is the point on which I would join issue with those who advocate the abolition of private asylums.

Let us put aside for the moment the danger of receiving or detaining persons who ought not to be deprived of their liberty; I will return to this presently. The enormous majority of the population of asylums is made up of persons whom no one doubts should be kept under care and treatment. Most of these are by no means so insane as to have lost the ordinary likes and dislikes of their fellow-creatures. This is true of the convalescents from acute insanity, of a large proportion of chronic lunatics, and, above all, of the many patients who have lucid intervals, which are not sufficiently long or complete to allow of their return to the world. Now, I have no hesitation in saying that such patients, with few exceptions, are much happier and more contented in small asylums than in large ones. My attention was first called to this many years ago by one who had great experience: I have since taken every opportunity of testing his statement, and, as far as I remember, have found it always correct. It is very remarkable to find patients so uniformly preferring asylums, of which the buildings are often old and unfitted for the insane, and where the care bestowed upon them seems to us inferior to that of the great lunatic hospitals which public benevolence has raised of late years. Partly for these very reasons, partly because of their small size, there is a homelike air about them, and an absence of drill, which makes them far more acceptable to the ordinary patient. In saying this, I do not wish in the least to detract from the admirable manner in which our lunatic hospitals are governed, or to stint my admiration of the constant vigilance, self-denial, and all the other high qualities which their administration demands and calls forth. I do but suggest that different surroundings are suited to different patients, or to different stages of the same malady. The size, discipline, and order of a large asylum are certainly beneficial in most acute cases, and in many instances of turbulence and restlessness in chronic insanity; on the other hand, I believe these same conditions are the cause of keen suffering and vexation to many chronic lunatics. For their sakes, therefore, I should greatly regret to see the smaller private asylums abolished; on the contrary, I believe the happiness of such patients would be much increased by the multiplication of houses in which only a few would be received, and where they would have at least the semblance of a home. The principal difficulty in the way of such increase seems to be the greater amount of inspection which would be required from the Lunacy Commission, already very fully occupied.

• If any number of persons are happier in private asylums than

they would be in public ones, this seems an amply sufficient ground for allowing them to exist; unless it is counterbalanced by stronger objections. As far as I know, these can all be reduced to the improper reception or detention of patients, which is considered to be a danger inseparable from establishments conducted for the sake of profit. It is to be remarked, in the first place, that the same danger must accompany almost every other plan that could be suggested. As to the lunatic hospitals, which so admirably meet a great public need, everybody who has studied their constitution is aware that there is nothing in the existing law to prevent their being worked as gigantic shams, for the benefit of the medical superintendent and other officers. That they are not so abused is due entirely to the high character of those connected with them. For it is hardly conceivable that any law can be devised which should deprive the officials of an interest in the well-being of the establishment with which they are connected. And as long as they retain this they will always desire to keep profitable patients, whose payments enable them to extend the sphere of usefulness of their asylum—such a desire being far more likely to act on the averagely high-minded man, and far more difficult of detection, than the coarser motive of direct personal gain.

Whether private asylums, then, are retained or abolished, the whole question seems to me entirely one of adequate supervision from without. The public should have such guarantees as would render it impossible that any person could be improperly received, detained, or cruelly treated in an asylum. I am quite sure myself that the actually existing provisions of the law are sufficient. To my mind it is not credible that any of these abuses can co-exist with the four visits paid annually to every metropolitan licensed house, or the six visits paid to every house in the provinces, not to speak of the dangers of detection from the visits of friends and relatives, from discharged servants, and from patients who recover and leave the asylum. It seems, however, quite possible to do more to satisfy the public without lessening in any way the advantages which I believe private asylums possess.

Thus, I should very gladly welcome a provision, by which every patient should be placed at first in a public asylum, and only be allowed to be removed to a private one by his friends after a certain interval, sufficient at least to establish his insanity. During the early stages of his illness the patient would often be the better for the discipline of a large establishment; and his after-removal to a smaller one would also be beneficial. Short of this, more frequent inspection would probably convince all who are open to reason that no one was improperly detained. Various plans have been suggested, by all of which it would be possible that a patient should be examined by an independent person upon his admission to the asylum, and at short intervals afterwards. The only difficulty about

them all is the increased expense of appropriating such inspectors; and this ought hardly to be insuperable. It would of course be easy to have the whole asylum inspected much more frequently than at present by the same officials. Inspection might, however, readily be too frequent, if it superseded that personal responsibility and care which should attach to the authorities of every establishment. After all, the ultimate guarantee for the proper treatment of patients in all asylums, public or private, must be the character of the authorities residing in them, and over-inspection would tend to lower very much the qualifications of those who undertake what is at best a thankless office.

Another plan seems to me more likely to be successful. It appears at first sight a strange anomaly of the present law, that, while private asylums are visited four or six times a year, patients under single charge, in the houses of medical men and others, are only visited once in a year by the Commissioners in Lunacy. It is clear that the chances of improper detention or treatment must be greater where all the witnesses belong to one family, than where other patients, as well as attendants, might report what went on wrongly. The law has, however, provided for their visitation, at least once in each fortnight, by an independent medical man who derives no profit from the care of such patients. This is found to work perfectly well, and I venture to think the principle might be extended to private asylums with advantage. It seems feasible to provide that every such asylum should have a medical attendant or superintendent, distinct from the proprietor when the latter is a medical man. This medical attendant should be paid by salary, and the Commissioners in Lunacy, or some other authority, should have a veto upon his appointment and removal. This provision would be no hardship to the larger private asylums, which already have resident medical officers; and its expense to the smaller licensed houses would be inconsiderable. The public would thus obtain the guarantee of a responsible person in immediate charge of the patients, and as independent and disinterested as are the officials of our lunatic hospitals.

III.

The above article was written (as will be apparent to all who have followed the discussion) before most of the recent contributions to the subject had appeared. I am glad, therefore, to have an opportunity of noticing some of these, though necessarily with great brevity.

An article in the *Times* on the new Lunacy Bill necessarily claimed much attention, as it was at first sight professedly an abstract of the Bill about to be brought forward by the Lord Chancellor.

But it was clearly the production of some one without practical knowledge or authority, who had gathered suggestions (some of them inconsistent with each other) from various quarters. It, therefore, lost any interest it might have had when Lord Selborne brought forward the Bill itself. The general spirit and intention of this measure are the same as what I have suggested in the foregoing pages—to preserve what is good in the existing state of things, while adding further safeguards for the satisfaction of the public. These are practically two—a magisterial examination of the evidence of insanity before admission, and an official visit to the patient within a month.

I have stated above my reasons for considering that the former of these provisions would give only an illusory security, while it would increase the number of persons under illegal care, by making the procedure more public and more difficult. I should have been glad to find my own opinions so fully confirmed by the knowledge and experience of Lord Shaftesbury, who can speak with an authority which no one else possesses; but any feeling of the kind must disappear before my sense of the irreparable loss which the public and the profession has sustained in his retirement from the chairmanship of the Lunacy Commission.

As to the second provision, I fully agree in the generally expressed opinion, that a month is much too long a period to allow a patient to remain in an asylum without an official visit. Dr. Rayner's suggestion, that it ought not to be impossible to have every patient examined within forty-eight hours after admission, can be open to no objection but the cost, which in such a matter ought not to be insuperable.

There is one other recent contribution to the literature of Lunacy Law Reform to which I most reluctantly refer. Dr. Bucknill's letters to the papers, and his article in the February number of this Review, cannot be lightly passed over. I am very sorry that I must disagree so much with one for whose authority I have such a sincere respect. I should distrust my own judgment, where it is opposed to his, more than I do, did I not observe that his conclusions are of recent growth in his own mind, and opposed to his former statements, and that he writes with some amount of feeling. I am heartily glad to be able to agree with him in condemning the abuses connected with private asylums. The worst of these, however, no longer exist; some, on which he dwells most strongly, never had more than an incidental connection with the system he condemns; and all, as I venture to think I have shown, would be rendered impossible by a few simple additions to the present law. I regret, above all, that Dr. Bucknill should have given his apparent sanction to what I cannot but regard as a retrograde step—I mean the detention of persons of unsound mind, if they are not dangerous to themselves or others, without adequate legal protection.

He must be so perfectly aware that such patients are often most in need of supervision, that I cannot suppose this to be his meaning; but I fear he will be so interpreted by the reckless advocates of change.

I am well aware that I can have given no satisfaction to most of my readers. Few will have had the patience to go through a paper on a special subject such as this, unless they are already enthusiasts in the matter of lunacy law reform. To such I have not addressed myself, and they will consider what I have written is a half-hearted apology for a system they deem intolerable. But, if anyone with an open mind has followed me, I would press him to bear in mind the conditions of the problem which confronts us. I think I have given reasons for supposing that any radical changes would do more harm than good. There are already far too many lunatics detained in private houses without any legal supervision at all; a more rigorous process of certification would add largely to their number. There are plenty of poor chronic lunatics leading comparatively normal lives in private asylums; their collection into great public institutions would assuredly not increase their happiness. For the sake of both these classes, I earnestly trust no considerable change may be made in the law. But I also think much may be done to relieve the public from not entirely unreasonable fears. It is because I believe this to be possible that I have attempted a task which I trust I may see taken up by some one of larger experience and better judgment than myself.

J. R. GASQUET.

LORD BRAMWELL ON DRINK: A REPLY.

I HAVE no doubt that many total abstiners have, during the last weeks, been referred to Lord Bramwell's pamphlet as a triumphant refutation of what is politely called their 'craze.' As there are said to be from three to four millions of total abstiners in England, and as large numbers of them are to be found in the ranks of professional men, of officers, of members of the Legislature, and of the clergy of all denominations, it would be a misfortune if their position was as untenable and their practice as much to be reprehended as Lord Bramwell maintains. Many of them are far better qualified than I am to defend their principles against these animadversions; but, as I have been allowed to take some part in the Temperance movement, I have felt it a public duty to state some of the reasons by which we have been influenced, and to explain why we are not at all shaken in our purpose by the arguments now adduced against us.

Lord Bramwell begins by saying that his cause needs no apology, because it is just, moral, and in conformity with the practice of all mankind. If so, what need is there to be so much moved by those whom he evidently regards as a small and wrong-headed minority? It is because, as he assures us, 'they have said, and have been permitted by their opponents to say, We are the righteous, the good, the virtuous; and you are wicked, bad, vicious!' Now I would respectfully ask Lord Bramwell who has ever said this? Can he, out of reams of Temperance literature, adduce a single sentence to that effect? I have attended Temperance meetings in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Durham, Sunderland, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Derby, London, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, and many other large towns, and I have never heard anything distantly approaching to such an allegation. There is not a single reasonable advocate of temperance who would not regard so Pharisaic and uncharitable a judgment as perfectly detestable. Of course when a cause is taken up by advocates of all degrees of wisdom and unwisdom, it is quite possible that, from lack of education, or in the heat of argument, or in the excessive fervour of sincere but ill-regulated zeal, some of them

may have used language which might constructively be pressed to this absurd conclusion. But a cause must be judged on its own merits, not by the most extravagant and unaccredited utterances of its least competent partisans. For myself, I can only say that, during nine years of total abstinence, I have never so much as told young persons in confirmation classes, or even children in my own national schools, that it is their *duty* to abstain; and as for morally condemning millions of wise and virtuous men who are not abstainers, I know no total abstainer who would not heartily despise himself if he could be guilty of a judgment so wholly unwarrantable.

Lord Bramwell must surely be aware of two very patent facts; the one that the chair is very frequently taken at Temperance meetings by clergymen and gentlemen who at once open the proceedings with the remark that they are not abstainers; the other, that the great Church of England Temperance Society is avowedly founded upon a double basis, and that the non-abstaining section of it is intended to be in all respects as honoured and as prominent as the other. As regards the vast mass of English abstainers, it is a wholly groundless charge to say that they pride themselves upon their own practice in the matter; and still more to say that they condemn or desire to encroach upon the independent judgment or the moral liberty of their neighbours.

I do not think that the cause of 'Drink' will be much strengthened by the wholesale arraignment of nature involved in Mr. Justice Maule's remark that 'water is not drink;' but passing over this, we come to the admission that 'drink' which, in excess, 'makes a man contemptible and ridiculous, and would ruin the health and kills the unhappy wretch who persistently takes it to excess,' is yet 'a good thing, which the world would act very foolishly if it gave up, because it does an immense deal more good, and gives a vast deal of pleasure and enjoyment to those who take it with good sense and moderation.' In favour of this view Lord Bramwell appeals to the practice of the world, 'with the exception of the followers of the crazy fanatic and impostor Mahomet.' It is not worth while pausing to inquire whether history will accept this description as adequately representing the great Prophet of Arabia, or whether his mighty and beneficent influence in saving whole nations from the curse of intemperance does not go far to outweigh many of his errors. But I challenge the proposition that because drink 'gives a vast deal of pleasure and enjoyment' it therefore 'does an immense deal more good than harm.' The two results are not *in pari materia*. The good takes the form of a sensuous pleasure, a passing exhilaration; the harm takes the form not only of disease, and pain, and waste, but, as Lord Bramwell admits, of insanity and crime and death. The pleasure is insignificant, the harm is deadly. The luxury which is so often purchased at a fatal price by the individual may also, in the form of physical de-

generacy and moral degradation, cost far too dear to the race. The general enjoyment of stimulants can hardly, in our opinion, be fairly weighed against the destruction which drink has caused in age after age—and especially since the fatal discovery of ardent spirits—to millions of human bodies and human souls. A workman who was rolling into a publican's cellar a cask of whisky gave the cask a kick, and was overheard remarking to his comrade, 'I wonder how many curses there are in that cask.' A Christian, in an age of rapid intoxicants, in a country of which drunkenness is the worst national vice, may be excused from accepting Lord Bramwell's conclusions when he finds that centuries and millenniums ago those conclusions were rejected even by Jews and by Pagans. Men who knew nothing of the infinite value which Christianity attaches to every human soul—men who lived in lands where wine was still a pure and natural product, and in ages comparatively uncoursed by intemperance—have yet thought very differently from the English judge. Some of the Rabbis believed that the vine was the forbidden tree.* The discovery of wine in the Scripture narrative is instantly followed by a Patriarch's degradation, a son's infamy, and the curse of an entire branch of the human family. In those four verses (Gen. ix. 20–24), says Rabbi Oved the Galilean, there are no less than thirteen *vau*s,¹ and each *vau* stands for a woe upon the human race.² Very bitter and decisive are the many apologues in which some of the wisest Rabbis of Israel have expressed their opinion that intoxicating drink has been more of an evil than a good to mankind. Let us turn to Pagan antiquity. Propertius was certainly no temperance fanatic, yet Propertius sings, 'Vino forma perit, vino consumitur ætas.' There is surely a pathetic sincerity in the remark of the learned and thoughtful Pliny, who, after describing all the difficulties which attend the culture of the vine, concluded his sketch with the words: 'Tanto opere, tanto labore et impendio constat quod hominis mentem mutet ac furorem gignat hominibus huic sceleri deditis.' The legendary Thracian king was not the only one who, even in the days of classical antiquity, resisted the worship of

Bacchus, who first from out the purple grape
Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine.

While men are what they are—more prone, as Aristotle says, to intemperance than to moderation;³ while alcohol is what it is—in itself a deleterious poison, which, like other lethal agents, has the fatal property of creating for itself in many constitutions a morbid crave; while into modern drinks—the stupefying beers, the heady porters, the burning brandies, the maddening gins, and rums, and whiskies with which so many of our working classes are destroying themselves—

* , the Hebrew 'and.'

² *Sanhedrin*, f. 70, 1.

³ *Ἐκταρφόροι δὲ μὲν πολλοὶ πρὸς ἀκολασίαν ἢ πρὸς κοσμιότητα.* Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 8, § 8.

so disproportionate an amount of alcohol is introduced ; it is a question perfectly open to discussion whether 'drink' does not do infinitely more harm than good. Against the dictum of Lord Bramwell I will set that of two thousand members of the medical profession in 1846, who signed a declaration to the effect that 'total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors and intoxicating beverages of all sorts would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race.'

'Weigh drinking in the balance,' says Mr. Joseph Cowen, the eloquent member for Newcastle ; 'weigh it honestly—all its alleged advantages and all its admitted ills—and pronounce whether it is not wanting. Put on one scale all the much-prized conviviality it produces, and the doubtful medical testimony that is quoted in its support. Put on the other side the material and moral, the individual and national loss that it inflicts ; the criminality, the pauperism, the woes that cannot be measured by arithmetic, the cries of perishing children, and the wrecks of noble intellects—can any man doubt which scale will ascend ?'

The argument on which Lord Bramwell almost exclusively relies is that drink is a source of great pleasure and enjoyment. Perhaps he may not have tried whether abstinence, undertaken from generous motives, is not a source of even greater pleasure. Thousands of those who once enjoyed their glass of beer or their glass of sherry with the keen relish which Lord Bramwell describes, would assure him that they derive from total abstinence, even physically and mentally, a pleasure far purer and more keen. I will not now enter into the overwhelming and constantly increasing evidence that abstinence conduces to health and to longevity ; nor more than allude to the certainty that, for many persons, alcohol, even in quantities conventionally deemed moderate, is subtly deleterious. I will not speak of the many vitiated constitutions for which the strength and the amount of the stimulant must constantly be increased, nor of the hundreds of families which might have been very happy, but into which a tendency to drink has introduced anguish and degradation such as cannot adequately be described. I cannot in this brief paper state even a fraction of our indictment of the evils caused by drink. But I may assert, from the experience of thousands of total abstainers, that they have found alcohol to be for themselves, if not a harmful, at least an entirely needless luxury. In these hard days the majority of struggling middle-class families, no less than the vast multitudes of poor and unemployed, would find that the money which they now needlessly spend upon wine, beer, or spirits would benefit them in a multitude of better ways. To the labouring class generally, total abstinence often means the difference between beggary and respectability, between rags and decency, between success and ruin, between true homes and what Carlyle called 'worse than Dantean hells.' Putting the question

for the moment on the ground of pleasure, apart from every other consideration, I have no hesitation in saying that, in my belief, a nation of total abstainers would be a far healthier and an unspeakably happier nation than England ever can be under her present conditions. Even personally most total abstainers would at once testify that, if they have given up a source of pleasure, which they hardly consider worth reckoning, they have gained in its place other pleasures which nothing short of necessity would induce them to forego. 'Temperance,' says Benjamin Franklin, 'puts wood on the fire, meal in the barrel, flour in the tub, money in the purse, credit in the country, vigour in the body, contentment in the house, clothes on the bairns, intelligence in the brain, and spirit in the constitution.' 'Since I became a total abstainer,' said Dr. Guthrie, 'I have felt my purse heavier, my health stronger, my brain clearer, my spirits lighter.'

We should not, therefore, be at all unwilling to meet Lord Bramwell even on the lowest grounds of all, although total abstinence has been adopted by most of us from a widely different order of consideration. The secure elimination from the life of the individual or of the family of an element which has undeniably brought untold misery into so many thousands of lives, and of which the misery spreads in ever-widening circles from the guilty to far greater numbers of the innocent;—the secure elimination from society of that which all admit to be fertile of disease, insanity, and crime—would, I believe, elevate the race and increase its happiness to an almost inconceivable degree. Sin is the worst curse of mankind, and intemperance is the one sin, at once very common and very fatal, which is absolutely and easily preventible. It is the one curse of humanity of which we might absolutely cut off the entail. At present it is the scourge of nations, and into many nations England has helped to introduce that scourge. We have 'girdled the world with a zone of drunkenness'; we have made ourselves, as the Archbishop of York said, 'the drunken helots of the world.' Such statements only sound exaggerated to those who know nothing of the facts, and who have not heard the bitter cry which has arisen from the tribes of North America, from the West Indies, from India, from Ceylon, from Australia, from New Zealand, from Natal, from Madagascar, from Mauritius, from the Hottentots and Kaffirs, whom drink more than any other cause has helped to decimate and degrade. Yes! even from the Christian section of the population of Palestine and of holy Nazareth itself. We pride ourselves on the abolition of the slave-trade, but Captain Burton (Abbhocouta) said that if we restored the slave-trade with all its horrors, and rum and gunpowder were unknown, Africa would gain in happiness by the exchange. If Lord Bramwell and his fellow-supporters of the Liberty and Property Defence League will but pledge themselves to study the evidence which I would pledge myself to produce, they would

see why Temperance reformers are not inclined to relax their efforts till

Pity, like a naked new-born babe,
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubin horsed
Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow these horrid deeds in every eye
That tears shall drown the wind.

I could bring such evidence as would melt every heart not 'brazed by dammed custom.' That evidence might equally be gathered from near and from far; from wide or narrow areas; from whole continents or from the narrow limits of one miserable parish. I could take them with me from house to house, and make them eye-witnesses of the scene of incessant tragedies—tragedies so squalid, so revolting, and so exclusively the result of drink—that henceforth our opponents would at least understand our motives. We judge not others for a moment, but we say that to us, situated as we are, seeing what we see, knowing what we know, supineness in this matter would be 'the last act of baseness, the tasting of joys wrung from crushed hearts.' We have become total abstainers in the desire to diminish the awful aggregate of human wretchedness. Without personal example, we cannot ourselves succeed in rescuing the drunkard. He will continue to take his wine, and his beer, and his gin, if we do so, even though we may do it moderately, and he cannot. He will say to us—

But, good my brother,
Do not as some ungracious pastors do,
Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven,
Whilst, like a puffed and reckless libertine,
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
And recks not his own rede.

The present army of habitual drunkards, which I have strong reasons for believing to be under-estimated at two hundred thousand in the United Kingdom alone, are daily passing away by death. Their miserable ranks are daily being recruited by those who are now the innocent, the happy, and the young, but who, if no strong hand be outstretched to save them, will live the degraded lives and die the horrible deaths of those who have already fallen into the abyss. If the question is to be made one of *pleasure*, does Lord Bramwell think that any number of glasses of beer, of sherry, or of gin, could yield a pleasure equivalent to that which we experience when we are permitted to know that by our abstinence we have been blessed by the power to snatch from ruin and degradation so much as even one imperilled life? When the Duke of Burgundy, in *Anne of Geierstein*, asks on what terms the army of Edward the Fourth has agreed to evacuate France, and among them are mentioned five hundred tons of wine: 'Wine!' exclaimed the Duke; 'heardest thou ever the like, Signor

Philipson? Why, your countrymen are little better than Esau, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.'

Lord Bramwell wisely declines to say that drink is food, but he quotes Sir James Paget's opinion that it is good for brain-work. Everything that Sir James says is entitled to respect; but authorities of equal eminence, and many of them, have pronounced the exactly opposite opinion. I will quote but two of those. Sir Henry Thompson says, 'Of all people I know who cannot stand alcohol, *the brain-workers can do so least.*' Here, again, is the testimony of Sir William Gull before the House of Lords Committee. His evidence is given as follows:—

Archbishop of York. Many people believe that intellectual work cannot be so well done without alcohol.

Sir W. Gull. There I should join issue at once.

Archbishop of York. You would deny that proposition?

Sir W. Gull. I should.

Archbishop of York. You would hold the very opposite?

Sir W. Gull. I should hold the opposite; all alcohol injures the nerve-tissue. You may quicken the operations, but you do not improve them.

And surely there is a transparent fallacy in the argument that most brain-work has been done by nations who used alcohol. Total abstinence on any large scale is very modern. There is absolutely no basis for any comparison between the work of abstaining and non-abstaining nations of otherwise equal conditions. When Lord Bramwell triumphantly clinches the argument by a contemptuous reference to the brain-work of Mohammedans, let me remind him that the despised Mohammedans—Avicenna in the East and Averrhoes in the West—gave the chief impulse to philosophy, medicine, and science in the modern world; that Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas did not disdain to learn from the Arabic commentators on Aristotle; and that even the name for the substance which Lord Bramwell considers to be so beneficent is a Mohammedan word. Sir James Paget thinks that moderate drinkers as individuals do better brain-work than others. To take instances only from my own profession, does he see any deficiency in the brain-work of such men as the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Gloucester, or the Bishop of Durham—three of the best scholars and ablest prelates on the Bench—each of whom has been a total abstainer for many years? Milton lived before the Temperance movement, yet he speaks with very little respect of 'work rays'd from the heat of youth *or the vapours of wine*, like that which flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar Amorist or the trencher fury of a riming parasite.'

When Lord Bramwell appeals to the Eucharist and the Miracle of Cana to prove that 'drinking wine is not in itself wicked,' he is fighting a chimera. No one has ever said that it was. Again, when he says that our fathers and our ancestors drank, he misses the point.

Our ancestors did not live in the days of ardent spirits, nor amid the shameful multiplicity of the public-houses which Lord Cairns called gins and traps of ruin. There are three moments in the history of drink in England. One is the increase of intemperance caused by our soldiers, who in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had learnt the bad habit in the wars of the Netherlands. Another is the change in the character of public-houses. Intended for the lodging of wayfaring people, they became, as they are called in an Act of Parliament of the reign of James the Second, 'for entertainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people to spend their money and their time in a lewd and drunken manner.' The third took place in the year 1724, which is fixed upon by Mr. Lecky as the most momentous in the eighteenth century, because gin-drinking was then commonly introduced into England, and began to spread with all the rapidity of an epidemic. If our opponents desire to estimate the effects of these events upon the upper classes, the lower classes, and the army, I will refer them to no Temperance writers, but to standard works of English literature. They will find the effects of drink on statesmen and 'the upper ten thousand' in a harrowing chapter about 'the Age of Gout' in Mr. Trevelyan's *Life of Fox*. They will read the horrors which began to be produced among the masses in the brilliant pages of Mr. Lecky. They will see the difference between a drunken and a sober army portrayed by many authorities—notably in the letters of Sir H. Havelock, and in Mr. Kinglake's *History of the Crimean War*. In Sir John Kaye's *History of the Indian Mutiny* they will see how on one day of frightful peril the all but universal drunkenness of our army brought us within an inch of the total loss of our Indian Empire. These are but a few of hundreds of proofs that the conditions of modern times are altered for the worse, and they may serve to explain why some of us are afraid that this iniquity, if we continue to regard it with immoral acquiescence, will sooner or later be our national ruin.

Lord Bramwell's admissions of the curse produced by drink fall indefinitely below the reality of things, and his advice is that we should do nothing by law, because he says that society has no right to interfere with individual liberty except for the security of person and property. Here I venture to differ from him entirely. In the first place, the security of person and property is habitually violated by drunkards. Lord Bramwell is not perhaps as familiar as some of us are with places where the minimum of resistance is ruthlessly confronted with the maximum of temptation, and where, as a nightly consequence,

The vitriol madness flushes up in the ruffian's head,
Till the filthy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife.

He himself, indeed, said in the House of Lords that 'twice the number

of crimes of violence were committed on Saturday, and that Saturday might be called *pay day, drink day, crime day.* It would need but little more to convince him, surely, that for miserable women and helpless children security of person is impossible where facilities for drink are recklessly legalised. This is one of the reasons why we claim it as an indefeasible right of the people to have a full control over a traffic by which they are so fearfully affected. It is a shameful injustice that the rich should be easily able to keep public-houses from the parks and squares in which they live, while the poor are left helpless and unprotected to their most fatal temptation, so that the means to do ill deeds 'makes ill deeds done.' The defenders of the liquor trade talk of our infringing upon the liberties of the poor. The poor do not value the liberty of being tempted into sin and shame. Wherever a house-to-house census has been taken, there an overwhelming majority of the working classes has voted in favour of local option. *Volenti non fit injuria.* Even Mr. James, the President of an important Liquor Defence Society, says that, of the 107,337 licensed houses in England, 64,000 ought to be at once suppressed; and not a few of these are, to use an expression of his own, 'seething hells of vice, and immorality, and crime,' which yet 'will be galvanised into a putrified existence by the operation of the brewers' battery.'

Lord Bramwell admits that drink is the fertile source of vice, crime, disease, insanity, and death, yet he bids us do nothing. I prefer the advice of Oliver Cromwell, who said 'National crime is a thing God will reckon for, and I wish it may not lie on the nation a day longer than you may find a remedy.' Lord Bramwell bids us 'trust to the good sense and improvement of mankind.' Alas! we have been doing so for centuries; but human selfishness and the power of millionaires is against us, and these are like that cockatrice carved on the west front of Amiens Cathedral, which lays one of its ears in the mud, and stops the other with its tail. We want the aid of the Legislature. We want the aid of the statute book to educate the blunted moral sense. 'The best government,' said Goethe, 'is that which teaches self-government.' 'It is the duty of governments,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.' Many of us are sick of the cry about private rights, which mean public wrongs. Lord Bramwell once more hangs the desecrated shield of liberty on the signboard of the gin palace. To us the protection by Government of a liberty which is inevitably associated with frightful licence, is an abdication of the noblest functions of rule, and involves the neglect of the classes least represented, whose interests should therefore be most carefully studied. 'L'art de gouverner les hommes,' says Lacordaire, 'ne consiste pas à lâcher sur eux la liberté du mal.' The Prime Minister told us in the House of Commons that drink produced evils more deadly, because

more continuous, than those of the three great historic scourges of war, famine, and pestilence combined; and 'that,' he said, 'was the measure of our discredit and disgrace.' And yet are we to be advised to sit with our hands folded before us, in keen enjoyment of our beer and sherry, and to suffer the gaunt spectres which follow in the wake of drink to stalk unexorcised and even unchecked among us? Fortunately some have been found not to follow Lord Bramwell's advice, and *not* to let things alone. Had they done so, what would have been the condition of England? I will quote the authority of one who probably knows far more of the true needs of the masses of the population than Lord Bramwell, and who has done in his day an immeasurable amount of good. 'The more I examine and travel over the surface of England,' says Lord Shaftesbury, 'the more I see the absolute and indispensable necessity of Temperance associations. I am satisfied that, unless they existed, we should be plunged in such an ocean of immorality, violence, and sin, as would make this country uninhabitable.'

FREDERIC W. FARRAR.

[Lord Bramwell's pamphlet, the subject of the foregoing article, is as follows. It is reprinted here by permission.—Ed.]

DRINK.

BY LORD BRAMWELL.

THERE are some opinions entertained as honestly, as strongly, and after as much thought, as the opinions to the contrary; but which nevertheless are put forth in an apologetic way, as though those who hold them were doing wrong and knew it, or at least doing something they were not sure about. And, doubtless, where the opinion is one of entire novelty, or where it is contrary to the principles, feelings, and practice of all mankind, one can understand this style in propounding it. If it is possible to suppose an honest and sensible man thinking infanticide or a community of women desirable institutions, one would make sure and think it reasonable that a man so thinking, who put forth such ideas, would do it humbly and in the style of one asking pardon. But this apologetic style is not confined to such cases. It exists in some when the opinion entertained is righteous, just, moral, and in conformity with the practice of all mankind. It exists where those who hold the contrary say, and are permitted by their opponents to say, 'We are the righteous, the good, the virtuous, and you are wicked, bad, and vicious.' This is what the

total abstainers and the like say of themselves and those who do not agree with them. I am one who do not, and I am going to say why; and as I think my opinion as good and virtuous as theirs, with the additional merit of being right, I am going to state it without asking pardon for it or myself.

Drink—yes, drink! I mean by that, drink which cheers and, if you take too much, inebriates. Drink as Mr. Justice Maule understood it, when he was asked by the bailiff, who had sworn to give the jurymen ‘no meat or drink,’ whether he might give a jurymen some water. ‘Well,’ said the judge, ‘it is not meat, and I should not call it drink—yes, you may.’

Drink! Yes, alcohol; of which if you take too much ‘you put an enemy in your mouth to steal away your brains.’ Drink, which makes a man contemptible and ridiculous if under the influence of too much of it. Drink, which ruins the health and kills the unhappy wretch who persistently takes it to excess.

Drink! Yes; I say it is a good thing, and I think the world would act very foolishly if it gave it up. Why, if it can do all the harm I have mentioned? For this reason—that it does an immense deal more good. I say outright that it does a deal more good, because it gives a vast deal of pleasure and enjoyment to those who take it with good sense and moderation. All over the world, with the exception of the followers of the crazy fanatic and impostor Mahomet, wherever people have had the skill to make alcoholic drink, they have made and drunk it. Wine, where wine could be made. Where it could not, and sometimes where it could, beer and spirits have been produced and drunk.

Is it not true that it is a source of great pleasure and enjoyment? See the thorough relish with which a tired man takes his glass of beer, the keen pleasure of the first glass of sherry at dinner to the man exhausted with the labour of his brain. But besides these keen enjoyments, take the more quiet and sober pleasure of the glass of beer at dinner and at supper, or with the pipe. This is a pleasure had in this country by millions daily—nay, twice daily, and if, instead of the glass of beer or wine, a small quantity of spirit with water is taken, the pleasure is the same and the practice as reasonable.

I have as yet only mentioned the pleasure of drink, but there is more in its favour. I will not say that it is food, or supplies the place of food. I do not know. Opinions differ. But I will say what Sir James Paget tells me :—‘I would maintain this, and all that can reasonably be deduced from it: namely, that the best and, in proportion to numbers, the largest quantity of brain work has been, and still is being, done by the people of those nations in which the use of alcoholic drinks has been and is habitual. Further, I would maintain that, so far as I can judge of the brain work of different persons, they have done the best and most who have habitually and temper-

ately taken alcoholic drinks.' And, certainly, if we compare the brain work of the drinkers of 'drink' with the brain work of the Mahometan, we shall find a justification for this opinion.

This is the case for 'drink': its pleasure and its utility. Now, what is on the other side? A set of enthusiastic gentlemen, very honest, very much in earnest, with a very clever leader, have taken the matter in hand. They say that the world has been in error for all time; that drink is bad, that drinkers are wrong, and that those who do not agree with them are wrong, and not only wrong but viciously wrong, ought to be ashamed of themselves, and their practice and advocacy of drink denounced and put an end to.

This is hard upon us who think otherwise. A little more charity might be shown us. First of all we are the majority vastly here in this country. Out of it, or rather out of Anglo-Saxon influence, there is no minority even. Then we may say to our opponents—Your fathers drank, and your ancestors as far back as story goes; let us have time to think it out and see the errors of our ways. And this, at least, we may say to our opponents without offence or irreverence. Those of them who are Christians should, in the Eucharist and the miracle of Cana, have found some excuse for those who think that drinking wine is not in itself wicked. But no! Down with them!—sinners, drunkards—shut up the shops, and so forth. Is this reasonable, is it fair, is it charitable, even if right?

Now let us see what are the grounds of these opinions—no doubt honest. It is said that immense mischief is caused by excessive drink. I own at once that that is true. Disease is brought on, health is ruined, insanity and death caused by excessive drink. Further, the amount spent in drink is enormous, and a large part of it might be better expended, *i.e.* in the production of more pleasure and enjoyment than are given by drink. Whether as much as 134,000,000*l.* a year is spent on drink, as it is said, may be doubtful. But a good many millions may be taken off, and still a figure remain which is very lamentable—too much for health, too much for comfort, too much for enjoyment. But what does it prove? Not that all the 8,000,000 male adults of the kingdom are doing wrong and are drunkards, but that some are; that some have been drinking to excess, and have swollen the average. There is this, however, to be said, that if that sum is spent in that way, it shows the amount of enjoyment that must be derived from it.

There is no doubt also that crime is caused by drink. It is certain that more is drunk on Saturdays, and more crime committed on that day than any other. The drunken man is more likely to commit a crime of violence or robbery than the sober. The drunken man, also, is more likely to have a crime committed on him in his helpless state than is the sober man.

This is the case against drink, and a very strong one. Now, what

is to be done? It seems obvious to answer—let those who drink in moderation continue to do so, and let others leave it alone or learn to take it moderately. ‘No,’ say the total abstainers, or some of them, ‘that can’t be. If drink is to be had, some will take it in excess. Stop it altogether.’ Now I do not say that this is beyond the right of society to its members. I do not know what is. If society’s right to interfere with individual liberty is limited to cases necessary to secure the object for which society exists, viz. security of person and property from external and internal attacks, then this prohibition of drink is not within the right of society. But, certainly, society does not limit itself in that way. It prohibits disorderly houses and gaming houses. Perhaps on similar considerations it may prohibit the making and sale of alcoholic drink. But if it is within its right, is it fair, is it just, is it reasonable, expedient, because some take it to excess, that it is to be denied to millions to whom it is a daily pleasure and enjoyment with no attendant harm? Does this seem fair? The glass of beer is taken from the whole fifty men because one of them will take more than is good for him. And take even his case. He drinks and ruins his health. May he not say, ‘What is that to you? It is my affair; it is my pleasure not to be as good as you. How do I harm you?’ Of course, if he is drunk, in public, or riotous, or his drinking injures the public, punish him; but it does seem hard that, instead of this, the sober man should be punished—punished, I say. For withholding a pleasure and inflicting a pain are equally punishment.

In truth, these liquor laws are either to make men better who do not want to be made better, or to make men better who have not self-control, and in both cases at the expense of others. ‘You shall not enjoy a glass of beer, because if you can get it, so can I, and I shall make a beast of myself.’ Or, ‘You shall not enjoy one glass of beer, because you take too many.’ Is that just? Is it a warrantable interference? Then see the mischief of such laws. The public conscience does not go with them. It is certain they will be broken. Everyone knows that stealing is wrong; disgrace follows conviction. But everyone knows that drinking a glass of beer is not wrong; no discredit attaches to it. It is done, and when done against the law, you have the usual mischiefs of law-breaking, smuggling, informations, oaths, perjury, shuffling, and lies. Besides, as a matter of fact, it fails.* Nothing can show this more strongly than the failure in Wales of the Sunday Closing Act. Further, what is to be done? Is the sale of drink to be suspended all over the United Kingdom? Impossible. In parts only? Then all the more will be sold elsewhere. On certain days only? Then provision will be made for a store of it, and the drunkard will sit himself at home with no eyes on him to check him. Consider, too, the practical unfairness on men, who, having no cellar, trust to the public-house for what is a reasonable and wholesome enjoyment when not abused.

Can nothing then be done by law to diminish the mischief caused by drink? I say, 'No.' Whether it is desirable to limit the number of drink-shops is a matter as to which I have great doubt and difficulty. But grant that there is the right to forbid it wholly, or partially, in place or time, I say it is a right which should not be exercised. To do so is to interfere with the innocent enjoyment of millions in order to lessen the mischief arising from the folly or evil propensities, not of themselves, but of others. And, further, that such legislation is attended with the mischiefs which always follow from the creation of offences in law which are not so in conscience. Punish the mischievous drunkard—indeed, perhaps, even punish him for being drunk in public, and so a likely source of mischief. Punish, on the same principle, the man who sells drink to the drunken. But go no further. Trust to the good sense and improvement of mankind, and let charity be shown to those who would trust to them rather than to law.

WHY I LEFT RUSSIA.

I.

IN 1870—that is to say, the time when the reactionary policy of the Russian Government had made such progress—I obtained permission to publish at St. Petersburg a scientific review, *Znanie* ('Knowledge'). The programme of the review, sanctioned by the Minister of the Interior, comprised that portion of the natural sciences and anthropology which must include everything bearing upon the study of man and of human society. In an explanatory note presented to the Government with the programme, the future directors of the review declared that their object was not only to popularise natural science, but also to apply the Positivist method to the great domain of sociology, and that all metaphysical theories would be excluded from the review, as not coming within the scope of articles to be founded only on facts supplied by experience and observation. Thus, with certain reservations, the review adopted the philosophy of Auguste Comte, without, however, mentioning that great name—'forbidden' in Russia; Darwin's theory of evolution was to be the basis for the study of social science; and the works of the *savants* who have developed the doctrine of evolution as applied to the phenomena of social life were to predominate in the review *Znanie*.

The solving of a problem of such magnitude and the absence in Russia of popularising scientists (as, for instance, Mr. Grant Allen) imposed upon us the necessity of relying on foreign literature and foreign collaborators. We therefore entered into communication with the scientists of Western Europe who were working along the same lines as our review, and we also made certain overtures to some of our fellow-countrymen who had left Russia on account of the policy of the Government.

Our programme itself was never really comprehended by the Russian Censorship (as subsequent events proved), the Censorship being altogether ignorant of all natural sciences. Our correspondence, secretly read by the Administration, did not supply a single proof of anti-Governmental intentions on our part. None the less, *Znanie* was included among the 'dangerous' publications, and I myself soon acquired the reputation of being a 'dangerous' man hostile to the Government.

Under such circumstances the first number of the review appeared in the month of October 1870. I am not able to judge of the effect of this new publication on the public, but I am able to assert that the Censorship found itself in a complete quandary. The member of the 'Press Department,' M. Veselago, who in conformity with the Russian law exercised supreme control over our review, has not the faintest notion of natural science. He was an ex-naval officer. He had left his ship some twenty years before, subsequently acting as usher at the University of Moscow, where he enjoyed the reputation of a regular martinet, vigorously persecuting any student for the slightest deviation from the ordinary rules. In the first number of the review there appeared an article quite inoffensive, but at the same time popular enough to be understood—after a little effort—even by M. Veselago. This article treated of law and its relations to general culture; of the absolute necessity of reconciling the legal statutes with the constantly growing demand of social life; of the necessity of basing the actual law not only upon the deductions of science, but also upon the facts of practical life, of common law, &c. The Censorship saw in this article disapprobation of the codes of the Empire, and, to begin with, entered it in the 'conduct book' of the review.

A month later, in the next number, besides the articles dealing with natural science—and quite incomprehensible to the censor—there appeared two others: one by Professor Alexander Herten, a son of the celebrated Russian refugee, on 'Free Will'; the other 'On the Contradictions to Science that are found in our Criminal Procedure.' In neither of the two articles were there any attacks upon religion or law; they were nothing but a simple *exposé* of scientific facts and observations, most of them already known to the public. But the Censorship had had enough of it, and a first 'warning' was sent the directors on the ground of the materialist tendencies of the review.

After this warning we had to choose between ceasing the publication of the review or continuing it in the same sense as before, convinced that the struggle, though difficult, was not impossible. We counted upon the fact that the interior policy of the Government is traditionally unsystematic. That which is forbidden on one day will very probably be permitted on the next. This decided us to continue to publish the review.

Here I must interrupt my narrative, in order to explain in a few words the organisation of the Russian Censorship, or the reader to whom this administrative machine is unknown will not be able to understand the details which follow.

The Censorship for all publications is composed of two courts—the Censure Committee and the Press Department. In addition to these two there existed at this period a third division for 'press-censure' organised by the notorious Third Section, where the chief of

the gendarmerie reigned supreme. At present this Third Section has been transformed into a department of the State Police, and consequently the whole Censorship is confined to the Ministry of the Interior. There exists besides these an ecclesiastical censorship for all works touching upon religion, and one of the Ministry of Public Instruction, that deals with all books or periodicals intended for young persons.

Every publication, whether book or periodical, must undergo either 'preliminary' or 'subsequent' censorship. Those subjected to 'preliminary' censorship are dealt with in manuscript, and the printed text must in no wise differ from this corrected manuscript, often cut down wholesale and utterly spoilt by the censor. With regard to publications exempted from this censorship, once printed, they are presented to the Censure Committee, but the permission to set them in circulation is only granted after the expiration of seven days for books and of four days for periodicals, provided that during this period the censor has not entered any objection. This formality, complied with, the book or review passes on to a member of the Press Department, who exercises superior control. If all the censors think the publication of a book or periodical is damaging or disagreeable to the Government, the printed copies are sequestered, or, according to circumstances, other steps taken. In addition to the administrative measures, the Censorship, through the medium of the *procureur*, can summon author or editor before the tribunal and the Administration (the 'Head Police'), and can expel them from the capital or have them deported in order to place these 'disturbers of the peace' under the surveillance of the police. It frequently happens that an author acquitted by the tribunal is deported by virtue of an order from the chief of the gendarmerie. I could cite numbers of cases showing the relations between the Administration and men of letters. But I believe that one little adventure that took place at St. Petersburg will suffice as evidence what law and justice are in Russia where the press is concerned.

One M. Koukol Jasnopolsky was the proprietor of a printing office. One fine morning he received a visit from General Tchebikine, commissioned to examine all printing-stock in the capital. With the account books before him, and not in the least knowing how to set about discovering if the weight of the type corresponded with that in the books, he ordered all the different kinds of type to be mixed up together and weighed. The weight was exactly that stated, but the type broken in the process was useless, and the proprietor of the office put to a considerable loss. The Civil Tribunal condemned the over-energetic general to pay several thousand roubles damages. Here the affair seemed at an end, but the administration feeling outraged by the verdict of the tribunal—which, by the way, was never put into effect—gave an order to have M. Koukol Jasnopolsky de-

ported to Makarieff, a little town in the province of Nijni Novgorod. There he remained several years under police surveillance.

The press and its representatives were under the double control of the Censorship and Head Police. The former dealt with the product, the latter dealt with the producer. This division of labour acquired a quite special interest from the moment that the Government believed the censored press responsible for every protest against its reactionary policy. Since 1870 the revolutionary party had made considerable progress, and the Government, unwilling to see the cause of this progress in their own policy, attributed it to the press, which was, however, entirely in the clutches of the Censorship, and could publish nothing without its knowledge. Every manifestation of the revolutionary party, whether it was an attempt on the life of some functionary or the starting of a secret printing-press, was followed by reprisals directed against the censored press, while no connection really existed between the revolutionary movement and the unhappy press, absolutely despoiled of all independence.

Under such conditions, when the editor of a review of any kind was held responsible for events transpiring at the other end of the empire and the whole press was accused of high treason, I was so *naïf* as to believe in the possibility of publishing an independent journal, having nothing in common with the policy of the Government, nor with the tendencies of other journals. The consequences of this extraordinary *naïveté* soon appeared. On my return from Switzerland, whither I had gone on a visit to my family, in 1872, I was arrested at the frontier, and after being subjected to a strict search, set free. This was evidently a first warning, and my political reputation was established. Two days after, on the very day of my arrival at St. Petersburg, a fresh search was instituted. A few months passed quietly, but, being anxious to make another journey, I was sent for by the Third Section on the same day that I had applied for my passport. The chief of the *bureau*, after a long examination, informed me that this time I should be allowed to set out freely; but he also warned me that a well-conducted man ought not to have interviews with Socialists like Marx, Lawroff, &c. All these little events were but a preface to far graver consequences for myself that appear later on. But I return to the review and to my relations with the Censorship.

It was with the utmost difficulty that I succeeded in publishing the review during two years. In this constant struggle with the Censorship I was reduced to demonstrating the funniest things—for example, that such or such an article contained nothing directed against the Government or religion; that Draper, in writing a history of the conflict between science and religion, had not the Orthodox Greek Church in view, but only Roman Catholicism; that Charles Darwin, in his *Descent of Man*, proved that he was a good Christian; and that when Herbert Spencer, in his study of sociology, said all Governments were bandits,

he was not alluding to the Russian. But with the beginning of the year 1873 the Censorship changed its tactics, and, the 'tendency' of the review not doing any harm, its programme was now assailed. The publication of two or three chapters of Spencer's work were enough to induce the Censorship to declare that the review *Znanie* was no longer in harmony with the programme accepted by the Government. The President, M. Petroff, in the name of the Censorship Committee, informed me that 'anthropology' is only zoology, and that consequently sociology could not be included in it. Thus began endless discussions and misunderstandings. Every event of the nature of an *attentat*, each clandestine publication that troubled the censor, reacted upon the press through the increase of the vexatious interference from the committee. At last, when the revolutionary movement began to really frighten the Government, the entire suspension of journals began. Among others, the review *Znanie* was suspended for six months, without the censor's deigning to give any reasons. The chief of the department, M. Longuinoff, frankly informed the representatives of the press that no laws existed with regard to periodicals, that it was to his personal wishes that they must conform, and that any one daring to protest against this application of the law would be severely dealt with. And this chief was a man of letters who published his critical articles in the review of M. Katkoff and his poems abroad.

The six months ended, I recommenced publishing *Znanie*. At first it seemed as if the situation had improved. Longuinoff was dead, and his post had been given to a professor of the University, a well-known Orientalist—M. Grigorieff. I believed that the new chief was about to establish more normal relations between the press and the Administration, and that publications not touching upon politics would not be held responsible for the events of our social life. Unfortunately I was mistaken, and Grigorieff, as director of the press, turned out to be even worse than Longuinoff. He was a furious Slavophile, who could not stand anything that came from Western Europe. He admitted only the principles of absolute autocracy and the orthodox religion, and was convinced that all ills come to us from abroad. A review like *Znanie*, that gave a considerable portion of its pages to articles sent from abroad, necessarily displeased the new chief; and it was not long before he gave signs of his discontent. Reasons were soon found, although I frankly admit I should not have believed it possible that the Administration would thus wantonly interfere with the press. The editors of *Znanie* published translations of the best scientific works, and, among others, that of a *Journey in Arabia*, by Palgrave. Although the Russian Government has constantly some Oriental 'mission' on hand, our literature cannot boast of any works dealing with Oriental countries; and before the last war we did not even possess any books on the history of the

people we were to deliver from Mussulman despotism. The translation of Palgrave's *Journey* would have passed unnoticed if M. Souvorin, editor of the *Novoe Vremia*, had not, in his journal, 'warned the Government and the public against the ideas expressed by the renowned traveller.' M. Souvorin accused the editors of *Znanie* of sympathising with Mussulmans, as proved by their publication of Palgrave's work. The day after the appearance of this accusation I was invited to call at the Censure department and explain to M. Grigorieff.

In the chief's office I noticed on his table the original of the first edition of Palgrave's work, a French translation (Hachette), the Russian translation, and the accusing journal. M. Grigorieff received me with great coldness, and delivered himself of the following discourse: 'The Russian Government,' he said, 'cannot tolerate sympathy for Mussulmans, and, in publishing the translation of Palgrave, you have placed yourself on the side of its adversaries. How could you dare to publish such a work at a time when the Government is making such immense efforts to awaken hatred for the Turks? I warn you that measures against your person and your review will be taken.' For answer, I confined myself to pointing out a fact unknown to the paper that had denounced me. The denouncing editor had not read the Russian translation, but knew the French one, made from the first English edition, in which Palgrave showed much sympathy with the Moslems. In the new edition Palgrave had changed his opinion, and, as the Russian translation was made from this later edition, it did not contain even a trace of the imputed crime; on the contrary, Palgrave showed such animosity to the Moslems that the Russian Government might have propagated the book itself. Grigorieff, after hearing my explanation, was not satisfied, but remarked that the review was altogether not approved of by the Censorship; that it published articles by foreigners who work along wrong lines; that in adopting the Darwinian theory of evolution it was guilty of a crime, since this theory had not been satisfactorily proved, and meant materialism; and, finally, that I must choose between suspending the publication of *Znanie* or changing its tendencies. This, he said, was the more necessary, in that the review was not edited in conformity with the programme accepted in 1870. This farce was sufficiently familiar to me, and all I could do was to show M. Grigorieff the programme. After reading it, he said, 'You are right; but I would never have passed such a programme.' A few days after this I was again invited to the Censorship Committee, and this time the president told me that the interpretation of the programme by the editors of *Znanie* was not the right one, and that the review was not published in conformity with this programme; that, moreover, a programme changes, or ought to change with changing circumstances, and, circumstances having changed, the review must con-

form to the wishes of the Administration, or, refusing this, be suppressed.

Under such conditions it seemed to me useless to continue the struggle with the censors, the more so that it was only a question of a few months. It was *very* hard to give up the work to which we had devoted seven years of our youth. I still hoped for some change, and that some expedient might be hit upon by which we might satisfy the censors and carry on the review along the old lines.

After much research an expedient was found.

II.

At this period there existed at St. Petersburg a small Liberal paper, *Molva*, founded by M. Gemtchujnikoff with the object of defending and helping to extend the Liberal reforms of the beginning of Alexander the Second's reign. The editor was a rich landed proprietor, with an independent position, therefore able to risk his money.

It would have been a publication inoffensive enough for the Government, if amongst the collaborators there had not been some individuals suspected by the Administration. For two years the Censorship and Head Police waited for an excuse to suppress the paper, and when the nominal editor resigned his position the censors refused to nominate another one in his place. In vain did the proprietor recommend to the Administration co-editors who could not possibly be accused of 'Liberalism.' The Censorship would accept no one, and the chief of this department informed the proprietor of the paper that if perchance the Virgin Mary herself consented to be made responsible editor of a 'Liberal journal, he should not appoint her. After this categorical reply, the editor found himself obliged to look out for a purchaser for his paper, and since he had only some five or six hundred subscribers he was willing to dispose of it for a very small sum. As the programme of this paper was sufficiently complete and well-drawn up, the editors of *Znanie* decided to buy this little weekly, with the object of transforming it into a large monthly. M. Grigorieff, to whom I explained my intentions, gave me a very favourable answer, saying it was always better for the Government to have one unpleasant publication on its hands than two. Some days later my colleague and I received permission to publish a large review, *Slovo*, and we put an end to *Znanie* and the *Molva*. In combining the scientific review, *Znanie*, with a political journal, and thus making one large journal, dealing with both literature and politics, our aim still was to retain the Positivist basis of our programme, and to treat all that bore on social and political life objectively and impartially.

The Censorship and the Head Police were not ignorant of the fact that the editorial work of the review *Slovo* was divided between M.

K. and myself, and that everything that concerned social life and current topics (home and foreign politics, correspondence, &c.) was in my hands.

One of the objects of the review was to provide an opening for young men of talent and to our youthful literary forces. I therefore addressed myself especially to young people, and experience proved that I had not made a mistake. Among our young co-workers we found many writers whose incontestable talent was recognised and valued by the whole Russian public. Now, socialist and revolutionary ideas are—as everyone knows—widely spread among the Russian *jeunesse*, and consequently it was but natural that among these young writers there should be some Socialists and Revolutionists. But after I had come to know them personally, when I was told that one or the other was an enemy of the Government, this seemed certainly no reason for rejecting his articles, still less for denouncing him to the police. The police, however, got wind of this. After the appearance of the first number of the review the Censorship questioned me as to the names of the authors of certain articles, and not receiving any answer, denounced me to the Head Police, which was good enough to declare that the writers for *Slovo* were actual or prospective convicts. Nevertheless the Censorship could find nothing in the review that would authorise special ‘measures,’ although the ideas and tendencies of all the articles were clear and definite enough. As the programme question no longer existed, it was difficult for the Censorship to find anything subversive in the articles, in which neither the constitution nor the teaching of Greek and Latin was discussed.¹ But this calm did not last long, and the celebrated trial of Vera Zasoulitch was the signal of fresh misunderstandings between the editors and censors. It will be remembered that at the trial a number of the *Golos* was quoted, in which the story of the punishment of Bogoluboff by General Trepoff was told. This story was reprinted by the other journals, but not one of them uttered a word in condemnation of the General. But when Vera Zasoulitch was acquitted by the jury, then all the papers of a Liberal tint cried out against the police administration in general, and against Trepoff in particular. The review *Slovo*, in its account of this trial, reproached the press with its cowardice at the time when the ill-usage of Bogoluboff had made the deepest impression, and with having waited for the verdict of a tribunal before daring to state a fact as simple as that two and two make four. The day after the review had been deposited with the censors, I was invited to an interview with the President of the Committee. He told me plainly that the account of the trial in *Slovo* was an indirect incitement to the press to express disapproval of the agents of the Administration, that articles of this sort could not be tolerated, and that the censors felt obliged to suppress the article. At the same

¹ The allusion here is to the Government crusade against University reformers.

time, I was informed that the Government could not be indifferent to the fact that among the writers to the review were many suspects, since by paying salaries to revolutionists we indirectly supported subversive tendencies, and provided a livelihood for persons who had nothing in common with *bourgeois* society. At the end of our interview the president gave me a piece of advice, to the effect that the editors must break off all connection with persons unknown to the Censorship; the more so, added this functionary, that the review could make no profit out of authors who could not sign their articles. Some days later on, I was sent for by the Third Section (Head Police) to give evidence as an eye-witness of the supposed suicide of the student Sidorazky during the demonstration after the trial of Vera Zasoulitch. I was a few steps from the spot where Sidorazky fell dead, and I distinctly saw a policeman place a revolver by the side of the student. The police were anxious to prove that Sidorazky had committed suicide, but everyone was convinced this young man had been killed by the gendarmes. I could affirm neither the one nor the other statement, but I had no desire to hide what I had seen with my own eyes, and my deposition, as well as the evidence of a *littérateur*, M. de Roberti, produced a very unfavourable impression with regard to the gendarmes. Still I was again left unmolested.

All these events occurred in the spring. After passing the summer away from the capital, I returned to St. Petersburg in the month of September, when I observed that my relations with the police had changed, and had assumed a very strained nature.

In the month of October 1878 I requested the Administration to authorise me to publish a monthly scientific international review. My request, at the advice of the chief of gendarmerie, was refused. In the town a rumour became current that the review *Slovo* was about to be suppressed, whereupon our sleeping partner, M. Sibiriaikoff (who provided the necessary funds for the review), called upon the chief of gendarmerie, General Drenteln, to ask for some explanation. General Drenteln without any ado simply declared that if I were retained as editor the review would be entirely suppressed. 'I cannot allow,' he said, 'articles by political refugees to be published in Russia; and as to you yourself, I advise you to withdraw your money from the concern.' It was clear that the fate of *Slovo* was sealed, but my own fate was not yet decided upon. In spite of all efforts I succeeded in getting only the vaguest information as to the intentions of the police, but although I had no doubt that I was now looked upon as a suspect I took no notice of the matter. There were at this time so many suspects; and moreover I believed my social position would ensure me from the abuse of the Administration. Alas! my optimism was ill founded.

At the end of November I met at the theatre a member of the *procuration*, who during the *entracte* advised me to leave the capital immediately, if possible—even to go abroad for a year or two. He

insisted on my not staying at St. Petersburg more than two or three days, and that I should be gone by the 1st of December.

After realizing my effects, after breaking suddenly with all that for so many years had been so dear to me, I left St. Petersburg on the 1st of December, 1878, for Moscow.

III.

The choice of Moscow for my new home was not a chance one. Besides relatives, I knew I should easily find old friends and colleagues of the University there. On reaching a new town it was necessary to take up some new profession, since the literary one had become impossible for me. I therefore decided to join the Moscow bar, and I did this the more readily that its Council was at this time composed of intellectual, high-thinking men. I did not expect a large practice, and the hope of returning ere long to St. Petersburg never left me; but in Russia a man must have some sort of social position if he does not want to be classed among the suspects, and I felt sure that the title of barrister would save me much unpleasantness. Those of my friends whom I found at Moscow were all men in good positions, who could not possibly compromise me in the eyes of the Administration. All seemed to promise that I might quietly wait for some political change; and though I had been deprived of my literary occupations, I found some compensation in passing my time with the best society of Moscow. Thus the year 1879 began for me without any apparent need to trouble as to the future, and I could never have supposed that ere long I was to be torn from these peaceful surroundings, my whole life for many years ruined.

But before I go on with my story I owe the reader certain explanations. It was precisely at this period—1879—that there began in Russia so-called terrorism. Several police agents were killed in the provinces, and the chief of gendarmes at St. Petersburg. The Government pursued their usual system of reprisals. They multiplied the number of arrests, house-searches, &c.; the most harmless people left the capitals, for fear of being denounced and of ending their days in some village of Eastern Siberia.

Such was the state of Russia when I settled down at Moscow. Just then the Government had in their service a police spy, Reinstein. I never either saw or knew this Reinstein, but he denounced me and my wife for coming to Moscow with the intention of constituting an executive central committee of the revolutionary party, and with having enticed several young people into the affair! This denunciation was naturally well received by the Head Police, and the ordinary measures were taken.

In the night of the 6th to the 7th of March, 1879, our little lodg-

ings were invaded by a large number of gendarmes and police, for the purpose of minutely searching the premises. The chief of the band told me ours was no exceptional case; on that same night over a hundred *perquisitions* were being made at Moscow. The search in our rooms began at 2 A.M. and ended at 8 A.M. The agents seized all our papers and some books which they believed were suspicious or prohibited; they affixed seals to all the papers, and, this operation concluded, we were invited to follow the agents. Evidently we were arrested. Outside the house we noticed sledges waiting for us, and, escorted by the agents, we were led off to prison—that is, to one of the dungeons constructed in all parts of the town. I will not attempt to describe these provisional prisons where political suspects are confined. I remained there a few hours only, and possibly my observations may be superficial, but I cannot refrain from stating that the cells of the prisoners in no wise resemble what one usually calls a room. They are rather holes without light or air, pervaded with the stench of the closets that are never ventilated. At 11 A.M. on the same day a gendarme came to tell me I was expected at the *bureau* of the local gendarmerie to undergo an examination. My wife, too, was there. At the *bureau* the officer of gendarmerie, after putting several questions as to my age, religion, &c., began his *serious* examination, which consisted of questions not only useless, but absolutely incomprehensible. The first question was, ‘Did the assassination of General Mesentzoff (the chief of gendarmes) appeal to my sympathy?’ ‘What were my opinions of recent events?’ ‘Are you interested in Socialists?’ &c. &c. Not a question as to any actual fact that might refer to the crime of which they seemed to accuse me. And in putting these questions the officer had warned me that even if I denied everything I should not be believed. The gendarmerie, he said, attached no importance to an examination which was a simple formality. Afterwards the parcel containing all my papers, which had been sealed in my presence, was opened. The seals were intact, but on examining the contents of the parcel I noticed that a private letter which I received from the son of the general of gendarmerie, Sleskine, was missing. Clearly the seals had been violated during my incarceration and this letter stolen.

The parcel contained nothing suspicious, but where there’s a will there’s a way. The gendarme chose among my papers an extract from Studnitz’s book, *Nordamerikanische Arbeiterverhältnisse*. This book was authorised by the Russian Censorship, and I frequently used it in my studies of the economical conditions of America. After reading my extract, the captain of gendarmerie told me it was not copied from Studnitz (whom he did not even know by name), but was certainly the programme of the secret society founded at St. Petersburg under the title of ‘Association of Workers of the North.’ All my assurances that the document in question was an extract from

Studnitz did not make the slightest impression on the gendarme, and, the examination over, he asked us to pledge ourselves not to leave Moscow till our affair was concluded. Several months passed, and we learnt nothing concerning this affair. Although convinced that the Administration could discover nothing to support a charge of political crime, we could not be at ease. Our daily experience of what was done to others, the knowledge that any formalities would be only a pretext for inflicting some punishment upon us, then the terrible extract from Studnitz—all this was enough to make us doubtful about our fate. I tried to discover through friends at St. Petersburg when we should receive permission to leave Moscow; but no one could give us any information, our *dossier* being in the hands of the chief of gendarmes. And as it was at this very time that the revolutionists killed the police spy Reinstein, of whom I have spoken, our affair got mixed up with the assassination of this individual. We remained in our uncertainty till the month of June, when the Government at last came to a decision regarding my wife and myself.

One fine morning, a commissary of police arrested me in the street, and took me off to the Prefect. General Kosloff told me flatly that the Head Police had just decided our fate, and that we were to be deported to the North of Russia, to the government of Archangel, where we were to be placed under surveillance of the local police. According to law—or, to speak more correctly, the rule sanctioned by the gendarmerie—we should have been imprisoned at once, but General Kosloff gave us permission to await our deportation in the house of our parents, guarded by police agents.

In an hour we were prisoners, though, thanks to M. Kosloff, our captivity was not a very hard one. My mother-in-law made many efforts to induce the Administration to change our place of banishment for one with a milder climate. But despite her appeals, despite the petition of the Governor-General of Moscow, Prince Dolgoroukoff, despite my wife's state of health, the chief of gendarmes refused to make any concession. A lady of our acquaintance belonging to the highest aristocracy, Princess —, called upon General Drenteln to ask him the real reason of our misfortune. She was rudely received, and after a short conversation was told we should not only be banished to Archangel, but that we should spend the rest of our days in Siberia. It was clear we had nothing to hope for, and that we must prepare for a long journey. On the 24th of September, in the middle of autumn, I, my wife, and our little girl, set out escorted by two guards.

The journey from Moscow to Archangel is of little interest. As far as Wologdo we were sent by rail, and then we had to continue our journey, over a distance of 850 kilometres, in an ordinary carriage, along roads destroyed by the autumn rains. It was impossible to obtain a carriage with springs, or, even had this

been possible, to have used it, as the postal stations could not have provided us with the necessary horses for a heavy coach. We had therefore to content ourselves with the kind of carriage called *tarantasse*, which, being springless, is tolerably suited to the Russian post-roads. How such a journey is managed in Russia may be gathered from the fact that it took us twelve days to traverse 850 kilomètres.

Our journey was a sad and dreary one. For twelve days we only once were able to converse with anyone besides our guard. This was at the town of Welsk, and while waiting for a change of horses we wished to buy some provisions for our journey. To this town the Government had sent some young people, suspects, who, hearing of our arrival, came to offer us money, winter clothing, provisions, &c. Our feelings on seeing these young people, who were anxious to share all their possessions with us, will easily be understood. Our conversation was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of a commissary of police, who declared that intercourse between prisoners being deported and those already domiciled were forbidden. This commissary was, however, a young man, not entirely corrupted, and finally he himself remained and joined in our talk. After an hour had passed he again said our new friends must leave us, as if we stayed longer he would be denounced by the gendarmes and lose his place. We had to submit, and soon we proceeded on our journey. In two days we found ourselves in the depth of winter. The snow was so deep we could not get along in our *tarantasse*, and we were obliged to make it into a sledge by removing the wheels and using a shaft. At last, on the 9th of October, 1879, we reached Archangel, and were taken straight to the Prefecture of Police. The soldiers of our escort handed us over, together with the papers, to the chief of police, who returned them a receipt, and from this moment we were real *déportés* absolutely dependent upon the Administration of Archangel.

The chief of police had known me at St. Petersburg, and this was why he received us graciously, and at once proceeded to the Governor's to inquire what we were to expect in the future. Having no idea of the life of political exiles, it seemed to us better to stay at Archangel than to be transported to some other small town. Here at least were libraries, clubs, a theatre, &c.; in fine, there were some means of satisfying the wants of a civilised man, while in the small towns there was nothing but the police. The chief of police returned in about an hour and announced that the Governor authorised us to remain provisionally at Archangel, but that we should probably before long be posted to another town. This seemed to us a very favourable decision, and the next day we hired apartments, quite reconciled to spending the winter at Archangel. But we soon lost all our illusions as to life in a town where a Governor resides, and the peaceful life which we believed at hand was still far off.

But my readers must now learn something about the life of a political exile in Russia. This will be the more interesting, that the persons concerned have committed no crime or misdemeanour, and have never been tried by any tribunal, or, in the exceptional cases where they have been tried, have been acquitted.

Deportation to towns far removed from the capital and subjection there to police surveillance have long been in vogue with the Russian Administration, but their arbitrary measures never assumed such proportions as of late years. It is impossible to enumerate the various reasons for which one may be deported without trial, since it depends entirely on the chief of the Head Police. It has been maintained that administrative banishment has only been resorted to when the Government was convinced an individual was 'dangerous' but could not bring forward sufficient evidence of the fact for a law court. But this is not the fact. Innumerable cases might be given when an individual acquitted by a tribunal composed of judges appointed by the Government has, all the same, been banished. A single fact will suffice to show that the arbitrary power of the Administration knows no limits. M. A. Olchin, a member of the St. Petersburg bar, was accused of making socialist propaganda and deported to a small town in the North of Russia. Shortly after the Government believed themselves provided with sufficiently good evidence to put the barrister on his trial; he was taken back to St. Petersburg and thrown into prison. M. Olchin was tried and acquitted by the tribunal for lack of evidence against him. None the less the Government again deported him—and this time to a small town still further from the capital. But one opinion therefore is correct—namely, that the Russian Government deports all who are obnoxious to them. Again, it frequently happens that some one commits some political misdemeanour, and that evidence of his fault is to hand—as for example when the police discover in some person's house forbidden books. But it is pretty certain this person will not be tried, but be simply deported by administrative order. Should the accused complain of this arbitrary usage, he would be told that the Government could not put anyone on his trial for possessing prohibited books, as they would be obliged to try three-fourths of intellectual Russia. But whatever the reason for these extraordinary measures, the result is always equally terrible. A mere suspicion, the denunciation of a police agent, suffice to rob one of freedom, of social position, even of one's family, to have one sent to far-off lands to begin life anew under the tutelage of the police.

I have already said that a *déporté* loses all independence from the moment that he is handed over to the local police. According to regulation the Governor distributes the deported among the towns in his department. In each of these little towns the chief of the district reigns supreme, and the exiles are at his mercy. Any sort of occupation, every kind of work, even commercial, is forbidden to political

exiles, and at the same time they are not allowed to go beyond the boundaries of the town. Those who have no means of subsistence are allowed five to eight roubles a month. All correspondence with relatives or friends must be submitted to the police, and should a *déporté* dare to post a letter not previously read by the chief of the district, he would be punished by arrest. Two or three times a week exiles are obliged to present themselves at the police office to write their signatures in a special book. Besides this, in order to prevent escapes, the police daily come to their houses. The chief of the district has the right to imprison an exile without assigning any reason for so doing. In certain definite terms the chief of the district states his opinion as to the conduct of the political exiles to the Governor, and on this report depends their destiny.

How much of tyranny, of lying, of pettiness there must be in such a report will easily be understood. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the Russian police presents all the vices of ill-paid functionaries recruited from the lowest classes of society. Their reputation is so well known that no honest man who respects himself would ever accept any place whatsoever in the police. And it is these speculators who freely dispose of the fate of thousands of the most educated and intellectual members of society. A man or woman may remain for years in this position, deprived of all civil rights, subject to insult from policemen, suffer cold and hunger, while conscious of having committed no crime, of owing all the privations endured to the caprice of some Government functionary.

The beginning of our sojourn at Archangel was inaugurated by many unfavourable signs. Having hired rooms, I needed certain necessary articles, and went to the public market to get them. Here, among other things, some plants were for sale, and I inquired about their price. They were too dear for me and I did not buy them, but the next day I was honoured with a visit from the Prefect of Police, who said my conduct at Archangel was very strange, that I was sowing trouble in the town, and that I must be more careful when I felt inclined to purchase plants, especially, he added, as I could make my purchases through the police agents. This was a first warning. I soon had a second. Having made myself acquainted with the regulations concerning exiles, and seeing the Government prohibited every kind of public employment, it occurred to me to try the work of agent for a large fire insurance company, 'Jakor,' that I had engaged to undertake on leaving Moscow. The directors of this company had given me the commission to procure them an accurate and minute plan of the town of Archangel, which was indispensable to them for their insurances. The best plan, recently drawn, was at the *Mairie*, and I decided to apply to the mayor for permission to make and copy it. But instead of granting me the permission the mayor informed me that I must send him a written demand stating my reasons for

making it. This I did at once. A few days after I was sent for by the Governor. He began a long cross-examination about the plan, and after a long *exposé* of his opinion of plans in general, and the Archangel plan in particular, he remarked that since my arrival I had done nothing but perturb the town, that my application to the mayor was suspicious, and that my plan was thought to be wanted not for an insurance company, but for those who wished to blow up the town. At the end of our interview he took a tiny plan hanging on the wall and gave it me to copy. I remarked that it was useless, and that almost half the town was missing; but the Governor answered that it was quite good enough for me. I then thought the plan incident done with; but I was mistaken. A few days after I had another interview with the Prefect, and from the mayor I received a long letter, in answer to my request, in which he positively refused to authorise my copying a plan belonging to the municipality.

Thus two offences were laid to my charge. It was evident that if I persevered in such behaviour my lot would never improve. I had no acquaintances at Archangel, and I feared to take part in the affairs of the town. My life was so monotonous that when the Governor informed me I could not stay at Archangel, and that we were to be deported to a small town, I felt no regret: it seemed only a continuation of our journey. On the 14th of December, after a sojourn of two months at Archangel, we were sent on to Kholmogory. Before my departure I was glad to learn the contents of one of the documents sent by the Head Police to the Governor, and which was our indictment. I am able to reproduce this document almost literally: 'The Department of Gendarmerie of Moscow has accused Goldsmith and his wife of coming to Moscow with the intention of their forming a revolutionary central executive committee. After a most careful domiciliary visit, and an examination conducted with the object of obtaining evidence, the accusation brought against the persons above mentioned was found groundless (void of foundation), and consequently the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Gendarmerie decree that Goldsmith and his wife be deported to the government of Archangel, and there kept under police surveillance.'² It would be difficult to surpass logic like this!

IV.

Kholmogory is a small town on the banks of a tributary of the Swernaja Dwina. It numbers only 1,074 inhabitants, most of them peasants. There are half a dozen officers of the administration and

² That English readers may not suppose this Dogberrian decree a fortuitous and unique one, some explanation of what is comprehensible enough to every Russian is necessary. The accusations brought against Mr. Goldsmith and his wife were

police, and one hundred garrison soldiers kept there specially to look after the fifty political exiles.

Most of these exiles were young men expelled the universities on political grounds, but there were also representatives of various professions. There was a *juge de paix*, a non-commissioned officer of the Imperial Guards, a khan of Kokan, a Montenegrin, several Circassians exiled from the Caucasus for rebelling against the authorities, a doctor and a number of workmen, an apothecary, and even a coachman from the Imperial stables, banished for having when drunk cursed the name of the Emperor.

The material position of the political exiles is deplorable. The majority have no other means of subsistence than the sum allowed by the Government—five to eight roubles a month. Every sort of productive work being prohibited, the exiles, to save themselves from absolute starvation, form into small communes of from ten to twelve persons. This commune hires a house, and has a common table with the simplest food, and only by this means can the merest necessities be supplied. During my stay at Kholmogory, the chief of the district authorised the political exiles to occupy themselves with shoemaking, and one of the communes started a workshop. Another commune was allowed to take up hay-making. But the Ignatieff regulation has severely forbidden the political exiles to do anything but loaf about the streets. An exception is made in favour of the Circassians, who are allowed to shoot the stray dogs about the place. As to literary work, it is not even thought of; it is absolutely impossible, seeing that every line written must be submitted to the police, and articles for newspapers must, in addition, be passed by the local Governor and the Censorship Committee of St. Petersburg. Nevertheless, even in these wretched conditions, the mutual relations of the deported exhibited the typical Russian character. Without other means than the small sum allowed by the Government, the deported have organised a society for the help of the poorest amongst them, a small library containing the best periodicals, a store for winter clothing, and everyone whose cruel fate it is to be under these miserable conditions may count on moral and material support.

The state of my wife's health now forced me to make a request to be deported to some less severe climate. The doctor of the district gave me the necessary certificate, and this document, together with the report of the chief of the district, was sent to St. Petersburg. The attempt to blow up the Winter Palace, the nomination of Loris Melikoff as dictator, the expectation of some political changes, all

found to be groundless. Therefore they could not be tried by any tribunal, nor condemned to any severe punishment; still they were suspects, who had given some cause for the charges made, and were sent to Archangel. Cases like this are of everyday occurrence.

this had made us forget our plan for leaving Kholmogory. Great was our surprise, therefore, when we learnt that, by order of the Ministry, we were to be transported to Bougouruslane, a small town in the department of Samara, situated in the steppes on the frontier of Orenburg. We were to make the voyage by steamer, and therefore had to wait till the ice in the rivers had broken up, and it was not till the month of May that we could leave Kholmogory.* On the 5th of that month the whole colony of exiles gathered on the quay to bid us farewell. Glad as we were to leave Kholmogory, it was with deep regret that we parted from those who had shared our joys and sorrows, and who during the whole of our sojourn had shown us the sincerest friendship. Our boat started, and soon we could only distinguish the distant waving of handkerchiefs, and then, forgetting all there had been of sorrow and pain, we remembered only how much there had been of good.

In two weeks we reached Moscow. Though expressly forbidden to stop anywhere till we reached our destination, I left my wife at Moscow, and myself proceeded to St. Petersburg. Here the Loris Melikoff Supreme Commission that was to inquire into all cases of political crime was already at work. Thanks to friends, I obtained an audience of Loris Melikoff, who, after listening attentively to my demand for complete deliverance from police surveillance, promised to study our *dossier*. At this time the notorious Third Section was still in existence, but had been deprived of its head and of its resources by Loris Melikoff, and was reduced to an ordinary inquiry office, where any information concerning 'suspects' and the revolutionary movement was obtainable. In a few days Melikoff informed me that no details concerning our banishment had been found among the documents of the Third Section, that he was not able to tell me anything further as to my case, but that he would do his best to have my lot ameliorated. After some weeks of waiting, I learnt that the Commission had changed the place of our exile, and that instead of Bougouruslane we were to be sent to the chief town of the department Samara. Assuredly this was an improvement, but, as we had not been enfranchised from police surveillance, I again appealed, and at last received permission to choose for myself our place of banishment. The Commission excepted only the choice of a capital, and absolutely forbade me the Crimea.³

Thus I was freed from the tutelage of the police, and that was the chief thing. I decided upon going to Podolia, the country where I had spent my childhood, and which, thanks to its excellent climate, seemed the best place for awaiting a complete amnesty.

* The Czar Alexander the Second usually spent the autumn months at Talta, hence the Administration was anxious to keep the district free from 'malcontents.'

V.

The conditions of social life in the south-west of Russia are so unfavourable to the population that it is impossible to approve of the policy which, having for object the suppression of the Polish nationality, demoralises and ruins the labouring classes. The profession of a lawyer who is willing to plead only for honest clients is especially threatened. I reached Kamienietz-Podolsk during the interregnum, or rather the 'humane dictatorship,' of Loris Melikoff, and therefore perceived no animosity on the part of the local Administration. The functionaries had become 'Liberals,' and a *ci-devant* political exile was, in the beginning, well received by them. This was very much to me, and I was able to decide on the side I should take in the pending struggles. After analysing the curious conditions of life here, I unhesitatingly took sides with the peasants; I used my position at the bar to plead their cause whenever attempts to exploit them were made. My large connection, the successes I achieved, convinced me I was doing right, and, seeing no obstacles to it, I went on with my work in this direction. But the death of Alexander the Second changed all this, and my position as a barrister and quondam exile became less pleasant. It was easy to foresee that the 'Liberals' of Loris Melikoff's reign would do their best to rid themselves of a man whose principles were so incompatible with the new reactionary era inaugurated by the Ignatieffs and the Tolstoïs. An excuse was soon found. A student of the Gymnase, M. Fougalevitch, who was in his last year, and who in a few months would have completed his studies, was expelled by the inspector, M. Petr, for not wearing the regulation *havresac*. I must add that the young fellow was very poor, and by his labour supported an aged mother and a sister. The inspector, on announcing this Draconian decision, made use of some most insulting language, and then, excited by such an act of injustice, seeing himself and his family deprived of all means of subsistence, angered by the insults of the inspector, Fougalevitch violently struck him. And now an altogether incomprehensible thing occurred. The Government, instead of banishing the culprit 'administratively,' decided to have him legally tried. While the case was pending I became security for the young student. At the same time, knowing his family was entirely without resources, I proposed to my colleagues and to the magistrates to make a collection for the benefit of Fougalevitch's mother. This was done, and about forty roubles were at once handed over to her. This was the last straw. The Administration saw they had made a mistake, and that they must repair it by doing everything in their power to prevent the affair from coming before the tribunal. The inspector made a report to the curator, in which he pointed out the

blow he had received was not an ordinary blow, but a political blow; that the tribunal of Kamienietz-Podolsk that was to try the case could not do so impartially, since several of its judges had taken part in a collection for the benefit of the mother of the accused; and that consequently the Government would do well to conclude the matter by 'administrative' (i.e. arbitrary) means. The curator submitted the report to the Minister, and the Minister to the Emperor, who at once ordered the Minister of Justice to inquire into this serious plot against the Minister of Public Instruction. A magistrate of the Odessa Court of Appeal was at once despatched to Kamienietz-Podolsk to institute an inquiry. This inquiry over, the Senate of the University, on the strength of the inspector's report, and in conformity with the wish of the Minister of Public Instruction, had the student tried by another tribunal in the town of Lutsk. He was all the same acquitted by the jury, but the consequences of this verdict were disastrous to him; the Administration prohibited him from continuing his studies in any school of the Russian Empire.

This affair was also to greatly influence my own fate. The indictment of Fougalevitch ready, I was entrusted by the court with his defence. The inspector and the local Administration sent a report to the Governor-General, in which they pointed out that the defence of a young man by a *ci-devant* political exile clearly proved the crime to have been committed at the instigation of the revolutionary party, and that the trial soon to take place was of a political character, and should be tried conformably with the measures usual in cases of political crime—that is, by court-martial.

Once begun, such denunciations went on uninterruptedly. I was even accused of having manufactured dynamite in my lodgings. The consequences of these accusations manifested themselves in the constant secret inquiries and police espionage to which I was subjected during the rest of my stay here, and when in the summer of 1883 I wished to go abroad I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a passport.

Before crossing the frontier I was to spend a few days at Odessa, but the day after my departure I received a telegram to the effect that the police were making an inquiry as to the object of my journey abroad. Knowing well that many who in my position had risked such a journey had been arrested at the frontier, thrown into prison, and exiled to Siberia, I decided to go back at once to Kamienietz-Podolsk.

The autumn and winter of 1883 passed tranquilly enough, but for constant denunciations and the continual presence of spies near my house. In the spring of last year I determined to remove to Odessa, but my project was never carried out. On the 3rd of May, 1884, the police came to search my lodgings, and to tell me at the same time that my wife and I were to be subject to an examination.

In Russia there are several forms of procedure in the *instruction* of political crimes. In our case the Administration adopted the mixed procedure—that is to say, the case was to be conducted by the gendarmes and by the *procureur*. At the outset of our examination the colonel of gendarmerie told us we were accused of belonging to a secret society whose aim was the overthrow of the Government, and of distributing the proclamations of the socialist revolutionary party. The penalty inflicted by the Penal Code for these crimes is a trifle—only loss of all civil rights and *hard labour* for fifteen years. As to the proofs of our guilt, they were very convincing. On the 1st of April, 1883, at Kamienietz-Podolsk the Socialists had distributed certain proclamations, and on the 31st of March I had been with my wife to Kiev, where these proclamations were printed; one of the prisoners arrested for this affair had heard from another accused person that the proclamations had been given him by my wife, and above all a student of the University of Kiev, whom we did not even know by name, mentioned my wife's name in a letter written to a friend. We only found out all this evidence against us when the preparation of the case was already finished, a month after the search of our rooms. According to custom and to regulation the evidence brought against an accused person is only communicated to him in very general terms. For instance, he is told there are witnesses against him, but what is the nature of the evidence or who the witnesses are is kept secret. After our interrogatory we were placed under police surveillance, and forbidden to leave the town.

The house search and the inquiry had made our position very disagreeable. Clients would not come to a barrister accused of high treason, especially as to do so would be dangerous. The uncertainty as to what each day might bring us, my experience of the past, all that went on around us decided me to wind up all my business affairs as quickly as possible and to make my provision for the future. But the gendarmes would not leave us in peace. On the 30th of May the gendarme and *procureur* informed me that I must deposit a security of 6,000 roubles for myself and my wife, and that if this were not paid in at once we should be thrown into prison. Not having so large a sum ready to hand, I requested a few hours' grace, but this the functionaries refused, and it was only through the help of relatives and colleagues that we were not there and then arrested.

It was well known to the authorities that I am not a rich man, and they had supposed I should be unable to pay down such a heavy sum. Finding they had miscalculated, they conceived a new plan. On the 30th of May I heard from a secret but sure source that in two or three days we were to be arrested and imprisoned for good. We had no wish to thus gratify our persecutors, and so on the 3rd of June we left Russia. In a week we had escaped to Geneva.

My story is ended. The reader has seen that for fourteen years my life has been a turbulent one. He has seen, too, what were the 'crimes' that made it such. I need not add that I am but one example among many hundreds, and I leave it to my readers to say what the Government of a country must be where such acts as I have described are not only possible but of daily occurrence.

ISIDOR GOLDSMITH

THE 'GREAT WALL' OF INDIA.

It would be of great advantage to England if at the present moment the idea could be removed from the minds of the English people that Herat is in any way the key of India. Some thirty years ago, very many of those who were then considered to be experts on Central Asian politics believed it to be so, but in later years a better knowledge of its real position and value has been gained, and it is now known that if an invasion of India is ever contemplated by a foreign power, there are other and better roads leading towards the Indian frontier than that *viâ* Herat; nevertheless for many reasons it would be a valuable acquisition, and that Russia will occupy this position at some no very distant date, there can I think be little doubt; and the almost certainty of her doing so will, I hope, compel the people of England to turn their serious attention to the strengthening of the natural frontier of India, which has already been commenced, and which may be made, I believe, absolutely impregnable.

I trust, therefore, that all efforts will now be concentrated on this object, and that wild and impracticable schemes for attempting to turn Russia out of Herat, or of taking possession of it ourselves, will be put on one side for ever; such schemes can only lead to enormous expenditure both of treasure and life, and to no practical results.

Let us examine our present Indian frontier, which commences to the south, on the Indian Ocean near the seaport of Kurrachee, and ends on the north at Peshawer. Along this whole length, a distance of some 750 miles, runs the Suliman range of mountains, varying in height and ruggedness and pierced by many passes, the two main ones being the Bolan and the Kyber, and joining the Himalayan ranges north of Peshawer. To the east, along the foot of these mountains, nearly for their whole length, runs a strip of desert, then comes a fringe of cultivation, then the river Indus, unfordable at any point from its mouths to beyond Peshawer, which it passes at Attock—to the west of this range, marking the Indian frontier, between the Kyber and the Bolan passes, lies Afghanistan, with which country and the character of its inhabitants we are already too well acquainted, and we may here call to mind the remark of the Great Duke of Wellington, that it was a country in which 'a small army would be annihilated, and a large one starved.'

The above gives an outline of the physical aspect of our Indian frontier; the question now is, How can India be rendered secure from attack by the defence of such a frontier?

In the year 1855 the late General John Jacob remarked in a letter to the writer of this paper as follows:—

It seems to me that, if arrangements for the permanent defence of our North-West frontier be not speedily applied and manfully carried out, they will have caused the loss of our Indian Empire within the next generation of men.

He soon after proposed to the then Government of India that Quettah, commanding the approach to the northern entrance of the Bolan Pass, situated in Beloochistan, should be occupied and fortified by us, as we had a right to do under the terms of a treaty with the ruler of the country. Jacob's views were disregarded, and nothing was done towards carrying them out before he died in 1859, at which time he was still urging his warnings on the Government of India.

In 1866, his successor in command of the Sind frontier again, on the plea of having maturely considered the injurious effects which were being caused along our frontier and in India itself by the continued advance of Russia, was of decided opinion that

it was absolutely necessary that a position should be occupied in advance of our existing line of frontier, not so much with a view of attempting to stop the actual Russian advance, which would require a much greater effort, but with a view of being prepared to meet her with advantage on our side under any circumstances that might occur at some future time;

at the same time again urging upon the Indian Government the advisability of occupying Quettah; but his views met with the same treatment as had been given to those of his predecessor, and the most formidable minutes were formulated from the Council Board at Calcutta against the proposal, one of its most distinguished members closing his remarks as follows:—

Neither the people nor the country have altered since 1838, and anyone who knows Afghanistan will not hastily or partially compromise troops in that country or in Beloochistan without an adequate motive and on purely restless and visionary anticipations, which have in one case been signally falsified, and will in all probability be the same in the present instance.

I may here mention that there had never been any question of occupying any point whatever in Afghanistan. It was not until 1876 that the Government of India began to think that the ideas of General Jacob and his successor were not 'visionary anticipations,' and Quettah was occupied, and now represents what General Jacob called the 'bastion of the front attacked,' and which should be made by our engineer officers as strong and secure from attack as science can effect. Running south from Quettah, of which it forms a part, is the plateau of Beloochistan, varying in elevation for a distance of 200 miles from Quettah to Kozdar, of from 4,000 to 6,800 feet above the

sea level, and connected with British territory by comparatively easy passes in friendly hands; along this plateau we might locate our European soldiers, in a salubrious climate, ready at a very short notice to concentrate at Quettah, which station would be by rail within forty-eight hours of the seaport of Kurrachee, and within three weeks from London itself. This position would constitute our left flank defence, as no army of any serious dimensions could march towards India through the deserts of Mekran lying west of Beloochistan and extending to the Indian Ocean. We should now have to provide for the defence of the remaining 400 miles of the Punjab frontier between Mithencote and Peshawer, running along the foot of the Suliman range of mountains. On this line we ought, I think, to construct strong defensive works to command the debouchures of the numerous passes. Mithencote, Dehra Gaze Khan, Dehra Ishmael Khan, Bunnoo, Kohat, and Peshawer, the latter commanding the exits from the Kyber Pass, would probably be some of the points selected; behind this line we have the Indus river, nowhere fordable, and which in summer is very broad and rapid—in some parts during that season it has a width of from four to five miles. This splendid river might be patrolled by any number of iron gun and torpedo boats. Peshawer would form our right flank defence; and here, in addition to a fortress, we might construct a strongly intrenched camp, and with the railroad which has already reached to this point we should have the vast resources of Northern India at our command to meet any army debouching from the Kyber, while from the other extremity at Quettah we could draw *via* Kurrachee on the resources not only of India, but from England direct; in fact, we should have close at our backs all the material and resources which England and India could supply, and in addition those of our colonies. Under such favourable circumstances, I think we have only to remain cool, husband our vast strength, and in case of war let Russia do her worst. Now let us analyse the position of that Empire supposing she possessed herself of Herat.

We certainly hear much of the power of that valley to maintain and supply an army for aggressive operations, but can its means of doing so compare in any way with those at the disposal of India for defensive purposes, as I have endeavoured to point out? Even were Herat connected by rail direct with Russia itself, the power of supply would be very limited in comparison to that of England, with the assistance of our commercial marine, and our command of the sea. An attack on such a position as I have suggested we should hold on the frontier of India would require the concentration at Herat of at least 200,000 men and 600 guns, for the advance, the line of communication, and reserves, and in addition hundreds of thousands of baggage animals, exclusive of camp-followers.

We must also consider the time that would be required for the

concentration of such a force; it would then have to commence a march by Afghanistan, a distance of 500 miles through a poorly provided country, but having accomplished this, which would take some months—during which period I hope we should not be idle—in what condition would the Russian forces arrive on our border? And even supposing it possible for her to force a passage through the mountain ranges bordering our frontier, she would find the river swarming with all the latest inventions, in the shape of gun and torpedo boats, and an army on the opposite bank. I leave it to the imagination to picture what the feeding of such a vast host means in a country able only to sustain its own population. We will now suppose that Russia in course of time obtained full possession of Afghanistan, she would have a very poor country added to those which she already holds, and at the same time a most turbulent and expensive one to govern. We know that her possessions in Central Asia already cost her a cruel annual deficit in her treasury; the possession of Afghanistan would vastly increase it: she certainly would be conterminous with India, and we are warned that in such a position her intrigues might be dangerous to our existence as a governing power in that country; but is her form of government, or is it ever likely to be, so superior to ours as to lead the natives of India to wish for a change? I think not; but, on the contrary, from contemplating it from a nearer point, they would cling closer to us, and a mutual feeling of self-protection would still further strengthen the ties of sympathy which the present crisis has undoubtedly drawn forth from all classes of our Indian subjects as well as from the independent princes both within and beyond our Indian Empire. Under such conditions, is Russia really to be feared as a close neighbour?

HENRY GREEN.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. C.—JUNE 1885.

*MR. GLADSTONE AS A FOREIGN
MINISTER.*

LORD ROSEBERY went to the root of many of our present political difficulties when he said at Manchester that the policy of the Tory party is summed up in aversion to Mr. Gladstone. The one point on which they are all agreed is that the present Government is the most unprincipled and incompetent Administration which ever mismanaged the affairs of an unfortunate country, and that the Prime Minister is the incarnation of all their faults—their incapacity, their sentimentalism, their vacillation. So far as the world can see, there is nothing which binds the party together except this common antipathy. The constant repetition of votes of censure has provoked comment, but under the circumstances the phenomenon is more curious than surprising. Such motions are the only weapons of attack available, since it would be hard to find any other point on which the united vote of the party could be secured. Its members do not even attempt to conceal the differences by which they are honeycombed, differences which do not affect passing questions of policy or the rivalries of personal ambition, but which go to the very root of principle. There does not appear to be even an approach to agreement on the most pressing questions, whether of domestic or foreign policy, and naturally, therefore, the Opposition confine themselves to mere negations, which may all be expressed in the one article of their creed, 'We do not believe in Gladstone!'

This is not a very noble attitude for a great historic party to assume. Lord Cowper has recently, in the pages of this Review, warned us of the perils of Cæsarism, and it is impossible to deny that there was some reason for his monitions. The term, indeed, is scarcely appropriate so long as the force which a leader is able to wield is dependent upon his own fidelity to his professed opinions, and would be broken the moment he forfeited the confidence reposed in him, by some act of disloyalty to principle. 'Cæsarism' expresses the power of a single will; but it is the power of coercion, not of conviction or persuasion. It is removed as far as possible from that which Mr. Gladstone enjoys, and which, so far as I can understand, is absolutely unique in our history. No one, however, can be insensible to the possible dangers of a personality so commanding as his. The power he enjoys in virtue not so much of his unrivalled genius as of the trust which his party have in his broad, popular sympathies, and his impregnable political virtue, might be obtained by less worthy means. It might be the result of a wholesale system of management, if not of bribery, as in the case of Sir Robert Walpole; it might be secured by a dexterous handling of opposing parties, so as to induce a state of political apathy and stagnation, as in the case of Lord Palmerston; it might have been built upon the clever manipulation of Parliamentary groups, or upon an unworthy pandering to the worst follies of the people, as during the recent *régime* in France. The less, therefore, the purely personal element is prominent in our political controversies the better. It cannot be wholly excluded, it is not desirable that it should be. Principles affect the understanding, persons move the heart. It is hard to stir a multitude to enthusiasm for a principle until it is incarnated in a great leader. But it is of infinite importance that the personal feeling should not become the chief, still less the sole, motive of action. The services Mr. Gladstone has rendered to the popular cause cannot easily be calculated, but splendid as they have been, they would be insufficient to compensate for the permanent injury which would be done to Liberalism if devotion to a man, however eminent, were to be substituted for loyalty to a principle.

It is one grave objection to the course which has been pursued by the Tory party during the last five years that its tendency has been to convert our political conflicts into a rivalry between opposing chiefs. It has been to some extent the result of the influence of Lord Beaconsfield and his extraordinary mode of educating his party. His tortuous policy must often have been a puzzle to devoted followers, whose loyalty he certainly put to a very severe strain. Every new revelation as to the internal state of the Tory party during the last forty years shows how slow was the growth of confidence in the chief who won for it the most signal victory of the period; but ultimately his success gave him so absolute a hold upon their allegiance that Toryism

became devotion to Lord Beaconsfield. His death, therefore, left the party not only without a head, but without a policy, and it would not be extravagant to say without a principle. The Primrose League, with its sentimentalisms and puerilities, is a confession of impotence, such as has seldom been made by any great party. Memorial primroses are a poor substitute for living principles. They are a proclamation that the strength of Toryism is in the coffin there with Cæsar, and an endeavour to use the name and memory of the departed statesman as weapons against his surviving rival. Success in such an attempt was impossible, and as the influence of the dead has waned away, the difficulties of the party have increased. They have found no new man to inspire the same enthusiasm as their lost leader, and they have therefore had to take refuge in a passionate hatred (real or simulated—it is often hard to say which) of Mr. Gladstone. They have exhausted the vocabulary of abuse in their attacks upon the Prime Minister, and though it is clear that they have made no impression upon the mind of the country, they continue still to ring the changes on their familiar accusations of incompetence, fickleness, vacillation, procrastination, and we know not how many follies or crimes besides.

Unfortunately, however, it is easier for Opposition critics to awaken distrust of a Ministry than to secure popular confidence for themselves, and especially to produce that distrust in the very quarter where it is most certain to be dangerous. At home we can discount the fierce diatribes of Tory speakers. We know that they are not all seriously intended, and that those which are could not be justified by facts. We are able to discriminate between the ebullitions of party violence and personal spite and the deliberate assertions of those who accept the full responsibility for their own statements. But foreign statesmen, and still more foreign journalists, are unable to make this distinction, and accept too readily the fiery denunciations of heated orators or prejudiced journalists as literal statements of fact. The world has been told in a variety of ways that Great Britain is in the hands of a Government which does not know its own mind, which is afraid of its own shadow, which will yield anything to pressure. It would have been strange if such representations, put forth with such confidence and reiterated with such pertinacity, had not made some impression upon foreign Powers. Mr. W. H. Smith, in recent criticism upon Mr. Gladstone, distinctly asserted that our difficulties with Continental States, and especially with Russia, are mainly due to a belief in the weakness and pliability of the Ministry. What may pertinently be asked is, how is it that foreign Powers have got this impression? Mainly through the representations of opponents whose patriotism has not been able to restrain their political rancour, or even to teach them the first principles of justice in their judgments of statesmen whose views do not happen to be in accord with their own.

The *Times*, for instance, has been steadily opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy. It has incessantly clamoured for what it regards as a more vigorous and decided line of action—for annexation, or at least for a protectorate—and it has insisted that all the misfortunes which we have had to suffer have been due to the neglect of its advice. No one has any just ground to object to the *Times* for urging this view upon the Government, and, failing it, upon the country, with all the force of reasoning and eloquence it can command. What is deserving of censure is the unfairness with which it has misrepresented the Ministry, utterly regardless of the effect produced in countries where faith in the *Times* still survives. The one fault of Mr. Gladstone is that he has refused to listen to the counsels of the *Times*. There may, of course, be legitimate differences of opinion as to his wisdom in this respect. This much, however, must be said, that the policy advocated by the *Times* would have been in direct contravention of Mr. Gladstone's express declaration, in violation of the principles on which the victory of 1880 was won, in opposition to the vast preponderance of Liberal opinion throughout the country. The *Times* might fairly have argued that circumstances nevertheless compelled the adoption of such a course, and that if the Government felt itself precluded, either by considerations of principle or the distinct pledges of its members, and especially its chief, from taking it, its duty was to make way for statesmen who were not thus hampered. But unfortunately there were no indications of sufficient strength and resolution on the part of the Opposition to induce it to pursue this straightforward policy. It has therefore posed as the impartial and independent advocate of vigour, and has denounced the Government, not for preferring another policy to its own, which is its real offence, but for vacillation and feebleness, of which there is no proof at all. In reality, there has been no faltering of purpose, and it has been the strength, not the weakness—the resolution, not the hesitating uncertainty—of the Government by which the *Times* has been provoked. "But it did not suit its purpose to confess so much. It preferred rather to assume that only one line of action was possible, and that if the Ministry did not exhibit what it regarded as energy—that is, if it did not assume the supreme authority in Egypt, as the legitimate prize of Tel-el-Kebir, it was due to its own inherent weakness.

The feeling against the Prime Minister may be more easily understood if we remember the circumstances under which the great struggle of 1880 occurred. The foreign policy of the Beaconsfield Ministry was really the question submitted to the electors, and on that their verdict of condemnation was pronounced. The Tory party, of course, smarted under a defeat which was all the more crushing because they had obstinately refused to believe in its possibility. They have never forgiven its author, and for purposes of their own have chosen

to represent him as indifferent to the honour and even to the safety of the country, and to treat any sign of energy in him as a dereliction from his avowed principles. On this last point they have been eagerly joined by the extreme partisans on the opposite side. The same error was common to both. They both believe, or profess to believe, that in opposing the aggressive tendencies and dishonourable proceedings of the late Government Mr. Gladstone had accepted the position of the Peace Society, or one which approximated very closely to it. But there is nothing in the Midlothian speeches to support such a contention, and very much both in them and his previous career to prove its fallacy.

We soon forget contemporary history, and that may explain the oblivion to which the incident of 1877 and the lesson which it taught as to Mr. Gladstone's character have been consigned. In May of that year he brought forward a series of resolutions as to the action of the Government relative to Turkey. He was not at the time the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, though he was unquestionably the true representative of Liberal opinion in the country. His resolutions were intended to make for peace, and had they been accepted by the Beaconsfield Ministry as the basis of its policy, the probability is that they would have averted the war which shortly afterwards broke out. But there was a possibility, however remote, that Turkey might refuse to bow even before the combined influence of Great Britain and Russia, and in that event this country would have been honourably committed to coercive action. On this ground the supporters of the Peace Society refused to concur in them. The danger of war was infinitesimally small, but rather than risk it they con-
 nived at the triumph of a policy which made war inevitable. I do not refer to this with the view of censuring them, because men who are faithful to principle are to be commended, not censured, unless indeed they are intolerant of the principles held by others with a conscientiousness equal to their own. I cite it simply as an indication of the wide difference which has always existed between Mr. Gladstone and those who now denounce him as though he had deserted their cause. The truth is, he was never with them. Opposed to everything that had even the semblance of aggressive war, strongly averse even to the mildest form of Chauvinism, intent on preserving the most friendly relations between different States, willing to exhaust every possible expedient for the settlement of international controversies before appealing to the arbitrament of war, he has nevertheless consistently opposed the policy recommended by the Peace Society, as incompatible with the position of a nation like our own, and has always shown himself ready to fulfil such obligations as the country has honourably contracted and to defend her authority whenever it has been assailed.

Mr. Gladstone may rightfully claim to be judged by his own

declarations as to the true foreign policy of the country. Those declarations are sufficiently distinct and explicit. He first lays down the necessity for developing and husbanding the resources of the nation, so that it may be prepared for great emergencies, should they unfortunately arise. He then, in accordance with that well-known declaration of Lord Derby's, which has become a kind of Liberal watchword (may it not rather be said, a maxim of common sense in politics?), that the greatest of British interests is peace, insists that the first object of British statesmen should be to 'preserve to the nations of the world, and especially, were it but for shame when we recollect the sacred name we bear as Christians, especially to the Christian nations of the world, the blessings of peace.' In order to secure this, he next lays down as a cardinal idea of his policy the necessity for maintaining the concert of Europe, 'because by keeping all in union together, you neutralise and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each.' His other rules of action are: 'Avoid needless and entangling engagements,' 'acknowledge the equal rights of all nations,' and 'subject to all the limitations I have described, the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by the love of freedom.' There is nothing tame or spiritless here. The tone is pacific, the guiding principle is the love of righteousness and liberty, but there is no faltering of resolution. He would have the country act in the spirit of justice and conciliation; above all, he would have it abjure that tone of lofty superiority which is as offensive in nations as in individuals—the 'untrue, arrogant, and dangerous assumption that we are entitled to assume for ourselves some dignity, which we should also be entitled to withhold from others, and to claim on our own part authority to do things which we would not permit to be done by others.' But there is not a word to suggest that he would have the nation faithless to any obligation which it has contracted, or surrender any right to which it is entitled.

The five years which have passed since those memorable speeches were delivered have disappointed the hopes of multitudes, and of no one more than the speaker himself. Instead of peace we have had war, rumours of war, trembling anxieties as to the probabilities of war. At that time Mr. Gladstone was troubled about the excessive burden of government which was laid upon the nation, but that burden has been largely increased. He deprecated extension of territory, and we have had annexation upon annexation. By a cruel irony of circumstance the Government have done—as we hold, have been forced into doing—the very things which they desired not to do, and have, therefore, had to leave undone some of the very things which they were most anxious to do. It is not difficult to make out a very telling case against them, so long as we look at appearances only; but the remarkable feature is that their accusers, who lack neither the will nor the ability to use the materials for an

indictment, have absolutely failed to convince the nation that the Ministry deserve the censures so freely lavished upon them.

It is not suggested that the Ministry have not committed any blunders. They are not superhuman, and, however excellent their intentions, it is certain that they must sometimes have made mistakes in the measures they have taken for carrying them into effect. The claim set up for Mr. Gladstone is that he is an able and upright statesman, not that he is an infallible Minister. His difficulties, as impartial observers cannot fail to see, are mainly a legacy bequeathed to him by his predecessors, and their number is legion. Mr. Joseph Cowen, in one of his splendid bursts of rhetoric, treats such a plea as a sign of cowardice. But rhetoric cannot alter facts, and the fact is that from the first the Prime Minister has been struggling against the conditions of a situation he did nothing to create. If, while seeking to steer his way amid such complications, he had never made a mistake, he would certainly be a phoenix among statesmen. But the common sense of the English people has enabled them to discriminate between mistakes due to those imperfections either in knowledge or in judgment which belong to all human actions, and crimes involving infidelity to principle.

It is superlatively easy to say now that we ought never to have interfered in Egypt, and those who insisted on this view before the event are entitled to a certain measure of credit, though even that must not be exaggerated. All the world knows what has been the result of the expedition to Egypt, but no one can tell what would have been the consequences of our abstention. That England could have folded her arms and allowed Egypt to pursue her own course, without taking any concern in her, was simply impossible. The country was rapidly drifting into anarchy, and had we been content to see her go farther and farther in that direction, other Powers would not have been thus acquiescent. But it is superfluous to discuss such a question. The English people would not have endured this inactivity for a month, and there was nothing in the principles avowed by Mr. Gladstone which bound him to adopt a policy which, I venture to think, would have been as fatal to the liberties of Egypt as it would have been menacing to the interests of our own Indian Empire. We all wish that we had not meddled with Egyptian affairs, but no one has yet suggested a different policy, which would have had a chance of being approved by the country, or which would not in all probability have led to evils worse than those from which we are now suffering.

There may, however, be differences of opinion as to the necessity for this policy; there can be none among candid men as to its motive. That there was no idea of national aggrandisement at its root has been demonstrated almost *usque ad nauseam*. The action of the Government might easily have been made stronger if annexation

had been its object. We have lately had sufficient proof that annexation would not have been accomplished with the ease which its ardent advocates supposed, but at least it would have saved the Ministry from the taunts continually directed against their supposed weakness. The real difficulty of their position has been that their responsibility was unlimited, while their control was restricted by respect for the Egyptian Government. On England, for example, has come a very large share of the penalty for General Hicks's hare-brained expedition into the Soudan, and yet all her influence was employed, but employed in vain, to prevent its despatch. Tory critics have inveighed against the Ministry as though they were the guilty authors of all the bloodshed and misery of that reckless and ill-fated campaign; but the accusation is only another form of attacking the Ministry for not undertaking, as they phrase it, the responsibilities of their position—in other words, for not asserting the supremacy of this country, whether by a protectorate or by annexation.

Their action in the Soudan is that part of their policy which many even of their attached friends find it most difficult to defend. Personally, I have never been able to support it; but I believe it was to a large extent inevitable, and that it is not fairly open to the censures which have been directed against it from opposite sides. The initial error, which involved all the rest, was the mission of General Gordon. It would, as can be generally seen now, have been better to leave the garrisons to make their own terms; but public feeling had been wrought up to the highest pitch by highly coloured pictures of their danger, and wild denunciations of the wicked Ministry which was leaving them to their fate. Gordon was the hero of the hour, and a cry went up that he should be sent as their deliverer. The recollections of that time are not pleasant or edifying. An excited and unscrupulous Opposition stirring popular passion by all kinds of devices; an enthusiastic editor pouring forth evening by evening his wild tirades against the delay of the Government, and demanding that the man whom he had set up as the hero of the age should be sent to retrieve the fortunes of the country; the people, puzzled, bewildered, stirred alike in their best and worst feelings, necessarily ignorant of the actual merits of the case, but more or less influenced by their teachers to believe that there was need for some heroic and even desperate measures; did not furnish a very edifying spectacle to the world. Sentiment was in the ascendant, and it is never likely to be a very safe guide in shaping national policy. It was all the worse in this case because it was in strange and unwonted alliance with a selfishness which knew how to use it, but in its secret heart regarded it with contemptuous scorn. To defy this extraordinary alliance of lofty Christian chivalry and unscrupulous mammon worship would not have been easy under the most favourable conditions, but the conditions were all adverse. It may be said that the Ministry

ought to have resisted à outrance and to have retired from office rather than yield. But the question was one of method, not of principle. It was the sending out of a 'forlorn hope' in the interests of peace, and even those who were themselves least satisfied as to the feasibility of the attempt might be disposed to venture it rather than lose even an infinitesimal chance of rescuing the garrisons or contribute to the triumph of a party whose policy, if they could be said to have a policy at all, would in their judgment be fraught with permanent injury both to Egypt and to England.

The tragic fate of Gordon has necessarily coloured our view of the whole transaction. It may be said that it ought to have been foreseen, and that so valuable a life ought not to have been risked; but to that statement I must enter a demurrer. Even in the tribute of admiration and of sorrow which we render to the memory of Gordon, we ought not to be unjust to the Ministry. Gordon was a true Paladin of Christian chivalry, a hero *sans peur et sans reproche*, a man who makes us think better of humanity, one of those noble, unselfish, loyal and pure spirits who have the highest place in the aristocracy of true worth. But he was one of the most difficult and impracticable agents with whom any Government could possibly have had to deal. In fairness to Ministers who have had to suffer enough for their connection with him, I am compelled to express my own conviction (shared by numbers whose admiration for Gordon keeps them silent) that the troubles which clouded the months which preceded the cruel death he suffered at the hands of a dastard traitor, and in which the Ministry have been so inextricably involved, were largely of his own creation and such as could not have been anticipated.

Since the fall of Khartoum, the Government have necessarily had to wait on events. The Mahdi was expected to follow up his success, and it was necessary to be prepared for a movement northward. For the moment, the danger seemed formidable, and the cry for energetic action was irresistible. All the measures then taken were adapted to this view of the situation, and some of them appear very unintelligible now to those who conveniently forget the changed state of circumstances. The Mahdi's power, reported to be so formidable, appears suddenly to have collapsed, and instead of advancing to Cairo at the head of a mighty fanatical host, he has to fight for his own authority and to retire on Kordofan. As a necessary consequence, the anxiety as to the safety of our own army has materially abated, if it has not altogether passed away. The Ministry have only accepted the logic of events in withdrawing the army.

The question is, in fact, one of confidence. If there were any reason to suspect that Mr. Gladstone was only playing the part of an ambitious aspirant to office when he denounced the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield, and that, so far as principle is concerned, the dif-

ference between him and his illustrious rival was that 'twixt tweedledum and tweedledee,' condemnation could not be too severe nor punishment too summary. The howls of the Tory press against him are a sure proof to the contrary. The question, it must never be forgotten, is as to the inspiring principle of his policy, not as to the wisdom of particular acts. It may be that he has attached too much value to the obligations contracted by his predecessors; that he was too loyal to Tewfik Pasha and too distrustful of Arabi; that he and his colleagues have sometimes, and especially in the case of General Gordon, allowed themselves to be too readily overborne by popular clamour—what then? These are, after all, mistakes of procedure, not deflections from the straight line of principle. On the other hand, the ends which Mr. Gladstone has always kept in view have been the maintenance of the European concert, the preparation for free institutions in Egypt, the provision for the withdrawal of our forces at the first possible opportunity. From first to last there is not a proof that he has struck a blow for mere prestige; that he has aimed at territorial aggrandisement; that he has been indifferent to the rights of weaker people; least of all that he has harboured a thought of personal ambition. I do not set up as an apologist for Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy. There is no need for apology. Under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty he has been as faithful to his ruling ideas as the needle to the pole. Events have thwarted his efforts, but they have never caused him to swerve from his righteous purpose.

It is the instinctive sense of this which has so infuriated his critics both at home and abroad as to create most of the difficulties by which he has found himself surrounded. Lord Beaconsfield was more to the taste of foreign ministers, especially those with ambitious purposes of their own, because there was more hope of entangling him in their intrigues. The statesman whose ideas of honour allowed him to make secret treaties, and to take an island as an honorarium from a client state, had already become as one of themselves. In Mr. Gladstone, on the contrary, they feel that they have a minister who is absolutely without these ambitious dreams, and they hate him accordingly. A like sentiment, embittered by the knowledge of his popularity and resentment of the humiliation he has inflicted on their party, prevails among his opponents in this country. All worshippers of prestige, all who believe that Great Britain has a right to be the dictator of the world, and in truth, to 'bestride it like a Colossus,' all who are perpetually on the outlook for insults, and demanding that we should be for ever asserting our supremacy, dislike and distrust him. His ideas of national greatness and national duty are so different from theirs that they doubt his patriotism. He will not run to the same excess of riot in arrogance with them, and therefore he must be faint-hearted if not cowardly. Yet with strange

inconsistency those who talk so loftily about the dignity of their country have often stooped to assail Mr. Gladstone because he is unacceptable to the representatives of foreign despots, and, as a reason for elevating his rival to power, have suggested that he is a *persona grata* to Prince Bismarck. Their hatred of the Prime Minister is stronger than their love of their country, or at least this is the only interpretation which can be put upon their language and their conduct.

A more unfortunate element to enter into the discussion of our foreign policy could not easily be imagined. It is bad enough that all the details either of the most delicate negotiations or the critical movements in a campaign should be discussed in the most unreserved manner both in the press and in Parliament. We have a body of newspaper correspondents who know everything and everybody, who can report the discussions in Cabinets and divine the exact strategy of generals, who have exact and full information on every question that can possibly be raised as to any part of the universe, and whose judgment is equal to their knowledge. The statesman or general who has to do his work under their inspection has no easy task, and the difficulty is aggravated by the fact that in the House of Commons are men prompt to act upon the hints the journalists throw out, and to hail upon the devoted heads of anxious and perplexed ministers every evening a storm of questions, sometimes ignorant, sometimes insolent, always mischievous, suggested by their statements of the morning and afternoon. How under such conditions a foreign policy can be carried out with any consistency and resolution, it is not easy to understand, but the situation is made infinitely worse when into the discussion is infused such personal virulence as that by which certain members of the Opposition have disgraced themselves, and, as far as in them lay damaged the reputation of Parliament.

When the history of these times comes to be written in a judicial spirit, and the real character of Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy impartially estimated, an importance will be attached to these elements of disturbance which at present they hardly receive. An exciting and disgraceful scene is enacted in the House of Commons which furnishes a subject for a piece of clever word-painting by the reporters, and of comment more or less severe by the editors of the papers, and apparently there is an end of it. But the consequences necessarily go much farther. These displays weaken the influence of the minister abroad, and consciously or unconsciously they must affect his own spirit. Working under a scrutiny always jealous and not unfrequently dishonest, exposed to awkward and inconvenient questions which may cut the threads of the policy he has most carefully woven, harassed by votes of censure so persistent and yet so unintelligent that they are announced even before it is known what there is to censure, how is it possible that he can act with unvarying wisdom and unchanging

resolution? 'I see,' said the Duke of Argyll—and who can doubt the truth of the remark?—'a most dissatisfied and unrestful state of the public mind.' But the restlessness is largely the result of the incessant goads applied by speakers and journalists, 'in order to keep up a sensational state of feeling. Recklessness of speech, and recklessness at the very time and on the very points on which restraint is most needed, is the most characteristic and dangerous feature in the political life of to-day. 'Half a dozen superannuated washerwomen could hardly have made a more conspicuous exhibition of vacuity of mind and of ignorance of the points of the controversy,' is the polite comment of an evening paper upon the work of all the daily press of London. It is simply a sign of the temper that is abroad. Smartness is mistaken for brilliancy and dogmatism for force, feelings of courtesy are discarded, and a slashing style is adopted to give an appearance of strength which does not really exist. As in the press, so in the utterances of public men. Lord Randolph Churchill, already all but accepted as the successor to the leadership of the Tory party in the Commons, attacks Lord Granville in a letter worthy of the *Age* or *Satirist* of a former generation, and the Prime Minister can hardly give a necessary reply in the House of Commons because of interruptions which for the time convert what was once a chamber of gentlemen into a den of rowdyism. That latest scene of all (at least the latest at the time of writing) was one of which Englishmen may well be ashamed, and yet the *Times* dismisses one of the most pathetic and dignified appeals of the veteran statesman of seventy-five years against insolent vulgarity to which even the youngest member of the House ought not to have been exposed, but against which the Prime Minister of England had to contend, as called forth 'in a moment of irritation due to unseemly interruptions.'

The questions between this country and Russia are of so grave a nature that this mode of discussion is specially to be deprecated. Amid miserable wranglings for place it is forgotten that the security of our Indian Empire is the question with which these partisans are wantonly trifling. Whether we like it or not, the advances of Russia on Central Asia have in a sense destroyed our insular position. As the Duke of Argyll showed in the temperate and extremely able speech which introduced a discussion in the House of Lords that will be hailed by all thoughtful men as a welcome relief from the heated and passionate objurgations with which we are too familiar in the Commons, that is the starting point for the consideration of the whole question. For the territorial conquests which have brought Russia to the Afghan frontier, or, as Mr. Marvin and his school would choose to put it, to the gates of Herat, Mr. Gladstone's ministry are in no sense responsible. Her progress has been steady and continuous under all ministries alike. It was not possible for us to have prevented it, and if it had been possible it would not have been

expedient or desirable. Even Sir Bartle Frere, in warning us of the danger which must menace our Indian Empire in consequence of that advance, honestly confessed that the impulse which forced Russia onward 'is the same as that which impelled ourselves from Calcutta to Peshawur.' We had as little right to complain as we had power to interfere. These regions are sufficiently remote from our own sphere of operations. Our people have been imposed upon by the clamour of Russophobists, who have taken advantage of the popular ignorance of geography on the one hand and the popular hatred of Russia on the other. The 'Russians at the gates of Herat' has been a taking cry, and when it has been enforced by the story of Russian aggression told in an impressive style so as to emphasise the lesson of the wicked ambition and unscrupulous conduct of a government which of course is the first that ever annexed savage tribes and that pleaded that the extension of territory was forced upon it, has been extremely effective in stirring up ignorant prejudice and blind passion. It is time there were a truce to such transparent hypocrisy. It were easy to parallel, by a recital of events in the history of our own Indian Empire, Lord Randolph Churchill's indictment of Russia, which, as a contribution to the serious discussion of the present question, was about as relevant and as conclusive as a chapter from the history of the Jewish wars against the Canaanites.

Russia has undoubtedly approached Herat. When the delimitation of the frontier is complete, it may be found that she may come nearer than is agreeable. What is more, it may be conceded that no treaty which we could make would prevent her from seizing Herat in time of war. What then? Oh, cry ten thousand voices, Herat is the key of India. It would be interesting, were it possible, to take the majority of these clamourers and try Archbishop Whately's test on them, by simply compelling them to define their terms and say exactly what they mean when they talk of Herat as the key of India. When they have done that, we may advance another stage and require them to lay down a definite policy in relation to a fortress which does not belong to us at all, which is hundreds of miles away from the mountain range and the wide river which constitute the true frontier of India, and which is in the possession of a people who regard all our movements with jealousy, who as yet have shown no willingness to allow us to undertake the defence of a position said to be essential to our Indian Empire, and who, if they are our allies to-day, are just as likely to be our enemies to-morrow.

Various lessons may and will be drawn from the Blue Book just issued, according to the prepossessions of the reader. The lesson which has most impressed me as I have wandered through discussions often as arid and as profitless as the desert to which they refer, is the folly of our entangling ourselves with such negotiations at all. I do not know that we should have suffered in any way had we left

Russians and Afghans to settle these knotty points among themselves. As it is, however, there is nothing that I have been able to discover of which the ministry have any need to be ashamed. It is possible that the Russian ministers had a clearer understanding of the crucial points. It was indeed only natural they should, considering how important a place Central Asia must fill in their administrative system. They are on their own ground, with innumerable agents who have access to every source of information, whereas our representatives are far from their own territory, and have to rely upon the reports of natives which can never be trustworthy. If under such conditions the Russian negotiators showed more adroitness and skill it is not a matter of surprise, and certainly not a reason for reproach to our Government. It is not to be denied that Russia does not appear to advantage in this correspondence. I for one do not trust her professions, and I trust them least when they are most specious. She knew the value of the cards she held, and she has sought to play them with all the skill she could command. But a dislike to her tone and spirit, or even a resentment of her ambitious projects, would not justify a great statesman in plunging his country into war. Even if it could be proved that Mr. Gladstone had been too yielding, that would be excused or be regarded as but a slight fault by the people whom he has saved from the terrors of war. But of unworthy concession there is no trace, and common justice demands that some evidence of this be adduced before we are required to condemn the Government for a humiliating and even shameful surrender.

As to the attack on Mr. Gladstone for his statement relating to the agreement or arrangement of March 13, the worst that can be said of it is that he had unconsciously exaggerated the effect of the communications which had passed between M. Giers and Sir G. Thornton. But Lord Randolph Churchill should have left the weapon in the hands of the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, for in his lordship's hand it is a two-edged sword, which if it injures Mr. Gladstone, injures him but slightly, while it entirely destroys his own case. Grant that he is right, and Russia has a strong and seemingly unanswerable defence in relation to her conduct at Penjdeh. His lordship, in his excessive eagerness to trip up Mr. Gladstone, has disposed of his own charge of perfidy against Russia. It is, after all, only an incident in the affair which shows how easily misunderstandings arise and how severe their consequences may be, and which at the same time vindicates the wisdom of the Prime Minister in referring the matter to arbitration.

We are told with a sneer of the immense and unparalleled concessions which Mr. Gladstone's Government have made to preserve the peace of the world. What are they? Not a rood of British territory has been surrendered, not a right of the Crown has been compromised, not an engagement of the nation has been broken.

The attack on Penjdeh seemed at first to be a breach on the part of Russia of an engagement on which we were bound to insist, and it is referred to an arbitrator to decide whether this is so or not. What more rational procedure could have been adopted? The battle was an affair of outposts sufficiently melancholy for the victims, but having no political significance whatever, except it could be proved to be an act of high-handed and insolent faithlessness. On that point the two Governments join issue. To have lighted up the flames of war for the purpose of deciding whether Russia had carried out her own engagements would have been an offence against Christianity and civilisation. Millions on millions of money would have been wasted, thousands and tens of thousands of lives sacrificed, and in the end the only points established would have been which nation had the longest purse or the most resolute endurance, the ablest strategists or the bravest soldiers. The question in dispute would have remained exactly where it was at the beginning. Mr. Gladstone has preferred the 'more excellent way.' He deserves the gratitude of the nation and of the world for the courage he has shown in braving the fury of those who fancy that the nation can only prove its spirit by wasting its resources in war. Of all the acts of a noble life I venture to think this will be esteemed by posterity the noblest of all.

It may be that after all his efforts may fail, but in such a failure there would only be honour. At present there is no sign of anything to justify so despairing a view. Rather is it to be hoped that a *modus vivendi* with Russia will be found, and that the energies of our Government, relieved from the present strain, will be directed towards the strengthening of our proper frontier. The Suleiman range and the river Indus ought to make our position in India impregnable from the north, as Sir Henry Green so well showed in the last number of this Review. The debate in the House of Lords afforded very remarkable evidence that this view is commending itself to statesmen of all parties. The defence of India is no party question, and they who endeavour to make it so are only playing the game of the nation's enemy. Here we are all working to the one end, though we may seek it in various ways. Even as regards Russia I doubt whether there is any great difference of feeling between Liberals and Tories. Lord Randolph Churchill hardly distrusts Russia more than I do. The point where the real distinction commences is as to the attitude we are to assume towards her. Is it to be one of incessant hostility, or one of careful observation but at the same time of a friendly understanding? The Tory leaders have taken the former, and it would be impossible long to keep the peace with a great Power if the statesmen at the head of affairs speak of her as the Tory chiefs have spoken of Russia. No explanations can take away the force of the swindler or bankrupt alternative, or of that dashing speech in the House of Commons by which Lord Randolph

Churchill signalised his return to the field. If the nation desires war, here are the men to fulfil its behest. They refuse, indeed, to shadow forth their policy, but here they reveal their spirit, and the nation has to choose between them and the Government. No third course is open.

It is not difficult to understand why Tories and those who profess to be Liberals in domestic but Tories as to foreign politics should oppose Mr. Gladstone. He acts on principles which they do not fully understand, and which, so far as they understand, they do not admire. If only their criticism be fair and reasonable, we have no right to complain of the opposition of those who are caught by the idea of Imperialism, for Mr. Gladstone is the stoutest opponent of their dreams. The strange thing is that there should be some who plume themselves on being the friends of peace, who cannot or will not recognise the difficulties of the situation, who therefore distrust him. Nothing is more certain than that he has advanced as far as any statesman could venture to do on the lines of a pacific policy, and it has been difficult enough for him to do even so much. There is no greater fallacy than to suppose the English people would be brought to approve a policy of universal scuttle, and few greater evils could come to the Liberal or Radical party than the spread of a belief that it would calmly contemplate the prospect of a national humiliation. Mr. Gladstone has never countenanced such an idea. He set before the people an ideal of a policy which shall be decided and yet conciliatory, just to others while firm in the maintenance of its own rights, slow to engage in strife but prompt and vigorous in action should necessity arise. The advantage of this has been felt in these difficulties with Russia; and the calmness with which, in circumstances of special provocation, the nation awaits the result, proves that, underlying all the foolish talk of the hour, there is a strong confidence in the man at the helm.

Lord Randolph Churchill seems to have found some comfort in an utterance of the *Leeds Mercury*, which he regards as an indication that even the Nonconformists are deserting Mr. Gladstone. There are modes of ascertaining Nonconformist opinion which are more reliable than the *Leeds Mercury*, which, though the property of one of the most respected of Nonconformists, does not profess to be an exponent of our politics. Had his Lordship been present at the great representative gathering of Congregationalists in the City Temple on the 12th of May, he would have seen a spectacle which might have enabled him better to understand Nonconformists. I had the honour of moving a resolution of confidence in the Prime Minister, but the meeting would not allow the reading to be completed without a demonstration of its feeling. At the mention of his name, the hundreds present sprang to their feet, and it was a little time before the subsidence of the cheering allowed me to continue reading. The

secret of all this is not hard to find. Sir Henry Taylor tells it in his Autobiography when, speaking of Mr. Gladstone, he says :—

For myself, if I could care for the people as I ought, I should not find it possible to contemplate their share in the relations between him and them without humiliation on their behalf; and looking about me in these years in which I am writing, I should feel compelled to ask,—Have the English people ever cared whether their minister was of a higher or lower order in his nature and conscience and character and motives, if only he went their way with political tact and with competent skill and ability?

The answer which we as Nonconformists should give to this question would explain the secret of our loyalty to Mr. Gladstone.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

HOUSING THE POOR.

THE Royal Commissioners on the Housing of the Poor have just made their Report so far as their inquiry as to England is concerned. The Commissioners have certainly been diligent in their work. They have held somewhere about seventy meetings, which have been most fully attended, and they have examined a very large number of witnesses. Everyone must be satisfied that after the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons which sat in 1881 and 1882, and after the Report of this Commission which has sat in 1884 and 1885, nothing more is likely to be gained by further inquiry.

Many, no doubt, will be disappointed at the result of the labours of this Commission—disappointed to find that no *drastic* legislation is proposed. Those, however, who have given careful attention to the subject in all its bearings will probably have come to the conclusion which has more than once been expressed in these pages, that although there is room enough for fresh legislation in some matters, the more real evil lies in the want of firm and vigorous administration. The Report deals very fully with both subjects, and the Commissioners make thirty-five distinct recommendations more or less specially affecting the metropolis. Those who have been looking forward to proposals for drastic legislation will perhaps say that there is not much in any single one of their recommendations taken by itself, and that if you multiply nothing by any number, however large, the result will still be nothing; but this would be a very unfair way of dealing with the recommendations of the Commissioners. Sanitary machinery certainly does not at present work well, but it wants putting in order more than reconstructing; and, as in the case of other machinery, a few drops of oil applied here and there to ease its motion, a few specks of dirt or grit removed here and there to prevent friction, a few screws added here and there to tighten and strengthen the whole machine, and it may be some increase of motive power, will do much, on the whole, all taken together, to render the machine capable of doing good and honest work. Some, too, may find fault with the mode in which the Report has been drawn up; they may say that the several recommendations are not only insignificant in themselves, but that they are also very difficult of discovery; that they should, at all events, have been grouped together so that all

might see at a glance what they are; that at present they are mixed up with other matters, are scattered up and down the many pages of the Report; and that to seek for them is like seeking for a needle in a truss of hay. We may feel sure, however, that the Commissioners have not drawn up the Report in its present shape without careful consideration, and a little thought will probably lead the reader to the conclusion that it was wise to follow the course which they have adopted, in stating at length the facts and arguments bearing upon each single recommendation which had led the Commissioners to draw their own conclusions, and to compel the reader himself to go through the same process, which anyone who is seriously interested in the matter will gladly enough do. It is the object of these pages to group together the several recommendations in a form more suitable for the general reader, and so to lead him to the more careful study of this most interesting subject, and such as the Report itself requires, if it is to be thoroughly understood.

Amongst the highest of the gifts of Providence to man may be classed light, air, and water—gifts intended for the use of all, gifts of which the poor in the metropolis are so largely deprived, gifts so absolutely essential for their welfare. How to restore these gifts is the real problem now before us.

The evidence taken before the Commissioners has hardly made two matters more plain than previous inquiries had made plain enough before—namely, *first*, the terrible overcrowding of people in single rooms in many parts of London and the overcrowding of houses themselves on a limited area, to the exclusion of light and air. ‘The overcrowding of people,’ says Lord Shaftesbury, ‘has become more serious than ever it was.’ The single-room system for families is widely established. Five families to six rooms is alleged in certain areas to be under the mark. And such rooms! A room twelve feet by six and only seven feet high, in which seven persons slept. Two families in one room twelve feet by eight. A man and wife with four children, the eldest aged sixteen, in addition to a woman lodger and baby, in a room of nine feet square! &c. *Secondly*, the sanitary and structural defects in the dwellings of the poor, especially in the case of what are called tenement houses (the great majority of which were originally built for single families, and have since been broken up into tenements with a family in each room or several families in each house, the owner as a rule being non-resident), such as imperfect house drainage, bad arrangements as to ash-pit and dust-bins, uncertain supply of water, water kept in filthy tubs, sometimes in sleeping-rooms, sometimes in uncovered cisterns close to the closet pan and dust-heap, sometimes in cisterns used for the common purpose of flushing the closet and for drinking, most defective and much neglected closet accommodation. Cases have even been found where there is not more than one closet for sixteen houses; where there

is only one closet for a whole street, &c.; no back yard, no ventilation, &c. It is needless to multiply instances. Light, air, and water, where are they to be found?—all the gifts of Providence, given for the free use of all. The moral and material effects of this state of things is such as would naturally be expected. 'It is,' says Lord Shaftesbury, 'physically and morally beyond all description: Immorality, Sickness, Death.' It will be sufficient as to the question of immorality to refer to the pages of the Report itself. The only comfort to be found upon this subject is contained in the concluding remarks of the Commissioners on this branch of the case, in which they state that, although they have felt bound to put on record the evidence, which undoubtedly reveals a bad state of things, still they find that the standard of morality among the inhabitants of those crowded quarters is higher than might have been expected, looking at the surroundings amid which their lives are passed. But whatever comfort may be found in this remark of the Commissioners as to the moral effects of overcrowding—and, such as it is, it is not much to boast of—there is no gleam of comfort held out so far as the material effects are concerned—none. The death-rate is spoken of as reaching most alarming figures in places where the one-room system prevails, and that without the outbreak of any epidemic. The mortality in one instance is stated to have reached the enormous rate of 70·1 per thousand! What is needed, say the Commissioners, is *unused air*. The children only escape because they are kept in the streets; if their parents attempt to make them stay indoors the result is fever and sickness of all kinds. The rate of infant mortality is placed very high, and there is a vast amount of suffering among the young from ophthalmia, scrofula, and congenital diseases, which does not of course appear in the death-rate at all. The most serious statement, however, in the Report upon this part of the subject is that extreme overcrowding lowers the general standard, that the people become depressed and weary, that the general deterioration in the health of the people is a worse feature of overcrowding even than the encouragement by it of infectious diseases. And the Commissioners refer to an inquiry made by the Board of Health some time ago to see what was the amount of labour lost in the year, not by illness, but by sheer exhaustion and inability to do work; when it was found that upon the lowest average every workman or workwoman lost about twenty days in the year from simple exhaustion, and that the wages thus lost would go far towards paying an increased rent for a better house.

Here we have surely a grievous case, very analogous to the state of things which was proved to exist before the passing of the Factory Act—a state of things which must rapidly tend to the permanent deterioration of the race from generation to generation. Light, air, water, each the free gift of Providence to man: where are they to be found? Where *administration* has been in fault, those who have erred

in such administration had better set their house in order, for they have incurred a heavy responsibility and will undoubtedly be called to account. Where further *legislation* is required, there is surely call for the exercise of high statesmanship. There is one question which has often been asked, to which it will be well to allude before leaving this part of the subject—the question whether drink and evil habits are the cause or consequence of the condition in which the poor live. ‘Is it the pig that makes the sty, or the sty that makes the pig?’ Much evidence was given upon the point, and the Commissioners have discussed the question at some length, and the conclusion to which they have felt compelled to arrive is, that drink and poverty act and re-act upon one another; that discomfort of the most abject kind is caused by drink, but that indulgence in drink is caused by overcrowding and its cognate evils; and that the poor who live under the conditions described have the greatest difficulty in leading decent lives and of maintaining decent habitations.

Whatever evil, however, may be traced to drink as an immediate cause of these conditions, there are other causes at work which have tended largely to increase the evils of overcrowding which at present exist to so alarming an extent; and the first which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, deserves attentive consideration, is the poverty of the inhabitants of the poorest quarters, or, in other words, the relation borne by the wages which they receive to the rents which they have to pay. We are not here speaking of the artisans who can earn twenty-five or thirty shillings a week, and can well afford to live in the Peabody buildings, in those erected by Sir Sydney Waterlow’s company, or in others of a like kind; we are speaking of the poorer classes, whose chief characteristic is the precarious nature and uncertainty of their incomes—costermongers and hawkers, dock labourers, those who follow sack-making and slop tailoring, &c. The Report gives a special instance of an inquiry extending over nearly a thousand dwellings, taken at random, in different poor parts of the metropolis, giving the following result: 88 per cent. of the poor population paid more than one-fifth of their income in rent; 46 per cent. from one-fourth to one-half; 42 per cent. from one-fourth to one-fifth, and only 12 per cent. pay less than one-fifth of their weekly wages in rent; 3s. 10½d. being taken as the average rent of one room let as a separate tenement, 6s. of two-roomed tenements, 7s. 5½d. of three-roomed tenements. In many parts of London, however, rents are much higher, 4s., 4s. 6d., and 5s. being often paid for one single room, the character of the furniture being, as a rule, in its wretchedness beyond description. If it be asked, why are rents so high? the answer is simple enough: high rents are due to competition for houses and to the scarcity of accommodation in proportion to the population. If it be further asked,

why cannot the pressure be relieved by a wider distribution of the population? the answer is still simple: unskilled labourers must, if possible, live where they are most likely to be able to sell their labour. Dock labourers must be at the dock gates early and late for the chance of a job. Costermongers must live near the place where they obtain a market for their goods, or where they lay in their stock. The same necessity exists in the case of women who take home work from tailors' shops, and of girls employed in small factories, such as those for artificial flowers, &c.; and the subsidiary employment of wife and child has often to be taken into consideration by the poor in their choice of a place of residence. It is an unwelcome truth that even many of the steps taken for the improvement of the condition of the poor have themselves tended to aggravate the evils of overcrowding. There can be no doubt that the excellent manner in which the sanitary laws have been enforced in Chelsea and Hackney has compelled many to leave these districts and go to others, where the local authority has allowed the people to live in whatever condition they pleased; and there can be little doubt that the displacements under the several Artizans and Labourers' Dwellings Acts have also tended to increase overcrowding for the time, chiefly, however, it must be observed, because the authorities have not taken due precautions that such displacements should be made gradually, and should always be accompanied by rebuilding at one and the same time as far as may be. And if such have been the results of displacements under these Acts, what is to be said in the case of displacements by railway companies, and by the Metropolitan Board for street improvements? What is the sum of the untold misery and wretchedness that has for the time at all events resulted from them? It is to be hoped that the alterations which, on the recommendation of the Commissioners, have already been made in the standing order of both Houses of Parliament, taken together with the further recommendations in their Report, may prevent any such evils in the future.

No doubt one of the great causes why such a state of things exists as is now to be found in London is the remissness of the local authorities to make fit and proper use of the powers which they have been entrusted with for sanitary purposes, a subject with which we shall presently deal. We will here only add that it is alleged by Mr. Broadhurst and others that the system of building on leasehold land is the greatest cause of the many evils connected with overcrowding, insanitary buildings, and extortionate rents; that bad material is used, that the work is scamped, the chief object being to cover the land with the largest possible number of houses for ground rent purposes, the holders of such property for the time being only regarding it as a source of profit, without any moral sense of responsibility, the interest of the original ground landlord being too remote to be subject either to law or to public opinion; and as part of the

solution of the difficulty of the housing of the working classes, Mr. Broadhurst would enable leaseholders of a certain specified class of property, if they so desired, to purchase the fee simple of their holdings, and would give them compulsory powers to do so. Mr. Jesse Collings would go farther, and would give some statutory protection to the occupiers against extortionate rents resulting from a monopoly of the supply and an intense competition in the demand, and would even give power to the local authorities to purchase both ground and buildings in all those districts which could be described and scheduled as 'overcrowded districts' on an estimate of what is fair between a willing buyer and a willing seller, as such local authorities would have no inducement to raise rents.

Mr. Gray would go further still. In his opinion the only thorough remedy, without doing injustice to individuals, would be to enable the local authority in every town to purchase the fee simple of the entire of its district compulsorily, and that for this purpose the district should be so enlarged as to include the probable growth of the town for a considerable period, such land to be let as circumstances required, full allowance being made to the tenant for improvements, and full protection being given to him against disturbance, subject only to revision of rents. There can be no doubt that for practical purposes, so far as sanitary matters are concerned, the freeholder is very often not the responsible owner; property is let and sub-let, and the relations between the ground landlord and the actual occupying tenant grow less and less; and, as the Report states, 'the multiplicity of interests involved in a single house, and the number of hands through which the rent has to pass, causes the greatest doubt as to the person who ought to look after the condition of the premises,' and there undoubtedly has grown up a whole race of 'middle-men,' 'house-jobbers,' 'house-farmers,' 'house-knackers,' by whichever name it is thought best to call them, who in many cases make large profits, and expend little or nothing upon the property. To give one instance only, specially quoted in the Report. The weekly rent of the front room was 12s., of the back room 4s. 6d., of the kitchen 3s., of the first floor 13s., of the second floor 7s., say 100l. a year, the rent paid to the freeholder being only 20l. a year! In very many cases the freeholder is absolutely powerless until the expiration of the long lease. In others there may be covenants as to sanitary matters, but it is often very difficult to enforce them, and still more often very difficult to discover the proper person against whom to proceed. If it be suggested that the freeholder should be made responsible, it is clear that sufficient power must be given to him to enable him to perform the duties attaching to such responsibility, and that as an ultimate resource he must have the power of re-entry.

Sanitary mischief, as Lord Salisbury says, arising from structural

defects is in the first instance the affair of the owner, and what is wanted of the law is that it should enforce the duties of the owner, and if need be give him the power required for performing them; but this extremely important subject of the responsibility of owners for the state of their property scarcely appears, in the opinion of Mr. Goschen and others, to have been adequately discussed by the Commissioners. It may be said on the one hand that if landlords are to be held strictly responsible for any neglect as to keeping their property in a fit state of repair, it would be only just to give them power of re-entry where the lessees, having failed in their duty to carry out the clauses of a lease as to repairing, could not otherwise be effectually reached; it may be said on the other hand with equal justice, that to give any such power would place a formidable weapon in the hands of landlords, the employment of which would be scrutinised with the greatest jealousy, and that the Legislature has for long been anxious to guard 'against the danger of making the non-fulfilment of the conditions of a lease a pretext for forfeiture.' The Commissioners have not agreed to confer such a power, on the ground that it might give excuse for arbitrary proceedings, and would certainly be a great inroad upon vested rights; nor, on the other hand, have they as a body adopted Mr. Broadhurst's view as to enabling the tenant to buy out the freeholder, many of them being of opinion that the subject had not been sufficiently investigated by them to enable them to make any special recommendation. Lord Salisbury clearly considers the proposition as objectionable and wholly novel in principle; that in practice such a measure would have no other effect than to put the house-farmer (not the occupier) in the position now occupied by the ground landlord; that such a proposal would entirely arrest the grant of building leases, and would so check the supply of new houses. On the other hand, ten of the Commissioners have signed a Supplementary Report, that

the prevailing system of building leases is conducive to bad building, to deterioration of property towards the close of the lease, and to a want of interest on the part of the occupier in the house he inhabits, and that legislation favourable to the acquisition on equitable terms of the freehold interest on the part of the leaseholder would conduce greatly to the improvement of the dwellings of the people of this country.

The first set of recommendations made by the Commissioners relates to matters of administration alone, to matters as to which further legislation is not required, to matters which ought to be taken in hand at once. Anyone unacquainted with the laws under which the metropolis is governed, on reading a full account of the present state of London as set out in the Report would naturally ask, How can such a state of things be allowed to exist? Are there no powers under which proper regulations can be made for fixing the number of persons who may occupy a house, or part of a house, which is let

in lodgings, or which is occupied by members of more than one family, for the registration of houses thus let or occupied, for the inspection of such houses, and the keeping the same in a cleanly and wholesome state, for the enforcing due provision for privy accommodation, for cleansing and whitewashing, for ventilation and drainage, for the separation of the sexes, and for insuring due precautions in case of the outbreak of any dangerously infectious or contagious diseases? The answer is: all this has, in most cases, been amply provided for long ago, and the good results of past legislation may be immediately seen in those districts of London where the local authority has availed itself of the several powers entrusted to it, notably in the case of Hackney, and in that of Chelsea, in which district, according to the finding of the Commissioners, there is now practically no overcrowding; but, unfortunately, although the Sanitary Act was passed in 1866, and amended in 1874, it was found in 1883 that in only twenty-two out of the thirty-eight several districts of London had the local authority declared the Act to be in force, which was then the necessary preliminary step to be taken, and that in only thirteen had any regulations been made under its provisions. The Local Government Board have now declared the Act to be in force all over London, under the power given to them in 1874, and it only remains for the local authorities to make and enforce the necessary bye-laws. It is easy, however, to take the horse to the water, it is not so easy to make him drink. The negligence of some of the local authorities is almost incredible. In one case the vestry clerk gave it in evidence that the vestry 'had never turned their attention to the Act'! In another case, when a committee of the vestry had proposed regulations, the vestry indefinitely postponed the consideration of the Report, and deposed the chairman of the committee! Surely public opinion may be brought to bear upon these several local authorities. It is quite true, unfortunately, that little interest has hitherto been taken in the election of vestrymen by the inhabitants—there are instances of vestrymen in populous parishes being returned by *two* votes on a show of hands!—and, according to the Commissioners' Report, many are elected to the vestry who are themselves interested in bad or doubtful property, or who are themselves 'middle-men,' and as such equally interested. This was not shown to be the fact in the evidence brought before the Committee of the House of Commons, which has already been alluded to in these pages, but it is a matter of the highest moment, and all those (and they are many) who now take a deep interest in these matters cannot do better than *agitate* and act at the next election of vestrymen in their respective districts so that members may be returned who will fulfil the paramount duty of making bye-laws and enforcing them.

Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Morley record their opinion that no real progress can be expected in London until reforms in the

local government have created a strong central municipal authority of a genuinely representative character. Mr. Collings would place this as one of the first, if not the chief recommendation, as regards the metropolis. There was clearly abundant evidence to show that the present government of London is unsatisfactory, and we certainly do not feel called upon to defend the present Metropolitan Local Management Act; but a careful review of the evidence would be sufficient to show that the Commissioners have not so inquired into the case as to enable them to form an opinion as to what would be the best form of government to substitute for it. Nor indeed would it have been within the scope of their commission to have done so, and it may be worth taking notice of the opinion of the Commissioners of 1864, who did carefully inquire into the matter, that such a scheme would defeat the main purpose of municipal institutions, that the area was so large that its extremities would have few interests in common or minute knowledge of other parts, and that the first two conditions for municipal government—namely, minute local knowledge and community of interest—would be wanting. Meanwhile, it is clearly the duty of everyone concerned, so long as matters remain as they are, to do his utmost to return men to the several vestries who will act up to their responsibilities.

There are two other points closely connected with the administration of these laws which deserve special attention. The first is the appointment of an adequate staff of inspectors, and their careful selection, and the other is the appointment of proper medical officers of health under proper conditions. It was shown that the proportion of inspectors to the population varied very much in various districts; in one district there is one to every 9,000, in several one to 60,000, in another only one to 105,000! It was equally clear that many were appointed without any special sanitary knowledge whatever, and that in many cases the medical officers resided far away from their own districts. All these matters have been carefully considered.

The following are the recommendations as to administration:—

1. That the vestries and district boards which have not already made and enforced bye-laws should proceed to do so. Although it is not likely that in all cases such action will be taken until the people show a more active interest in the management of their local affairs, it is probable that other means might be found for enabling them to give greater effect to their views through their local representatives.
2. That advice should be given to metropolitan sanitary authorities to increase in some cases their staff of inspectors, and in all cases to select persons acquainted with the principles of sanitation and of building construction.
3. That the residence of medical officers in their districts or within a mile of the boundaries should be made compulsory, and that the sanitary authorities should be advised to provide, as far as possible, that the medical officers should devote their whole time to their official duties.

There is one further recommendation which the Commissioners

have made in respect to administration which may fairly be expected to bear good fruit. They have stated that they are clearly of opinion that there has been failure in administration rather than in legislation; that what is at the present time specially required is some motive power, and that probably there can be no stronger motive power than public opinion. But public opinion cannot be formed without full and complete information, and, although the several medical officers have often made formal reports to the several local authorities as to the sanitary requirements of their districts, these reports do not, for any practical purpose, become public property. The medical officer has performed his duty—in some cases he has been compelled to resign in consequence. His report has been consigned to the pigeon-hole, and the general public know nothing about the matter; nor indeed would it be sufficient to give the fullest publicity to the report of any one single medical officer. What is really required in order to form public opinion is an authentic statement of the immediate sanitary requirements of the whole of the metropolis. The Commissioners have happily adopted this view, and with the express purpose of bringing specially under public attention the sanitary condition of all the several districts in a bird's-eye view, have recommended further:—

4. That the Secretary of State should be empowered to appoint one or more competent persons for the purpose of inquiring as to the immediate sanitary requirements of each district, having regard to the several powers entrusted to the local authority, whether the Metropolitan Board of Works or the vestry or district board; that the local authority should be empowered to nominate members of their own body to act with the officers so appointed, and to report the result of such inquiries by the officers appointed, to be transmitted to the local authorities and also to be laid before Parliament.

Mr. Goschen and others would prefer to see this proposed survey of the whole of London, *if made at all*, undertaken on the responsibility of the new London Government. The matter, however, is one of great urgency. The question of the *best* form of London government is one of much difficulty, and is not likely to be settled without much discussion and considerable delay, and the sooner the information is obtained the more likely is it that the local authority, however constituted, will take speedy action.

We will next consider the recommendations of the Commissioners as to the several improvements required in legislation. Probably the one which will have the most effect comes at the end of the Report; if that be so, the sting of the Report will be in its tail. The Legislature has placed various powers in the hands of the local authorities, but it has hitherto almost entirely trusted to them to carry these powers into effect. It is true that in some few instances the Secretary of State and the Local Government Board have authority to require that the law should be duly administered; but there is no such general authority, and indeed there are strong reasons against

such centralisation as would inevitably follow if such authority in a Government department were to be made general in all sanitary matters. Such an objection, however, cannot be raised against any proposal to make it *the statutory duty* of the local authority to put the law in force, leaving it to the High Court of Justice (not to a Government department) to deal with the defaulting authority; and the Commissioners have themselves adopted this view, and have recommended:—

5. That it shall be declared by statute to be the duty of the local authority to put in force such powers as they are by law entrusted with, so as to insure that no premises shall be allowed to exist in an insanitary state.

Passing from this general proposition to the various groups of Acts affecting the metropolis, the Commissioners advise many improvements in the law in every group. Let us take *first* the group of sanitary Acts enumerated in the first page of the Report—Lord Shaftesbury's Acts, the Nuisance Removal Acts, the Metropolis Local Management Act, the Sanitary Act of 1866—all passed during the last five-and-thirty years. The very number of the statutes so passed from time to time makes the mastery of their provisions a heavy task even for a lawyer or a specialist. 'They are,' said one witness, himself a solicitor of great experience, 'almost as complicated as the Church Building Acts, which nobody has as yet understood.' When it is considered in whose hands the administration of these several Acts must necessarily rest, it is evident that a consolidation of their various statutes, especially as they affect the metropolis, would be a great gain. Such a consolidation was attempted in 1877, but the subject was not then ripe. There was much objection raised to the Bill, and the matter was, unfortunately, allowed to drop. It is, of course, always difficult, as a mere matter of Parliamentary practice, in a pure consolidation bill to introduce any amendments of the law; but the recommendations of the Commissioners upon a few points are so distinct that they ought certainly to be passed into law either before or at the time of such consolidation. The evils of the single-room system, for instance, are nowhere more apparent than in the cases of death where the body remains until the funeral in the room where the family live and have their meals and sleep, and where all the ordinary acts of life go on exactly as usual; and they are of course still more glaringly apparent when the death is caused by some disease of a dangerous and highly infectious type. Take as another instance the subject of cellar dwellings. Notwithstanding the existing provisions of the law, there are still cellars inhabited which are totally unfit for human habitation, where the walls are dripping with wet for ten months of the year, which medical officers decline to condemn because they satisfy the present requirements of the law. So again no sufficient attempt has yet been made by legislation to

control the height of buildings in relation and in proportion to the open space provided in the immediate neighbourhood for securing free circulation of air, or to secure the necessary minute inspection and medical superintendence by statute, and independently of the decision or want of decision on the part of the local authorities.

As to the general sanitary Acts, therefore, the Commissioners have recommended :—

6. That the sanitary laws as regards the metropolis should be consolidated.

7. That mortuaries to a large extent be provided, and that in the event of a death through infectious disease the body be forthwith removed to one in cases where it would otherwise be retained in a room used as a dwelling by others.

8. That the duties of discovering illegally inhabited cellars and of reporting them be transferred from the district surveyors acting under the Metropolitan Board of Works to the inspectors of the local sanitary authorities.

9. That the law be amended with a view to procuring in future buildings a greater height above the level of the street, and larger areas in front of the windows of all inhabited rooms that partake of the nature of cellar dwellings.

10. That upon the lines of the existing enactments in the Acts of 1862 and 1878 rules of more general application be framed to control the height of buildings in relation to the open space which should be required to be provided in front of the buildings, either in the form of land exclusively belonging to each building and kept free from erections, or in the form of an adjoining street.

11. That in the rear of every new dwelling house or other building to be controlled by rules ordinarily applicable to dwelling houses, whether in old or new streets, there be provided a proportionate extent of space exclusively belonging to the dwelling house or building; that this space be free from erections from the ground level upwards; that it extend laterally throughout the entire width of the dwelling house or building; that for the distance across the space from the building to the boundary of adjoining premises a minimum be prescribed, and that this minimum increase with the height of the dwelling house or building.

12. That the Local Government Board, pending future legislation with regard to London government, be provisionally entrusted with a *veto* on the appointments of inspectors.

13. That the residence of medical officers in their districts or within a mile of the boundaries should be made compulsory by statute, and that the matter should not be left to the discretion of the local authority.

With regard to what is known as Lord Shaftesbury's Act, they have made further special recommendations. This Act, so far as the metropolis is concerned, enables the vestry to appoint commissioners who may borrow money on mortgage of the rates for the erection, purchase, or lease of lodging houses for the working classes, to be managed under bye-laws, but this Act has practically been a dead letter. Why? Partly, perhaps, because the rating area was not large enough to bear the burden of the necessary expenditure; partly, perhaps, because of the elaborate machinery which was at the time no doubt thought necessary as a safeguard against an unduly burdensome scheme being placed upon the ratepayers; partly, perhaps, on account of the facilities given to any ratepayer and to the owner of any interest in the properties which it might be proposed to acquire for the purpose of the Act effectually to stop proceedings; partly owing

to the difficulties of obtaining sites at fair and reasonable prices. All these considerations have had weight with the Commissioners, and, taken together with the strong expression of opinion of one who has devoted so much consideration to the subject as Lord Shaftesbury, have induced them to make the following recommendations:—

14. That the Act should in London be made metropolitan instead of parochial.

15. That the local authority should be empowered to adopt the Act by a majority of votes of members present and voting, and that the consent of the ratepayers should not in any case be required for the adoption, and that the objections of the ratepayers should not postpone the consideration of the question of adoption.

16. That compulsory powers to purchase land under the Act should be given to the local authority by provisional order.

These recommendations, however, have not been made without strong protests from some of the Commissioners. Lord Salisbury can only assent in those peculiar cases when the local authority can build without loss, and when some exceptional obstacle has arrested the action of private enterprise. Mr. Goschen and others carefully point out the great difficulty in combining the two systems of municipal and private enterprise, and would certainly limit municipal action to those cases where the municipality is itself making a sudden disturbance in the accommodation of the working classes by clearing large areas in the making of new streets or other similar improvements. Sir Richard Cross points to the example and experience of the Glasgow authorities, and would limit the power of the municipalities to the exceptional case of the lowest class population. Mr. Jesse Collings, on the other hand, has far too great faith in municipal life to have any fears upon the subject, and would only consider this as one additional undertaking to others already carried out by municipalities with success and with advantage, such as gas and water works, baths, washhouses, libraries, &c.

We will next refer to the group of statutes relating to artizans and labourers' dwellings, 1868-1882 and 1875-1882, known respectively as Mr. Torrens' Acts and Sir Richard Cross's Acts. With respect to the administration of these Acts, one point has specially forced itself upon the notice of the Commissioners as requiring immediate attention—that is to say, the question as to the border land of action between the Metropolitan Board of Works and the vestries or district boards. Places which are notoriously bad remain so because each authority maintains that the other authority ought to deal with them; the real contention between them being, whether the improvement ought to be carried out at the expense of the metropolis or at the expense of the immediate locality, neither party doubting or disputing for a moment the need of the improvement itself; the result unfortunately being that many places officially reported as insanitary are left untouched. The returns to the Secretary of State show that the Metropolitan Board, after considering the cases reported to

them, have often laid many aside, using apparently as a common form — ‘too small;’ ‘should be dealt with locally,’ &c. The general survey of the metropolis, which it may be hoped will be immediately made, in accordance with the fourth recommendation of the Commissioners, will, as a mere matter of administration, do much to put an end to this system; but happily they also recommend a statutory remedy as well, by giving in London to the Secretary of State sufficient power to enable him as the confirming authority to make it quite clear to the public upon whom the burden of taking action ought to fall; and in those cases in which the expenses ought not to be borne wholly either by the Metropolitan Board or by the vestry, in what proportion the financial burden ought to be divided. But even when all this is done, when all due inquiries have been made, when the evil has been clearly proved to exist, and the true remedy has been so far settled that it has, at all events, been clearly shown upon whose shoulders the burden ought to fall, and who is really actually responsible for carrying out the law, the local authority upon which the duty has been found to rest may, as experience has unhappily shown, fail to perform its duty; and to prevent the possibility of such a calamity in the future, the Commissioners have provided an ample remedy through the medium of the High Court of Justice, as will presently appear. Whether in those cases where the burden is found to rest upon the vestry any rate in aid might be enforced upon the contiguous districts or not, is a question upon which the Commissioners offer no opinion, but it is a question well worthy of serious consideration. The high rate of compensation which, especially in earlier cases, has been awarded by arbitration, has undoubtedly been one of the main causes which have prevented the several local authorities from taking more vigorous action than they have done under these Acts. This important subject was fully considered by the House of Commons Committee in 1881 and 1882, it has been also discussed in these pages, and it is one which has been carefully considered by the Commissioners themselves. According to the evidence of Mr. Chamberlain and others, the words used in the original Act of 1875 upon this point seem to have been as good as any that could have been devised; but experience has shown that arbitrators have not acted up to the spirit in which these provisions were framed. Great alterations were in consequence made in 1879, and again in 1882, after the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons. There has not yet been time to ascertain the full effect of the Acts of 1879 and 1882 as to this matter, but it may well be that the words of the Acts may still require strengthening in order to insure that the price of the houses be estimated, not according to high rentals resulting from overcrowding (which would in effect be giving a premium to unscrupulous owners), but based on the rentals which would be received from such a number of tenants as the dwellings are

fitted to accommodate with a due regard to decency and health. The Commissioners therefore recommend :—

17. That in all those cases which are passed over either by the Metropolitan Board on the one hand or by the vestries or district boards on the other, on the ground that the other authority ought to deal with them, the Government shall appoint an arbitrator to decide under which set of Acts the case shall fall, the duty of the arbitrator so appointed being simply to settle definitely whether the burden is one which ought to fall on the local authority or upon the Metropolitan Board. When the work is in the opinion of the arbitrator of such a nature that the expense ought to be divided between the local authority and the Metropolitan Board, power should be given to him to recommend in such cases division of the burden, and to report accordingly to the Home Secretary, who should lay the report before Parliament.

18. That with regard to the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875-1882 (Sir Richard Cross's Acts), in case of the metropolis the Secretary of State should be empowered if, after inquiry, he is satisfied that the local authority (i.e. the Metropolitan Board) ought to exercise their power in respect of the area to which the official representation relates, to make an order requiring such authority to discharge their duty in the matter, and that if such order be not complied with it should be enforceable by the High Court of Justice.

19. That under the Artisans' Dwellings Acts 1868-1882 (Mr. Torrens' Acts) the provision enabling the central authority to direct the local authority to proceed shall be extended to 'obstructive buildings' as well as to premises which are in a condition dangerous to health so as to be unfit for human habitation, and that any such direction by the Secretary of State in the metropolis shall be enforceable by the High Court.

20. That in the last two cases such order or direction of the Secretary of State should be made enforceable by an order of the court instead of by the cumbrous process of mandamus.

21. That the law as to compensation may still be strengthened by a statutory recognition of the principle that compensation should only be calculated on the base of the capacity of a house and not on the numbers actually living in it, inasmuch as overcrowding at present puts a premium on property, and by further carrying out the suggestions of the arbitrators examined before the Select Committee of 1882 with reference to the excessive assessment of the damage done to trade profit.

22. That when an appeal exists it shall only be on an order after leave obtained from a superior court on grounds which shall satisfy the court that a failure of justice has taken place, and that opposition to the confirmation of a provisional order should be confined to the single statutory ground that the area is not an unhealthy area within the meaning of the Act, and in cases only where lands are proposed to be taken not included in the area in respect of which the official representation was made that such lands are not required for the purpose of the scheme.

23. That the provision in Mr. Torrens' Acts which enable an owner who has been required to execute works in order to put his premises into a proper sanitary condition or to demolish premises, to require the local authority to purchase such premises be repealed, as it puts a premium upon neglect of duty by the owner.

The question how far the State can be called upon to assist or would be justified in assisting the local authorities out of State funds is one which has seriously engaged the attention of the Commissioners. It has been urged that the State itself is so large an employer of labour in the metropolis that it greatly contributes to the overcrowding which exists; it has also been urged that the State, through

its *laches*, has allowed a dangerous state of things to grow up, which requires an immediate remedy; and although the principle of State aid has only been recognised by the Commissioners to a very limited extent, still their recommendations upon the subject are of great value. It was shown clearly enough that much of the overcrowding was owing to the insufficiency of accommodation in those parts where the demand for dwellings was greatest, and that such districts are already so densely built over that there is no probability of finding space for additional accommodation except by the removal of existing buildings. The difficult question of course presents itself, Where can any such space for buildings be found large enough to afford any sensible relief? Happily it appears that the prison authorities are very anxious for prison purposes that the prisons now situated in London should be removed elsewhere, and are of opinion that the full amount of the existing accommodation need not be renewed. This would at once set free land to no less an extent than forty-five acres; and, so far as the mere removal of the prisons is concerned, no objection can possibly be raised against the proposal; but how to make the land so vacated available for the purposes of the required relief is a much more difficult question. There can be no doubt that such a site as Millbank would be immediately occupied by buildings of a high class, that other sites would be used for commercial purposes, and that no practical relief would be given unless the land was appropriated in some way or other to the housing of the working classes, and that no such houses would ever be built unless the land itself could be procured at such a moderate price as would enable the Peabody Trustees or other Industrial Dwellings Companies to build so as to gain a fair remuneration for their outlay. As will be seen from their recommendations, the Commissioners have attempted to solve this problem.

This is, however, a question upon which considerable difference of opinion existed. It is a question particularly affecting London, and should certainly be discussed as such, as Lord Salisbury says the condition which practically distinguishes the interior of London from all other areas in the kingdom is that sites for houses within reach of their work are too costly to be available to the mass of the working class, and that the distances are so great as to prevent many a workman whose work ties him to the interior of London from living in the suburbs, where lodging may be comparatively cheap; and to the objection that a sacrifice in price in the sale of these prison sites would constitute an eleemosynary expenditure, Lord Salisbury has argued with much force that to call the proposed operation eleemosynary is straining the meaning of the word, and that excessive concentration is in more than one respect the State's own work, owing to the number of persons in the service of the State who are compelled to live there, owing to the forcible destruction of dwellings for the purposes

of public ornament or utility, or, it may be added, owing to the *laches* of the State in not earlier legislating in sanitary matters. And he would place this sacrifice as more closely resembling a provision of compensation than as the offer of a gift. It may also very fairly be said that this large space of forty-five acres is at present tied up for one special purpose, namely, that of prison accommodation; that for State purposes it is thought desirable to remove the prisons elsewhere, and to set this large space free; that without, therefore, too rigidly following the lines of political economy in this particular instance, the spaces so unexpectedly set free may be looked upon as a windfall or a godsend, and may therefore be treated in an exceptional manner. On the other hand, Mr. Goschen and some others look with great dread at this proposal, as clearly amounting to a subsidy from the State towards the *local* object of assisting the housing of the poor in London, and as one calculated to weaken the motives which prompt the steady development of private enterprise; and they consider, from the fact that the rateable value of London is greatly enhanced by its being the seat of government, that the plea for State aid should have less force in London than in less favoured localities.

But even if the land could thus be secured at a moderate price, there would still remain the difficulty of borrowing money at a cheap rate, and the question of how far the State should make loans for purposes of this kind at a cheaper rate than can be obtained in the open market will be found very fully discussed in the pages of the Report. It will be sufficient here to give the conclusions at which the Commissioners have arrived. Should their recommendations happily be carried out, an opportunity will be offered to many who have long been looking out for some feasible plan of working in this field, and who are quite willing to subscribe large sums for the purpose of affording the required relief; and it may be hoped that the City Livery Companies may be among the first to come forward, and will be found ready and willing thus to assist those employed in the various handicrafts whose names they bear. The recommendations of the Commissioners on this head are as follows:—

24. They lay down the principle that the State should lend at the lowest rate possible without loss to the national Exchequer, and that in making the necessary calculations former losses should not be brought into account; that in the case of public bodies, when the security of public income in addition to that of land and buildings can be given, a scale lower than the present one might be established, and that when the security appeared complete this rate might be a reduction of three-eighths on the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which at present forms the lowest charge, inasmuch as the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. apparently would cover expenses and leave a small margin; that the prolongation of the term of repayment and the re-adoption of the mode of repayment by way of annuity would still further facilitate borrowing, and that the duty of advising the Public Works Loan Commissioners on artisans' dwellings schemes for the metropolis should be transferred from the Office of Works to the Home Office, which now reports generally on such schemes.

25. That the prisons of Coldbath Fields, Pentonville, and Millbank should be removed and their sites be conveyed to the Metropolitan Board of Works in trust for the benefit of those portions of the town which are most overcrowded, and that for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of securing additional land where most required in the metropolis for building room for workmen's dwellings, and for open spaces connected therewith, power should be given previous to their acquisition by the Metropolitan Board to sell or exchange with the approval of the Home Office any portion of such sites, and that the areas obtained instead should be devoted in proportions to be fixed by the confirming authority to those uses and no other.

26. That in fixing the price at which the sites should be so conveyed, due regard should be had to the purposes for which they are so required.

There are several other matters of a general character upon which special recommendations are made, among which there is notably one which most nearly affects almost every proposal for improving the dwellings of the working classes. No one can doubt that the present incidence of local taxation stands seriously in the way of all progress and practical reform, and that some early readjustment of the burdens falling upon realty and personalty is imperatively called for. Such is the opinion of the Commissioners. It was not within the scope of their commission to provide the remedy, but nothing can be stronger than their expression of opinion that 'until some reform is introduced which shall secure contributions to local expenditure from other sources of income received by residents in the locality, in addition to the present rateable property, no great progress can be made in local improvements;' but although they have not entered fully into the remedy, which is a matter for high statesmanship, they have specially pointed out one case as requiring immediate attention—namely, that land available for building in the neighbourhood of populous centres, the capital value of which is great, the annual return from which, however, until let for building, is very small, at present escapes being rated, and that rated it ought to be. No one can say that so far as it goes this is not a great alteration in the whole principle of the law of rating established in the time of Elizabeth. And, as might naturally have been expected, several of the Commissioners do not agree in the recommendation, and special memoranda have been added by Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen, and Sir Richard Cross, on the ground that the suggestion involves an entirely new principle in the law of rating—namely, taxation of capital instead of annual value; that if vacant land be rated, vacant houses must follow the same law, and that evasion of the law and other evils must be the necessary consequence. The Commissioners, however, as a body recommended:

27. That such vacant land should be rated at some fixed percentage on its selling value, say 4l. per cent.

Irrespective, however, of this great question of rating, it has been made quite clear that at present there exist many legal hindrances

to attaining the great object in view—namely, the building of good accommodation for the working classes, and the ensuring that buildings when erected are supplied with proper and necessary appliances, sufficient light, unused air, and pure water. Limited owners and trustees often find themselves powerless to carry out their wishes in respect of houses of this character; the large legal expenses attending the transfer of land, and the heavy stamp duties now payable, are a great obstacle, especially in the case of small holdings. A suggestion was made to the Commissioners for ensuring a cheap transfer of small tenements, which will be found in Mr. Broadhurst's memorandum—namely, that the local authority might, on application, and on being satisfied that it was a case in which it should take action, itself investigate and guarantee the title, making merely a charge of two per cent. on the value or purchase money, in order to cover the cost and prevent risk of loss on the guarantor; and there can be no doubt that, if such a plan could be carried out, transfers would largely increase in number. The Report, however, gives no answer to the question, but passes it over in silence. We would venture to suggest that the first step towards reducing the cost of transfer would be to procure Ordnance maps on a large scale, on which the parcels transferred might be coloured, and which should be deposited in some local register office, and that the next step would be to place small tenements on such a footing as would enable the person or persons in whose name the property is registered to give a good title so far as the purchase is concerned, so that a purchaser need not inquire into the matter of trusts at all, leaving that question to be settled between the trustee and the *cestui que trust* in regard to the application of the purchase-money paid. Besides this question of transfer the evils attendant upon railway demolition were forcibly brought before the Commissioners, and also the necessity that exists that displacement and rebuilding should be as nearly as possible simultaneous. It has, too, been already shown in these pages that while on the one hand it is absolutely necessary, owing to the nature of their various occupations, that many of the poorer classes must live in the centre, or at all events in or near some particular part or parts of the metropolis, many can afford very well to live in cheaper dwellings in the suburbs; and that one of the great instruments at our disposal for the purpose of relieving the overcrowding in many parts of London is to be found in cheap workmen's trains; and the inadequacy of the water supply and the question of the responsibility of owners have already been specially alluded to. All these matters have been carefully considered by the Commissioners, and the result of their deliberations is to be found in the following recommendations:—

As to facilitating and cheapening the transfer of land.

28. That the law be so amended as to enable limited owners and corporations to apply trust funds on other than the best terms where the object is the erection of artisans' dwellings on their land.

29. That the Settled Land Act be so amended as to permit the application of trust funds to improvements in towns by way of building.

30. That any possible reforms in the direction of reducing the legal charges on the transfer of land must be the result of a separate and special inquiry. They have, however, in consequence of evidence brought before them in Scotland subsequent to the completion of their first report, recommended in their Scottish report to the favourable consideration of the Treasury a reduction of the stamp duties throughout the United Kingdom, and in Scotland of the fees at the Register House also, in the case of small properties, as a measure which might be adopted without risk of loss, owing to the probable increase in the number of transfers.

As to demolition by railways and as to rebuilding.

31. That upon the subject of the Cheap Trains Act of 1883 the Board of Trade should themselves initiate communication with the London Trades Council and other representative bodies of workmen, and should secure to the working classes the full benefit to which they are entitled under that Act as to houses as well as in other respects.

32. That railway companies, in the case of demolitions of house property, be required to provide new accommodation for the number of persons previously residing in the houses demolished, and be precluded from using the dwellings so substituted for any other purpose without the consent of the local authority.

33. That it should be made compulsory by statute for displacement and rebuilding to be as nearly as possible simultaneous, leaving only the details to the local authority.

As to the responsibility of owners.

34. That there should be a simple power by civil procedure for the recovery of damages against owners or holders of property by those who have suffered injury or loss by their neglect or default in sanitary matters; that the duty should be thrown upon owners of erecting sufficient privy accommodation where it does not already exist; and that the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875, by which the court may impose a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* upon any person upon whom an order is made (provisions which do not at present extend to the metropolis), should be extended to the metropolis, and that the maximum penalty might also with advantage be increased.

As regards the water supply.

35. That such water supply should, as a general rule, be in the hands of the local authority; and, recognising the grave consequences which may result from the misuse of the power of the water companies to cut off the water supply, that the companies should be deprived of the summary power which they now possess.

The difference of opinion as to the question of giving, by statute, facilities to leaseholders to compel the lessor to enfranchise has already been alluded to, and the reasons why the Commissioners did not as a body accept Mr. Broadhurst's views have been explained. Upon one point, however, connected with leases, the Commissioners have made special reference to the provision of a Private Act (44 and 45 Vict. c. clxxxii.)—Sir Sydney Waterlow's Chambers and Offices Act, which was obtained in order to give facilities, by means of a company, for the acquisition by artisans and labourers of the tenements which they occupy in industrial dwellings; one very important feature of the Act being a plan whereby arrangement can be made for the occupiers, by paying an increased rent over a certain number of years, to

become the actual owners. The principle of this Act has met with the strong approval of the Commissioners, who would gladly see it extended in an amended form as a Public Act to all companies incorporated for the purpose of providing dwellings for the working classes, and even, under proper restrictions, to local authorities.

It is unnecessary here to go into any lengthened discussion as to how many of the above recommendations are more or less applicable to provincial towns and urban sanitary districts. As the Commissioners remark, the conditions of life in various provincial towns differ as much from one another as they do from what is found in the metropolis, and it would not, therefore, be safe to enforce any uniform set of regulations upon them. Much may be safely left to the individual municipality, and few would dispute the conclusions to be found in the Report that each of such local authorities should have the power of making bye-laws without any previous action, such as is now required, on the part of the Local Government Board. Nor does there seem now to be any reason why in the case of the Artisans' Dwellings Act, 1875, the limitation confining the operation of the Act to places having a minimum population of five-and-twenty thousand should be any longer maintained.

With regard to rural districts much valuable and exhaustive evidence was given, and the Commissioners had also before them the results of the labours of the Commissioners of 1867 and of 1879; there is, therefore, considerable force in the statement of Mr. Jesse Collings that the Report does not deal sufficiently either with the condition of the labourers or with the remedies suggested by the witnesses. It is quite true that they have set out at some length many of the facts. They are convinced that the greatest diversity exists in different places, and that no general statement can be made as to one county being notorious for bad houses of the labouring classes, and another equally remarkable for its superior accommodation; nor are all the good cottages found on large estates in the hands of rich owners, and all the bad ones on properties which are not of a sufficient size and importance to mention by name. Much has undoubtedly been done since 1867, but much evil still remains. The Commissioners admit the difficulty attaching to the investigation of the subject of the housing of the agricultural labourer without entering fully upon cognate subjects, which might by many be considered as beyond the scope of their inquiry, such as the causes which determine the rate of wages and the relations of the labourer to the land; but a paragraph in the earlier part of their Report would naturally lead the reader to suppose that they had merely reserved what they had to say in the way of suggestion to the later, and what may be called the operative, part of their Report; and many a reader will agree with Mr. Collings that when he comes to that operative part he will look in vain for what he expected to find. They do

undoubtedly state that they have distinctly in view a reform of local government in counties, and they recommend the extension of Lord Shaftesbury's Act to purely rural districts, and that it should be so extended as to give power to the local authority to add to each tenement half an acre of garden ground, a proposal to which Lord Salisbury raises considerable objections; but they abstain from expressing any opinion upon the grave questions raised by Mr. Collings in his memorandum, and upon several others which were presumably raised before the Commission, and which were apparently laid aside, perhaps too hastily, as being somewhat beyond the scope of their instructions.

In the case of a Commission constituted as the present one has been, one would naturally expect to find strong difference of opinion on many points material to the subject of such an inquiry, although, as has certainly been the case in the present instance, every member has had but one common object in view. It is satisfactory to find that the Report itself has been signed by all the Commissioners, though at the same time in many instances subject to certain reservations. Individual differences of opinion, of course, appear in their strongest light in the reservations and memoranda which have not been signed by the whole body. Almost all of the points which were raised in these several memoranda in a somewhat crude state have already been shortly touched upon in these pages. Many will no doubt be brought forward in a more thoroughly considered state, and will be publicly discussed; public opinion will gradually ripen as to their respective merits and demerits, and, with more or less modification, some will probably eventually become law. Space will not permit further discussion upon them here. The object of these pages has been to place shortly and concisely before the general reader the main outlines of the case, especially so far as London is concerned, and it is much to be desired that Parliament will lose no time in giving effect to most of the recommendations which have been made, and that owners of property and local authorities will for the future be found to act up to the full measure of their responsibilities.

RICHARD ASSETON CROSS.

GENIUS AND INSANITY.

THE problems which have so long perplexed the thoughtful mind in presence of that dark yet fascinating mystery, the nature and origin of genius, have recently propounded themselves with new stress and insistence. Whatever may be said against Mr. Froude's neglect of the pruning knife in publishing Carlyle's *Journals and Letters*, the psychologist at least will be grateful to him for what is certainly an unusually full and direct presentment of the temperament and life of genius. Here we may study the strange lineaments which stamp a family likeness on the selected few in whose souls has burnt the genuine fire of inspiration. These memoirs disclose with a startling distinctness the pathetic as well as the heroic side of the great man. In Carlyle we see the human spirit in its supreme strength jarred and put out of tune by the suffering incident to preternaturally keen sensibilities and an unalterably gloomy temperament.

In this strange record, too, we find ourselves once more face to face with what is perhaps the most fascinating of the fascinating problems surrounding the subject of intellectual greatness, that of its relation to mental health. Carlyle compels the attentive reader to propound to himself anew the long-standing puzzle, 'Is genius something wholly normal and sane?' For there is surely a suggestion of temporary mental unsoundness in the idea of that lonely wanderer through the crowded streets of London suddenly seeing in the figures he met so many spectres, and feeling himself to be 'but another 'ghastly phantom haunted by demons.' And if all anger is a sort of madness, it is but natural that one should see something of a momentary mania in those terrible outbursts of a spirit of revolt against all things which now and again made desolate the Chelsea home, and wrung from the sage's wife the humiliating confession that she felt as if she were 'keeper in a madhouse.'

The idea that there is an affinity between genius and mental disease seems at first foreign to our modern habits of thought. In the one, we have human intellect rejoicing in titanic strength; in the other, that same intellect disordered and pitifully enfeebled. Yet, as has been hinted, the belief in the connection of the two is an old and persistent one. In truth, the common opinion has always gravitated towards this belief. A word or two may make this clear.

To the multitude of men genius wears a double aspect. Superlative intellectual endowment is plainly something very unlike the ordinary type of intelligence. The relation of lofty superiority includes that of distance, and mediocrity in viewing the advent of some new spiritual star may adopt either the one or the other *manière de voir*. Which aspect it will select for special contemplation depends on circumstances. In general, it may be said that, since the recognition of greatness presupposes a power of comprehension not always granted to mediocrity, the fact of distance is more likely to impress than the fact of altitude. It is only when supreme wisdom has justified itself, as in the predictions of the true prophet, that its essential rightness is seen by the crowd. Otherwise the great man has had to look for recognition mainly from his peers and the slightly more numerous company of those whose heads rise above the mists of contemporary prejudice.

It is easy to see that this vulgar way of envisaging genius as marked divergence from common-sense views of things may lead on to a condemnation of it as a thing unnatural and misshapen. For, evidently, such divergence bears a superficial likeness to eccentricity. Indeed, as has been well said, the original teacher has this much in common with the man mentally deranged, that he 'is in a minority of one;' and, when pains are not taken to note the direction of the divergence, originality may readily be confounded with the most stupid singularity. And further, a cursory glance at the constitution of genius will suffice to show that the originator of new and startling ideas is very apt to shock the sense of common men by eccentricities in his manner of life. A man whose soul is being consumed by the desire to discover some new truth, or to give shape to some new artistic idea, is exceedingly liable to fall below the exactions of conventional society in the matter of toilette and other small businesses of life. Among the many humorously pathetic incidents in the records of great men, there is perhaps none more touching than the futile attempt of Beethoven to dress himself with scrupulous conformity to the Viennese pattern of his day.

In contradistinction to this disparaging view, the admiring contemplation of the great man as towering above minds of ordinary stature seems directly opposed to any approximation of the ideas of genius and mental disorder. And this has undoubtedly been in the main the tendency of the more intelligent kind of reverence. At the same time, by a strange giddy-like movement in the current of human thought, the very feeling for the marvellousness of genius has given birth to a theory of its nature which in another way has associated it with mental aberration. I refer to the ancient doctrine of inspiration as developed more particularly in Greece.

It may be worth while to review for a moment the general course of thought on this dark subject.

In the classic world, preternatural intellectual endowments were on the whole, greeted with admiration. In Greece more particularly, the fine æsthetic sense for what is noble, and the quenchless thirst for new ideas led to a revering appreciation of great original powers.¹ The whole manner of viewing such gifts was charged with supernaturalism. As the very words employed clearly indicate, such fine native endowment was attributed to the superior quality of the protective spirit (*δαίμων*, genius) which attended each individual from his birth. We see this supernaturalism still more plainly in the Greek notion of the process of intellectual generation. The profound mystery of the process, hardly less deep than that of physical generation, led to the grand supposition of a direct action of the Deity on the productive mind. To the Greeks, the conception of new artistic ideas implied a possession (*κατοχή*) of the individual spirit by the god.

Now it might naturally occur to one that such an inundation of the narrow confines of the human mind by the divine fulness would produce a violent disturbance of its customary processes. It was a shock which agitated the whole being to its foundation, exciting it to a pitch of frenzy or mania. The poet was conceived of as infuriated or driven mad by the god. And a somewhat analogous effect of divine intoxication was recognised by Plato as constituting the essence of philosophic intuition.² Hence Greek and Roman literature abounds with statements and expressions which tend to assimilate the man of genius to a madman. The 'furor poeticus' of Cicero and the 'amabilis insania' of Horace answer to the *θεία μανία* of Plato. And to the more scientific mind of Aristotle it appeared certain (according to Seneca) that there was no great intellect (*magnum ingenium*) without some mixture of madness (*dementia*).

It must be remembered, however, that in the eyes of the ancients genius was hardly degraded by this companionship with madness. Men had not yet begun to look on insanity as one of the most pitiable of maladies. So far from this, it was a common idea that the insane were themselves inspired by the action of deity. We have a striking illustration of the absence even among the educated Greeks of the modern feeling towards madness in the fact that Plato was able to argue, with no discoverable trace of his playful irony, that certain sorts of madness are to be esteemed a good rather than an evil.³

The influence of Christianity and of the Church served at first to

¹ Sokrates is perhaps only an apparent exception, for the odium he excited seems to have been due to the essentially critical and destructive character of his mission.

² See the memorable passage in the *Phædrus*, p. 244 A, &c. Plato went so far as to suggest that the name *μάντις*, seer, was derived from *μανθάνω*, to rage or be mad.

³ *Phædrus*, loc. cit. Mr. Lecky points out that the Greeks had no asylums for the insane (*History of European Morals*, vol. ii. p. 90). On the other hand, Dr. Maudsley tells us that Greek scientific opinion on the subject was an anticipation of modern ideas (*Responsibility in Mental Disease*, p. 6).

brand mental derangement with the mark of degradation. The doctrine of possession now assumed a distinctly repellent form by the introduction of the Oriental idea of an evil spirit taking captive the human frame, and using it as an instrument of its foul purposes. The full development of this idea of demoniacal possession in the Middle Ages led, as we know, to many cruelties. And though Christianity showed its humane side in making provision for the insane by asylums, the treatment of mental disease during this period was, on the whole, marked by much harshness.⁴

This debasement of the idea of madness had, however, no appreciable effect in dissolving the companionship of the two ideas in popular thought. For the attitude of the Church was, for the most part, hostile to new ideas, and so to men of original power. In sooth we know that they were again and again branded as heretics, and as wicked men possessed by the devil. And thus genius was attached to insanity by a new bond of kinship.

The transition to the modern period introduces us to a new conception both of genius and of insanity. The impulse of inquisitiveness, the delight in new ideas, aided by the historical spirit with its deep sense of indebtedness to the past, have led the later world to extol intellectual greatness. We have learnt to see in it the highest product of Nature's organic energy, the last and greatest miracle of evolution. On the other hand, the modern mind has ceased to see in insanity a supernatural agency, and in assimilating it to other forms of disease has taken up a humane and helpful attitude towards it.

Such a change of view might seem at first to necessitate a sharp severance of the new ideas. For while it places genius at the apex of evolution, it reduces madness to a form of disintegration and dissolution. Nevertheless, we meet in modern literature with an unmistakable tendency to maintain the old association of ideas. Genius is now recognised as having a pathological side, or a side related to mental disease. Among our own writers we have so healthy and serene a spirit as Shakespeare asserting a degree of affinity between poetic creation and madness:—

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact, &c.

Midsommer Night's Dream, act v. sc. 1.

A more serious affirmation of a propinquity is to be found in the well-known lines of Dryden:—

Great wits^a are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.^b

As might be expected, French writers, with their relish for pungent paradox, have dwelt with special fulness on this theme. 'Infinis

⁴ See Lecky, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 92, &c.; cf. Maudsley, *op. cit.* p. 10.

^b *Absalom and Achitophel*, part i. line 163.

esprits,' writes Montaigne on a visit to Tasso in his asylum, 'se trouvent ruinez par leur propre force et soupplesse.' Pascal observes that 'l'extrême esprit est voisin de l'extrême folie.' In a similar strain Diderot writes, 'Oh ! que le génie et la folie se touchent de bien près !' The French writer who most distinctly emphasises the proposition is Lamartine. 'Le génie,' he observes in one place, 'porte en lui un principe de destruction, de mort, de folie, comme le fruit porte le ver ;' and again he speaks of that 'maladie mentale' which is called genius.

In German literature it is Goethe, the perfect ideal, as it would seem, of healthy genius, who dwells most impressively on this idea. His drama, *Tasso*, is an elaborate attempt to uncover and expose the morbid growths which are apt to cling parasitically about the tender plant of genius. With this must be mentioned, as another striking literary presentment of the same subject, the two eloquent passages on the nature of genius in Schopenhauer's *opus magnum*.

Against this compact consensus of opinion on the one side we have only a rare protest like that of Charles Lamb on behalf of the radical sanity of genius.⁶ Such a mass of opinion cannot lightly be dismissed as valueless. It is impossible to set down utterances of men like Diderot or Goethe to the envy of mediocrity. Nor can we readily suppose that so many penetrating intellects have been misled by a passion for startling paradox. We are to remember, moreover, that this is not a view of the great man *ab extra*, like that of the vulgar already referred to ; it is the opinion of members of the distinguished fraternity themselves who are able to observe and study genius from the inside.

Still, it may be said, this is after all only unscientific opinion. Has science, with her more careful method of investigating and proving, anything to say on this interesting theme ? It is hardly to be supposed that she would have overlooked so fascinating a subject. And, as a matter of fact, it has received a considerable amount of attention from pathologists and psychologists. And here for once science appears to support the popular opinion. The writers who have made the subject their special study agree as to the central fact that there is a relation between high intellectual endowment and mental derangement, though they differ in their way of defining this relation. This conclusion is reached both inductively by a survey of facts, and deductively by reasoning from the known nature and conditions of great intellectual achievement on the one hand, and of mental disease on the other.⁷

⁶ See his essay, 'Sanity of True Genius,' in the *Last Essays of Elia*.

⁷ The principal authoritative utterances on the subject are Moreau, *La Psychologie morbide*, &c. ; Hagen, 'Ueber die Verwandtschaft des Genies mit dem Irresein' (*Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, Band 33) ; and Radestock, *Genie und Wahnsinn* (Breslau, 1884). This last contains the latest review of the whole question, and is written in a thoroughly cautious scientific spirit. I have derived much aid from it in preparing this essay.

What we require first of all is clearly as many instances as can be found of men of genius who have exhibited intellectual or moral peculiarities which are distinctly symptomatic of mental disease. Such a collection of facts, if sufficient, will supply us with a basis for induction. In making this collection we need not adopt any theory respecting the nature either of genius or of mental disease. It is sufficient to say that we include under the former term all varieties of originaive power, whether in art, science, or practical affairs. And as to the latter term, it is enough to start with the assumption that fully developed insanity is recognisable by certain well-known marks; and that there are degrees of mental deterioration, and a gradual transition from mental health to mental disease, the stages of which also can, roughly at least, be marked off and identified.

In surveying the facts which have been relied on by writers, we shall lay most stress on mental as distinguished from bodily or nervous symptoms. And of these we may conveniently begin with the less serious manifestations.

I. The lowest grade of mental disturbance is seen in that temporary appearance of irrationality which comes from an extreme state of 'abstraction' or absence of mind. To the vulgar, as already hinted, all intense preoccupation with ideas, by calling off the attention from outer things and giving a dream-like appearance to the mental state, is apt to appear symptomatic of 'queerness' in the head. But in order that it may find a place among distinctly abnormal features this absence of mind must attain a certain depth and persistence. The ancient story of Archimedes, and the amusing anecdotes of Newton's fits, if authentic, might be said perhaps to illustrate the border-line between a normal and an abnormal condition of mind. A more distinctly pathological case is that of Beethoven, who could not be made to understand why his standing in his night attire at an open window should attract the irreverent notice of the street boys. For in this case we have a temporary incapacity to perceive exterior objects and their relations; and a deeper incapacity of a like nature clearly shows itself in poor Johnson's standing before the town clock vainly trying to make out the hour.

This same aloofness of mind from the external world betrays itself in many of the eccentric habits attributed to men and women of genius. Here again Johnson serves as a good instance. His inconvenient habit of suddenly breaking out with scraps of the Lord's Prayer in a fashionable assembly marks a distinctly dangerous drifting away of the inner life from the firm anchorage of external fact.

In the cases just considered we have to do with a kind of mental blindness to outer circumstances. A further advance along the line of intellectual degeneration is seen in the persistence of vivid ideas, commonly anticipations of evil of some kind, which have no basis in external reality. Johnson's dislike to particular alleys in his London

walks, and Madame de Stael's bizarre idea that she would suffer from cold when buried, may be taken as examples of these painful delusions or *idées fixes*. A more serious stage of such delusions is seen in the case of Pascal, who is said to have been haunted by the fear of a gulph yawning just in front of him, which sometimes became so overmastering that he had to be fastened by a chain to keep him from leaping forward.

It is plain that in this last case we touch on the confines of sense-illusion. It is probable that hallucinations may occur as very rare experiences in the case of normal and healthy minds. Yet though not confined to states of insanity, illusions of the senses are commonly if not always indicative of at least a temporary disturbance of the psycho-physical organism. And we have on record a considerable number of instances of eminent men who were subject to these deceptions. It is not only the religious recluse, with his ill-nourished body, and his persistent withdrawal from the corrective touch of outer things, who experiences them. Luther was their victim as well as Loyola. Auditory hallucinations—that is, the hearing of imaginary voices—appear to have occurred to Malebranche and Descartes, as they certainly did to Johnson. The instances of visual hallucinations are perhaps more numerous still. Pope, Johnson, Byron, Shelley, are said to have had their visions. Even so strong and well-balanced a mind as Goethe was not exempted. Nor has the active life of the soldier always proved a safeguard. The stories of the prognostic visions of Brutus and other generals of the old world are well known. Among modern ones, Napoleon is said to have had recurring visits from his guardian spirit or genius.

In the abnormalities just touched on, disturbance of intellectual function is the chief circumstance, though an element of emotional disturbance is commonly observable as well. In another class of cases this last ingredient becomes the conspicuous feature. By this is meant such an accession of general emotional excitability, and along with this such a hypertrophy and absolute ascendancy of certain feelings, as to constitute a distinct approximation to the disorganised psychical state which has been called moral insanity.

And here reference may first be made to that violence of temper and that extravagant projection of self and its concerns to the displacement of others' claims and interests which might be termed a kind of moral hallucination. How many names in the roll of English writers at once occur to the mind in this connection! Pope, Johnson, Swift, Byron, to which list must now be added Carlyle, may be taken as typical instances of the *genus irritabile vatum*. And among foreign deities, we have Voltaire and Rousseau, Handel and Beethoven, and even philosophers like Herder and Schopenhauer.

Other emotional disorders take on more distinctly the aspect of moral obliquities. And here we have specially to do with poetic

genius. Without adopting the slightly contemptuous opinion that poets are, as a rule, a 'sensuous, erotic race,' one must admit that an untamed wildness of amatory passion has been a not infrequent accompaniment of fine poetic imaginations⁸

For a clear illustration, however, of the morbid tendency of such irregularities, we must go not to the comparatively regular life of a Goethe or a Shelley, but to the wild and lawless career of a Rousseau, of whom it was well said by a clever woman, 'Quand la Nature forma Rousseau, la sagesse pétrit la pâte, mais la folie y jeta son levain.'⁹

To a tempestuous violence of sexual passion there has too commonly joined itself a feverish craving for physical stimulants;⁹ and so the pure heavenly flame of genius has again and again had to contend with the foul, murky vapours which exhale from the lower animal nature. No need to tell again the gloomy story of splendid power eaten into and finally destroyed by the cancer of rampant appetite. In our own literature the names of Ben Jonson, Nat Lee, Burns, and others at once occur to the student. Edgar Allan Poe represents the same tragic fatefulness of genius in American letters. Among Frenchmen we have as conspicuous examples Villon and De Musset. Among Germans, Günther, Bürger, and numbers of those about Herder and Goethe in the turbulent times of the *Sturm und Drang*, and Hoffmann, the novelist, suffered the same moral shipwreck.

II. We may now pass to another class of cases in which the pathological character is still more plainly discernible. Outbursts of fierce passionateness may perhaps be thought by some to be after all only marks of a certain kind of robust vitality. But no one will say this of the gloomy depression, the melancholy brooding on personal ills, ending sometimes in distinctly hypochondriac despondency, which have not unfrequently been the accompaniment of great intellectual power. It was remarked by Aristotle, who was a long way the shrewdest and most scientific observer of antiquity, that all men of genius have been melancholic or atrabilious.¹⁰ He instances Empedocles, Socrates, and Plato, and the larger number of the poets. And the page of modern biographic literature would supply many a striking illustration of the same temperament. The pessimism of Johnson, Swift, Byron, and Carlyle, of Schopenhauer and Lenau, of Leopardi and of Lamartine, may perhaps be taken as a signal mani-

⁸ Even the spiritual Dante has been found wanting in this matter by no more strait-laced an authority than Boccaccio.

⁹ These include not only alcoholic drinks but opium, to the use of which Voltaire, Madame de Stael, Coleridge, and De Quincey, and probably others were addicted. The excitement of gambling seemed in Lessing's case to fill the place of physical stimulants.

¹⁰ 'Cur homines qui ingenio claruerunt vel in studiis philosophiæ, vel in republicâ administrandâ, vel in carmine pangendo, vel in artibus exercendis, melancolicos omnes fuisse videamus?' *Prob. xxx.* Aristotle's authority on the point is quoted by Cicero, *Tuscul. disp. i. 33; de divin. i. 38.*

festation of the gloom which is apt to encompass great and elevated spirits, like the mists which drift towards and encircle the highest mountain peaks.

In some cases this melancholy assumes a more acute form, giving rise to the thought, and even the act of suicide. Among those who have confessed to have experienced the impulse may be mentioned Goethe in the Werther days, Beethoven during the depression brought on by his deafness, Chateaubriand in his youth, and George Sand also in her early days. The last, writing of her experience, says: '*Cette sensation (at the sight of water, a precipice, &c.) fut quelquefois si vive, si subite, si bizarre, que je pus bien constater que c'était une espèce de folie dont j'étais atteinte.*' Johnson's weariness of life was, it seems certain, only prevented from developing into the idea of suicide by his strong religious feeling and his extraordinary dread of death, which was itself, perhaps, a morbid symptom.

In some cases this idea prompted to actual attempts to take away life. The story of Cowper's trying to hang himself and afterwards experiencing intense religious remorse is well known. Another instance is that of Saint-Simon, whose enormous vanity itself looks like a form of monomania, and who, in a fit of despondency, fired a pistol at his head, happily with no graver result than the loss of an eye. Alfieri, who was the victim of the 'most horrid melancholy,' tried on one occasion, after being bled by a surgeon, to tear off the bandage in order to bleed to death. Among those who succeeded in taking away their life are Chatterton, whose mind had been haunted by the idea from early life, Kleist the poet, and Beneke the philosopher.

III. We may now pass to the most important group of facts—namely, instances of men of genius who have suffered from fully developed mental disease.

In certain cases this disruption of the organs of mind shows itself in old age, and here, it is evident, we have to distinguish what is known as senile dementia from the impairment of faculty incident to old age. A clear instance of cerebral disease is afforded by the botanist Linnæus, whose faculties gave way after a stroke. The mental stupor into which the poet Southey finally sank was a similar phenomenon. Swift's fatal disease, the nature of which has only recently been cleared up by science, was cerebral disorganisation brought on by peripheral disease in the organ of hearing. Zimmermann, the author of the work on Solitude, who had been a hypochondriac from the age of twenty, ended his life in a state of melancholy indistinguishable from insanity. The final collapse, under the pressure of pecuniary anxieties, of Scott's cerebral powers is too well known to need more than a bare mention.

Besides these instances of senile collapse, there are several cases of insanity showing itself in the vigorous period of life. Sometimes,

as in the instance of Richelieu, who had shown himself an erratic being from his childhood, the madness appeared as a sudden and transient fit of delirium. In other cases the disorder took a firmer hold on the patient. Charles Lamb, Mandel, and Auguste Comte suffered from insanity for a time, and had to be put under restraint. Tasso, whose whole nature was distinctly tinged with the 'insane temperament,' had again and again to be confined as a madman. Donizetti was also for a time insane and confined in an asylum. Among those who became hopelessly insane were the poets Lenau and Hölderlin and the composer Schumann, the latter of whom had long been the victim of melancholy and hallucinations, and had before his confinement attempted to drown himself in the Rhine.

I have preferred to dwell on the psychical aspect of the relation between genius and disease. But no adequate investigation of the subject is possible which does not consider the physical aspect as well. No one now perhaps really doubts that to every degree of mental disturbance and mental disorganisation there corresponds some degree of deterioration and disorganisation of the nerve-centres. Psychical disturbance and disruption proceed *pari passu* with physical.

This being so, it is pertinent to our study to remark that men of genius have in a surprising number of cases been affected by forms of nervous disease which, though not having such well-marked psychical accompaniments as occur in states of insanity, are known to be allied to these.

IV. To begin with, it seems certain that a number of great men have died from disease of the nerve-centres. Among other names may be mentioned Pascal, who had all his life been the victim of nervous disorders, and who succumbed, at the early age of thirty-nine, to paralysis accompanied by convulsions. Two of the greatest scientific men, Kepler and Cuvier, died, according to Moreau, from disease of the brain. Rousseau was carried off by an attack of apoplexy. Mozart's early death was due to brain disease, showing itself in other ways by morbid delusions, fainting fits, and convulsions. Another musician, Mendelssohn, succumbed to an attack of apoplexy. Heine's fatal malady, which kept him for seven years a prisoner in his 'mattress-grave,' was disease of the lower nerve-centres in the spinal cord.

Other men of genius have suffered from nervous disorders from time to time. Molière was the subject of recurring convulsions, an attack of which would prevent him from writing for fifteen days. Alfieri, to whose morbid mental symptoms reference has already been made, suffered when young from a disease of the lymphatic system, and was afterwards liable to convulsions. Paganini, the musician, suffered from an attack of catalepsy when four years old, and later on was the victim of recurring convulsions; and Schiller, who was very delicate

from youth, was also the subject of recurring fainting fits and convulsions.

The lesser forms of nervous disorder—headache, malaise, and recurring periods of nervous prostration—are too common among all brain-workers to call for special notice here. The latest biography of a woman of genius strikingly illustrates this milder form of the penalty which mortals have to pay for daring to aspire to the ranks of the immortals. In George Eliot we have one more name added to the list of great ones to whom, to use the words of a French writer, has been granted 'le funeste privilège d'entendre crier à toute heure les ressorts de leur machine.'

V. One other significant group of facts remains to be touched on. In a considerable number of cases it has been ascertained that insanity or other form of nervous disorder has shown itself in the same family as genius, whether as its forerunner, companion, or successor. Chateaubriand's father is said to have died of apoplexy. Schopenhauer's grandmother and uncle were imbecile. Several distinguished men had insane sisters, among others Richelieu, Diderot, Hegel,¹¹ and Charles Lamb. One of Mendelssohn's sons became insane.¹²

I have endeavoured in this brief review of the alleged facts to give an adequate impression of their variety and range. It now remains to inquire into their precise evidential value.

The first question that naturally arises here is whether the facts are well authenticated and accurately presented. A cautious mind will readily reflect that if genius as such is apt to assume an abnormal aspect to average common-sense, biographers may easily have invented, or at least exaggerated, some of the alleged morbid characteristics of the great; and as a matter of fact there is good reason to suppose that this falsifying of the record of greatness has taken place. I may refer to the story of the madness and suicide of Lucretius, which is extremely doubtful, and may have grown out of a religious horror at the supposed tendency of his writings. The story of Newton's madness, again, which is given by a French biographer, and which is ably refuted by Sir David Brewster, may owe much of its piquancy to what may be called the unconscious inventiveness of prejudice. Very possibly the stories of the visions of Brutus, Cromwell, and others have had a like origin.

Again, it will be said that even medical men—wishing like others to magnify their office—may have been too ready in spying out the symptoms of insanity. If they are fallible in dealing with the living subject, all of whose physical and mental characteristics are accessible to observation, how much more likely are they to err in diagnosing

¹¹ That Hegel's sister was insane and drowned herself is asserted by Moreau, on the authority of an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and quoted by Radstock.

¹² Symptoms of insanity are said by Moreau to have shown themselves in the families of several eminent rulers, including Peter the Great. (See Radstock, p. 4 seq.)

the minds of the dead by help of a few fragmentary indications only? I think the force of this objection, too, must be allowed. When, for example, a French alienist thinks it worth while to write a book in order to prove that the belief of Sokrates in a controlling divinity (τὸ δαιμόνιον) was a symptom of mental disease, a layman may be pardoned for demanding a mode of investigation more in accordance with the proud claims of science to our absolute and unstinted confidence. A well-informed and critical reader of M. Moreau's tables of biographical facts will not fail to challenge more than one statement of his respecting the morbid characteristics of great men, ancient and modern.¹³

Allowing, however, for a margin of error, I do not think any candid mind will fail to see that such a body of facts as remains is sufficient to justify us in drawing a conclusion. If men of the highest intellectual calibre were not more liable to mental and nervous disorders than others, no such list out of the short roll of great names could have been obtained. No elaborate calculations are needed, I think, to show that mental malady occurs too often in the history of genius.¹⁴

One might perhaps try to evade the unpalatable conclusion by saying that there is genius and genius; that it is weakly, one-sided, and bizarre originality which exhibits these unhealthinesses, whereas the larger and more vigorous productiveness of an Aristotle, a Shakespeare, or a Goethe, is free from such blemishes.¹⁵ I think, however, that our facts will compel us to reject this saving clause. There is no question among competent critics of the splendid quality of genius of Swift, of Carlyle, or of Beethoven. Nor in cases of so-called healthy genius can it be said that nothing abnormal ever shows itself. The above references to Goethe may serve to indicate the liability to abnormal deviation even in the strongest and seemingly most stable type of genius. As for Shakespeare, the instance commonly referred to by Lamb and others who have come to the defence of genius, it is enough to say that our knowledge of his personality and life is far too meagre to justify any conclusion on the point.¹⁶

And this brings us to another very important consideration. If

¹³ As when he sees in Swift's witty pamphlet on Ireland a distinct presage of oncoming insanity. In some cases he is inexact in stating his facts, as when he says that Saint-Simon committed suicide.

¹⁴ The proportion is the more striking, because it is not known that insanity is particularly frequent among the more highly educated class of the community.

¹⁵ This seems to be the idea of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes when he distinguishes between poets of 'great sun-kindled constructive imagination' and those who have 'a certain kind of moonlight genius given them to compensate them for their imperfection of nature,' and who are invariably 'tinged with melancholy' (*Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, chap. viii.)

¹⁶ Even the little that we know does not all point one way. Against the fine business capacity and so forth we have to set the youthful excesses of which rumour speaks.

too much has been made of the alleged positive instances, too much has been made also of the apparent contradictions or exceptions. The record of past greatness is far too scanty for the most plodding student to find all cases of morbid symptoms which have presented themselves. We who live in an age when a fierce light beats on the throne of intellect, when the public which genius serves is greedy of every trivial detail of information respecting its behaviour in the curtained recess of private life, can hardly understand how our ancestors could have neglected to chronicle and to preserve the words and deeds of the greatest of men. Yet such is the case, and the further we go back the scantier the biographic page. Inasmuch, too, as many of the symptoms of nervous disease in the intellectual heroes themselves or their families would possess no significance to the ordinary lay mind, we may feel confident that in many cases where we have a fairly full record important data are omitted.

Another thought naturally occurs to one in this connection. Without endorsing the ancient proverb that the best men die in their youth, we may find good grounds for conjecturing that many endowed with the gift of genius have passed away before their powers culminated in the production of a great monumental work. The early collapse of so many who did attain fame suggests this conclusion. And among such short-lived and unknown recipients of the Divine afflatus it seems reasonable to infer that there were a considerable number who succumbed to some of those forms of psycho-physical disease which have so often attacked their survivors.

It seems then to be an irresistible conclusion that the foremost among human intellects have had more than their share of the ills that flesh is heir to. The possession of genius appears in some way to be unfavourable to the maintenance of a robust mental health. And here arises the question how we are to view this connection. Is the presence of the creative faculty to be regarded as itself an abnormal excrescence in the human mind? Or is it that the possession and fruition of the faculty are apt to be attended with circumstances which are injurious to perfect mental well-being?

In order to understand the precise relation between two things, we ought to know all about the nature and causes of each. But this we are very far from knowing in the present case. Science has, no doubt, done much to clear up the ancient mystery of madness. We now know that it has a perfectly natural origin, and we understand a good deal respecting the more conspicuous agencies, psychical and physical, predisposing and exciting, which bring about the malady. Yet so intricate is the subject, so complex and subtle the influences which may conspire to just disturb the mental balance, that in many cases, even with a full knowledge of an individual and his antecedents, the most skilful expert finds himself unable to give a complete and exhaustive explanation of the phenomenon.

With respect to genius the case is much worse. We may have a clearer intuition of its organic composition than the ancients; we may be able better than they to describe in psychological terms the essential qualities of the original and creative mind. But we have hardly advanced a step with respect to a knowledge of its genesis and antecedents. We do, no doubt, know some little about its family history. Mr. Galton, with his characteristic skill in striking out new paths of experimental research, has brought to light a number of interesting facts with respect to the hereditary transmission of high intellectual endowments. But these researches supply no answer to the supremely interesting question, How does the light of genius happen to flash out in this particular family at this precise moment? A preparation there may be, as Goethe somewhere hints, in the patient building up by the family of sterling intellectual and moral virtues. But this is hardly the beginning of an explanation. How much the better are we able to comprehend Carlyle's wondrous gift of spiritual clairvoyance for knowing that he came of a thoroughly sound stock, having more than the average, it may be, of Northern shrewdness? To trace the family characteristics in a great man is one thing, to explain the genius which ennobles and immortalises these is another.¹⁷

In the present state of our knowledge, then, genius must be looked upon as the most signal and impressive manifestation of that tendency of Nature to variation and individuation in her organic formations which modern science is compelled to retain among its unexplained facts. Why we have a Shakespeare, a Michael Angelo, a Goethe here and now, is a question that cannot be answered. Our ignorance of the many hidden threads that make up the inextricable skein of causation forces us to regard each new appearance of the lamp of genius with much of the wonder, if with something less of the superstition, with which the ancients viewed it.

This being so, we must be content with a very tentative and provisional theory of the relations between genius and mental disease. We cannot, for example, follow M. Moreau in his hardy paradox that genius has as its material substratum a semi-morbid state of the brain, a neuropathic constitution which is substantially identical with the 'insane temperament' or 'insane neurosis.'¹⁸ For first of all the facts do not support such a generalisation. If the 'genial temperament' involved a distinct constitutional disposition to insanity, the number of great men who had actually become insane would certainly be much greater than it is. And, in the second place, this proposition reposes on far too unsubstantial a basis of hypothetical neurology.

¹⁷ Much the same applies to what M. Taine and others have said about the larger preparation of the original teacher and the artist by the traditions of the community and the spirit of the age. See, for a careful treatment of the whole question of the antecedents of genius, an article by M. H. Joly, 'Psychologie des Grands Hommes' (III.) in the *Revue Philosophique*, August 1882.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 463 seq.

We know too little of the variations of nerve structure and function to pronounce confidently on the essential identity of the nervous organisation in the case of the man of genius and of the insane.¹⁹

A more modest and possibly more hopeful way of approaching the question appears to offer itself in the consideration of the psychical characteristics of genius. We may inquire into those peculiarities of sensibility and emotion, as well as of intellect, which are discoverable in the typical psychical organisation of the great man, and may trace out some of the more important reflex influences of the life of intellectual production on his mind and character. What we all recognise as genius displays itself in some large original conception, whether artistic, scientific, or practical. And it seems not improbable that by a closer investigation of the conditions and the results of this large constructive activity of mind we may find a clue to the apparent anomaly that grand intellectual powers are so frequently beset with mental and moral infirmity. These lurking-places of abnormal tendencies will, we may expect, betray themselves more readily in the case of artistic and especially poetic genius, which has, indeed, always been viewed as the most pronounced form, and as the typical representative of creative power.

No careful student of genius can fail to see that it has its roots in a nervous organization of exceptional delicacy. Keeness of sensibility, both to physical and mental stimuli, is one of the fundamental attributes of the original mind. This preternatural sensitiveness of nerve has been illustrated in the two latest records of poetic genius. Carlyle's lively impressibility to sounds and other sensuous agents is familiar to all.²⁰ And of George Eliot it has been well said that 'her nerves were servile to every skyey influence.' And what a range and intensity of emotion are at once suggested by names like Milton, Dante, Shelley, Heine!

This fineness of the sentient fibre stands in the closest relation to the intellectual side of genius. It is not so much an accompaniment of the creative imagination as its vitalising principle. The wide and penetrating vision of the poet is the correlative of his quick, delicate, and many-sided sensibility. And the stimulus which ever urges him towards the ideal region, which makes him devote his days to the pursuit of some ravishing idea, has its origin in his rare, almost superhuman, capacity of feeling. The modest limits of the real world fail to slake his thirst for the delight of beauty, for the raptures of the sublime. Hence the impulse to fashion new worlds of his

¹⁹ Dr. Maudsley is more guarded, contenting himself with saying: 'It is truly remarkable how much mankind has been indebted for special displays of talent, if not of genius, to individuals who themselves, or whose parents, have sprung from families in which there has been some predisposition to insanity' (*Responsibility in Mental Disease*, p. 47).

²⁰ Goethe, Schopenhauer, and other great men were particularly sensitive to sounds.

own. And by such ideal activities the emotional sensibilities which prompted them are deepened and intensified.

It is easy to see, from this glance at the fundamental conditions of imaginative creation, that it has one of its main impulses in uncommon experiences of suffering. The fine nervous organisation, tremulously responsive to every touch, constitutes in itself, in this all too imperfect world of ours, a special dispensation of sorrow. Exquisite sensibility seems to be connected with a delicate poise of nervous structure eminently favourable to the experience of jarring and dislocating shock. And it is this preponderance of rude shock over smooth, agreeable stimulation—of a sense of dissonance in things over the joyous consciousness of harmony—which seems to supply one of the most powerful incitants to the life of imagination. Hence the dark streak of melancholy which one so often detects in the early years of the great man.

Such an attitude of mind must entail suffering in other ways. As the biography of the man of genius often tells us, he is apt to become aware, at a painfully early date, that his exceptional endowments and the ardent consuming impulses which belong to them collide with the utilities and purposes of ordinary life. The soul intent on dreaming its secret dream of beauty is unfit for the business which makes up the common working life of plain, prosaic men. The youth to whom the embodiment of a noble artistic idea or the discovery of a large, fructifying, moral truth, is the one absorbing interest, will be apt to take a shockingly low view of banking, school-mastering, and the other respectable occupations of ordinary citizens.

It follows that the man of genius is, by his very constitution and vocation, to a considerable extent a Solitary. He is apt to offend the world into which he is born by refusing to bow the knee to its conventional deities. His mood of discontent with things presents itself as a reflection on their contented view. On the other hand, his peculiar leanings and aspirations are incomprehensible to them, and stamp him as an alien. 'Il y a peu de vices,' says Chamfort, with a grim irony, 'qui empêchent un homme d'avoir beaucoup d'amis, autant que peuvent le faire de trop grandes qualités.' Hence the profound solitude of so many of the earth's great ones, which even the companionships of the home have not sufficed to fill up. And it must be remembered that the ardent emotions of the man of genius bring their extra need of sympathy. Even the consciousness of intellectual dissent from others may become to a deeply sympathetic nature an anguish. 'I believe you know' (writes Leopardi to a friend), 'but I hope you have not experienced how thought can crucify and martyrise anyone who thinks somewhat differently from others.'

Such isolation is distinctly unfavourable to mental health. It deprives a man of wholesome contact with others' experience and

ideas, and disposes to abnormal eccentricities of thought. It profoundly affects the emotional nature, breeding melancholy, suspicion of others, misanthropy, and other unwholesome progeny. The 'strange interior tomb life' of which Carlyle speaks is a striking example of the influence of this isolation in fostering the minute germs of morbid delusion.

If now we turn to the process of intellectual origination, we shall find new elements of danger, new forces adverse to the perfect serenity of mental health. If the rich biographical literature of modern times teaches us anything, it is that original production is the severest strain of human faculty, the most violent and exhausting form of cerebral action. The pleasing fiction that the perfectly-shaped artistic product occurs to the creative mind as a kind of happy thought is at once dispelled by a little study of great men's recorded experience. All fine original work, it may be safely said, represents severe intellectual labour on the part of the producer, not necessarily at the moment of achievement, but at least in a preparatory collection and partial elaboration of material. The rapidity with which Scott threw off his masterpieces of fiction is only understood by remembering how he had steeped his imagination for years in the life, the scenery, and the history of his country.

It is to be remembered, too, that this swift and seemingly facile mode of creation is by no means an easy play of faculty, akin to the spontaneous sportiveness of witty talk. It involves the full tension of the mental powers, the driving of the cerebral machine at full speed. According to the testimony of more than one man of genius, this fierce activity is fed and sustained by violent emotional excitement.²¹ The notion of producing a work of high imaginative power in a state of perfect cold blood is, as Plato long ago pointed out, absurd. Spiritual generation only takes place when the soul burns and throbs as with a fever. At the moment of productive inspiration the whole being is agitated to its depths, and the latent deposits of years of experience come to the surface. This full springtide of imagination, this cerebral turmoil and clash of currents, makes the severest demands on the controlling and guiding forces of volition. And it is only when the mind is capable of the highest effort of sustained concentration that the process of selecting and organising can keep pace with the rapid inflow of material. Hence, though the excitement may in certain cases be intensely pleasurable, it is nearly always fatiguing and wearing.

But great artistic works are not always flashed into the world by this swift electric process. Some books that men will not let die have been the result of lengthened toil troubled by many a miserable

²¹ Byron, Goethe, Dickens, and others attest to this. Compare what George Eliot says about the way in which the third volume of *Adam Bede* was produced (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 155).

check and delay. The record of Carlyle's experience sufficiently illustrates the truth that there is no necessary relation between rapidity of invention and execution and artistic value of result.²² Much depends on the passing mood, more still on the temperament of the individual artist. There are others besides Carlyle to whom spiritual parturition has been largely an experience of suffering, the pangs being but rarely submerged in the large, joyous consciousness that a new idea is born into the world. And when this is so there is another kind of strain on the mental machine. The struggle with intellectual obstacle, the fierce passionate resolve to come *in's Reine* which every student experiences in a humble way, becomes something for the spectator to tremble at.

Is it surprising that such states of mental stress and storm should afterwards leave the subject exhausted and prostrate? The wild excitement of production is apt to dull the sense still further to the prosaic enjoyments with which ordinary mortals have to content themselves. More than this, the long and intense preoccupation with the things of the imagination is apt to induce a certain lethargy and stupor of the senses, in which the sharp outlines of reality are effaced in a misty dream-like phantasmagoria. The reader of Carlyle's *Memoirs* need not be reminded how plainly all this appears in his experience. Even the warm and gladdening ray of dawning prosperity failed to cheer him in these hours of spiritual collapse. And he exclaims in one place that there is no other pleasure and possession for him but that of feeling himself working and alive.²³

In addition to these adverse forces, which have their origin in the common conditions of the life of genius, there are others which, though less constant, present themselves very frequently in co-operation with the first. It has often been remarked that the man of decided originality of thought, being as it were one born out of due time, has to bear the strain of production for a while uncheered by the smile of recognition. And when there is great originality, not only in the ideas, but in the form of expression, such recognition may come too slowly to be of any remunerative value. Neglect or ridicule is the form of greeting which the world has often given to the propounder of a new truth; and where, as frequently happens, the want of instant recognition means the pressure of poverty, which chafes with unusual severity the delicate fibres of sensitive men, we have a new and considerable force added to the agencies which threaten to undermine the not too stable edifice of the great man's mental and moral constitution. Johnson, Lessing, Burns, Leopardi,

²² M. Joly illustrates the same fact by the experience of Voltaire, *Revue Philosophique*, November 1882, pp. 496, 497.

²³ *Thomas Carlyle*, vol. ii. p. 129. Probably one reason why painters so rarely show morbid mental traits is that in their case the function of the senses can never be so completely overborne by the weight of imagination.

and many another name, will here occur to those familiar with the lives of modern men of letters.

In view of this combination of threatening agencies, one begins to understand the many eloquent things which have been said about the fatality of great gifts. Thus one finds a meaning in the definition of poetic genius given by Lamartine when speaking of Byron—'a vibration of the human fibre as strong as the heart of man can bear without breaking.'

It is not meant here that even when all these destructive elements are present a distinctly pathological condition of mind must necessarily ensue. Their effect may be fully counteracted by other and resisting agencies. Of these the two most important are bodily energy and health on the one hand, and strength of will or character on the other. Where these are both found in a high degree of perfection, as in Goethe, we have a splendid example of healthy genius. On the other hand, if either, and still more if both, of these are wanting, we have a state of things which is exceedingly likely to develop a distinctly pathological state of mind.²⁴

How, it may be asked, does it commonly fare with the world's intellectual heroes with respect to these means of defence? As to the physical defence, it is known that a number of great men have had a physique fairly adequate to the severe demands made on the nervous organisation. They were men of powerful frame, strong muscles, and good digestion. But such robustness of bodily health seems by no means the common rule. The number of puny and ill-formed men who have achieved marvellous things in intellectual production is a fact which has often been remarked on. So common an accompaniment of great intellectual exertion is defective digestion, that an ingenious writer has tried to show that the maladies of genius have their main source in dyspepsia.²⁵ No Englishman in thinking of this question can fail to recollect that the three of his countrywomen who have given most distinct proof of creative power—Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Browning, and George Eliot—were hampered with a physical frame pitifully unequal to support the cerebral superstructure.²⁶

Coming now to the moral defence, the thought at once suggests

²⁴ That is, quite apart from any inherited physical predisposition to nervous disease.

²⁵ R. R. Madden, *On the Infirmities of Genius*.

²⁶ Schopenhauer, in the passages of his work already referred to, discusses in a curious and characteristic way the physical basis of genius. Moreau quotes approvingly the remark of Lecanus that men of the finest genius were 'of a feeble constitution and often infirm.' On the other hand, Mr. Galton, in his *Hereditary Genius*, contends that the heroes of history are at least up to the average of men in physical strength. It is to be remarked, however, that the reference to University statistics is apt to mislead here. Senior wranglers can hardly be taken as representative of creative power.

itself that, according to the testimony of more than one writer, genius consists in preternatural force of will more than in anything else. It is, we are told, only the man with an infinite capacity to take pains who is truly great. The prolonged intense concentration of mind which precedes the final achievement is a severe exertion and striking manifestation of will.

At the same time, a moment's thought will show us that this patient mental incubation is no proof of the higher qualities of will and moral character.²⁷ The appropriateness of the old way of speaking of creative inspiration as a possession is seen in the fact that the will has little to do with bringing on the condition. 'The author,' said Lord Beaconsfield on one occasion, 'is a being with a predisposition which with him is irresistible, a bent which he cannot in any way avoid, whether it drags him to the abstruse researches of erudition, or induces him to mount into the feverish and turbulent atmosphere of imagination.' This sense of a quasi-exterior pressure and compulsion is attested by more than one child of genius. In some cases, more particularly, perhaps, among 'tone-poets,' we find this mastery of the individual mind by the creative impulse assuming the striking form of a sudden abstraction of the thoughts from the surroundings of the moment. And throughout the whole of the creative process, the will, though as we have seen exercised in a peculiarly severe effort, is not exercised fully and in its highest form. There is no deliberate choice of activity here. The man does not feel free to stop or to go on. On the contrary, the will is in this case pressed into the service of the particular emotion that strives for utterance, the particular artistic impulse that is irresistibly bent on self-realisation. There is nothing here of the higher moral effort of will, in choosing what we are not at the moment inclined to, and resisting the seductive force of extraneous excitants.²⁸

These fragmentary remarks may help us to understand the facts of the case. A certain proportion of great thinkers and artists have shown moral as well as intellectual heroism. Men who were able to take the destruction of a MS. representing long and wearisome research as Newton and Carlyle took it must have had something of the stuff of which the stoutest character is woven. The patient upbearing against hardship of men like Johnson and Lessing is what gives the moral relish to the biography of men of letters. More

²⁷ It is evident that only speculative, as distinguished from practical genius, is here referred to. The man of great constructive powers in affairs—the statesman, general, and so forth—requires will in the higher and fuller sense. And it has been remarked that these organising intellects rarely exhibit pathological symptoms.

²⁸ This fact of the absence of choice, and the ordinary co-operation of the personal will in artistic production, is illustrated further in the rapidity with which the mind casts off and ignores its offspring. 'Est-ce bien moi qui ai fait cela?' asked Voltaire once, on seeing one of his dramas acted. George Eliot attests to this strange unmaternal feeling towards her literary children.

than one intellectual leader, too, has shown the rare quality of practical wisdom. Goethe's calm strength of will displaying itself in a careful ordering of the daily life is matter of common knowledge. Beethoven managed just to keep himself right by resolute bodily exercise. In George Eliot an exceptional feeling of moral responsibility sufficed for a nice economising of the fitful supply of physical energy.

At the same time, our slight study of the ways of genius has familiarised us with illustrations of striking moral weaknesses. We have seen a meaning in Rochefoucauld's paradox that '*il n'appartient qu'aux grands hommes d'avoir de grands défauts.*' The large draught of mental energy into the channels of imaginative production is apt to leave the will ill-provided in working out the multifarious tasks of a temperate and virtuous life.

Our conclusion is that the possession of genius carries with it special liabilities to the action of the disintegrating forces which environ us all. It involves a state of delicate equipoise, of unstable equilibrium, in the psycho-physical organisation. Paradoxical as it may seem, one may venture to affirm that great original power of mind is incompatible with nice adjustment to surroundings, and so with perfect well-being. And here it is that we see the real qualitative difference between genius and talent. This last means superior endowment in respect of the common practical intelligence which all men understand and appraise. The man of talent follows the current modes of thought, keeps his eye steadily fixed on the popular eye, produces the kind of thing which hits the taste of the moment, and is never guilty of the folly of abandoning himself to the intoxicating excitement of production." To the original inventor of ideas and moulder of new forms of art this intoxication is, as we have seen, everything. He is under a kind of divine behest to make and fashion something new and great, and at the moment of compliance reckes little of the practical outcome to himself. And such recklessness is clearly only one form of imprudence, and so of mal-adaptation.

But if improvident, he is improvident in a high cause. Emerson and others have taught us the uses of the great man. The teacher of a new truth, the discoverer of a higher and worthier form of artistic expression, is one in advance of his age, who by his giant exertions enables the community, and even the whole race, to reach forward to a further point in the line of intellectual evolution. He is a scout who rides out well in advance of the intellectual army, and who by this very advance and isolation from the main body is exposed to special perils. Thus genius, like philanthropy or conscious self-sacrifice for others, is a mode of variation of human nature which, though unfavourable to the conservation of the individual, aids in the evolution of the species.

If this be a sound view of the nature and social function of the

man of genius, it may teach more than one practical lesson. Does it not, for example, suggest that there is room just now for more consideration in dealing with the infirmities of great men? There is no need of exonerating intellectual giants from the graver human responsibilities. We do well to remember that genius has its own special responsibilities, that *noblesse oblige* here too. At the same time we shall do well also to keep in mind that the life of intellectual creation has its own peculiar besetments, and that in the very task of fulfilling his high and eminently humane mission, and giving the world of his mind's best, the great man may become unequal to the smaller fortitudes of everyday life. To judge of the degree of blameworthiness of faults of temper is a nice operation which may even transcend the ability of a clever and practised critic. Perhaps the temper most appropriate to the contemplation of genius, and most conducive to fairness of moral judgment, is one in which reverence is softened by personal gratitude, and this last made more completely human by a touch of regretful pity.

JAMES SULLY.

A dispute arose as to the relative authority of the Irish House of Lords and the House of Lords of Great Britain. In a certain legal case—it is unnecessary to go into details—an appeal from the decision of the law courts was made to the Irish House of Lords. The appeal was further carried to the English House of Lords, which set aside the decision of the Irish Lords. The latter protested strenuously against the English Lords assuming a superior authority, and presented a petition to the King, in which they urged that,

if the power of the judicature may, by a vote of the British Lords, be taken away from the Parliament of Ireland, no reason can be given why the same may not, in like manner, deprive us of the benefit of our whole Constitution.

The answer given to this petition was the celebrated 'Declaratory Act' (6 George I.), which enacted

that the Kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that *the King, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, hath power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the Kingdom and people of Ireland*; and that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor ought of right to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, or affirm, or reverse any decree made in any court within the said Kingdom, and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment or decrees are void.

It may here be remarked that up to this time Parliament was by no means so indispensable an institution that prolonged periods could not elapse without it. From 1585 to 1612 (27 years) there was no Parliament; and again from 1615 to 1634 (19 years) and from 1666 to 1692 (26 years) no Parliaments were held. By the close of George the Second's reign, however, it used to meet every second year.

Another matter which must be mentioned is, that there was no limitation of time for the existence of a Parliament, except the life of the sovereign. Some Parliaments lasted for many years—that of George the Second was actually in existence for thirty-three.

The Irish Constitution remained in this powerless and inert form down to the end of George the Second's reign; then, under the awakening feeling of the Protestants of Ireland, who had long been suffering under a denial of nearly all the privileges which their brethren in England had gained by the Revolution, many concessions affecting the constitution and powers of Parliament were secured. Before detailing them, the constitution of both Houses of Parliament and the electorate must be described; and it is to be borne in mind that, with one exception hereafter to be stated, the description now given is that also of the constitution and electorate of Grattan's Parliament.

Of the House of Lords little need be said. It consisted of about

150 to 170 temporal peers, a large number of whom were absentees, and of 22 spiritual peers. A few had titles of some antiquity, but the bulk of them had received their peerages in recent times as a reward for services to the Government. Most of the temporal peers were large landed proprietors; hence the landed interest was predominant in the Upper House. Many of them were proprietors of the Parliamentary close boroughs, and could send their nominees to the House of Commons, so they exercised large influence also in the Lower Chamber. It is stated that in the latter half of the century 53 peers nominated 123 members of the House of Commons. The Duke of Leinster, Lord Shannon, and Lord Ely were the three largest of the borough owners, and they controlled no less than 35 votes in the House of Commons.

The House of Commons consisted of 300 members. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it had been a little over 200, but it was somewhat gradually raised as the requirements of the Stuart sovereigns necessitated their securing a majority of Government supporters, or, in other words, 'packing Parliament.' James the First created about 40 boroughs, all with so small a number of electors that they were mere nominee boroughs. 'I have made 40 boroughs,' said James when remonstrated with; 'suppose I had made 400? The more, the merrier.'

Of the 300 members, two were returned from each of the 32 counties; two by Dublin University, and the remaining 234, from 117 cities, towns, and boroughs, each of which returned two members. Only members of the Protestant Established Church of Ireland could sit in the House. Persons of other religious professions were excluded.

- The electorate was Protestant, and mainly of members of the Established Church; for, though Nonconformists were not specifically excluded, the Test clause shut them out from the corporations by which a large proportion of the members were elected. Roman Catholics, who constituted the bulk of the population of the country, did not possess the franchise, and consequently had no voice in the Legislature.

The House of Commons was therefore purely a Protestant Church of Ireland body, elected by a part only of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland.

The franchise was a forty-shilling freehold.

Popular representation, such as exists in the present day, can scarcely be said to have existed. In the counties, and in a few of the larger cities and boroughs, the voice of the electors made itself to some extent felt. In the smaller boroughs there were either few inhabitants or the most absolute system of nomination by the borough proprietor.

Grattan, in a speech in 1793, described the state of Irish representation so late as that year:—

Of three hundred members (he said) above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of the boroughs have no resident elector at all; some of them have but one; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the House of Commons are returned by less than one hundred persons.

Sir L. Parsons enables us to form an opinion of the relationship existing between members and their constituents. In a speech in 1794 he said:—

What shall we say that we have been doing when we go back to our representatives? I ask pardon, I forgot. A majority of this House never go back to their representatives. They do not know them; they do not live among them; many of them never saw them; no, nor even the places they represent. What a mockery is this of representation!

Next to the constitution of the Parliament, its powers must be considered. Those powers were very limited. There was no Mutiny Act. The army in Ireland, which consisted of 12,000 men, had been created by an English Act of Parliament in the reign of William the Third, and was paid out of the hereditary revenue which was settled in perpetuity; and out of the control of Parliament. The House of Commons did not possess the power of originating Bills. Bills originated with the Irish Privy Council, which even claimed the right of originating Money Bills. The most a member of Parliament could do was to introduce the 'heads' of a Bill.

Then, to quote Mr. Lecky's description:—

Heads of Bills arising in either House first passed to the Irish Privy Council, which might either suppress them altogether or alter them as it pleased.

If this body thought fit to throw them into the form of a Bill, it at once transmitted that Bill to England, where it was submitted to the examination of a Committee of the English Privy Council, assisted by the English Attorney-General, and this body, like the Irish Privy Council, had an unlimited power of suppressing or altering it.

If the Bill passed through this second ordeal, it was returned with such changes, additions, and diminutions as the two Privy Councils had made to the House of Parliament in which it took its rise, and it then passed for the first time to the other House. Neither House, however, had now the power of altering it, and they were therefore reduced to the alternative of rejecting it altogether or accepting it in the exact form in which it had been returned from England.¹

As one summarises these facts, one realises how little claim at this period the Irish Parliament had even to the name of a Parliament. The suffrage restricted to a section of a section of the people of Ireland—the House composed mainly of nominees, and but little of representatives—coming seldom in contact with the limited section of the people from whom it was supposed to derive its authority—controlled by the Crown by open and direct bribery—destitute almost of the power of originating legislation—all its acts subject to the

¹ Vol. iv. p. 351.

revision of the Irish Privy Council, which was often hostile to it, and to the English Privy Council, which was still more hostile to it—it was but the shadow, the mere phantom of a Parliament. Over and above all this was the humiliating fact that the British Parliament not alone claimed the right to, but actually did legislate for Ireland, regardless of the Irish Parliament.

Had England treated her loyal subjects and those of her own race in Ireland with justice, and extended to them the liberties she herself enjoyed, the outburst of feeling which led to the independence of the Irish Parliament might not have occurred. But even those of her own blood she treated in a manner too harsh to be submitted to. The Habeas Corpus Act had not been extended to Ireland. The judges were dependent on the will of the sovereign. The taxes of the country were charged with pensions to kings' mistresses or favourites. But, over and above all, Irish industry of every description was crushed out of existence, and the country pauperised and ruined under the blasting and withering operation of the commercial laws of the British Parliament. A blank hopelessness of improvement hung over the whole country. It is not to be wondered at that even the Protestants of Ireland, those who were directly descended from the English settlers, and who had the most to gain by allegiance to the British Government, should chafe under such a state of thralldom. Gradually there arose amongst them a National party. In the Parliament rendered necessary by the accession of George the Third the spirit of opposition became more defined. In the counties and in the larger or more open boroughs, not alone was considerable interest taken in the elections, but stringent tests were imposed on candidates.²

The first object of the National party was to secure some control over the constitution of the Parliament, and great efforts were made to limit the duration of Parliaments to seven years as in England.

For some years the struggle was carried on, and would probably have been much longer resisted, had not the necessities of England required additional troops. As an inducement to the Irish Parliament to supply an additional force of about 3,000 men, the concession of octennial Parliaments was granted, and in 1768 an octennial Act was allowed to pass. This Act laid the foundation of the strength of the Irish National party, and other measures were soon striven for. The inadequacy of the hereditary revenue to meet the constantly increasing expenditure of the British Crown, and the fact that further revenue could only be raised in Ireland by the Irish Parliament, afforded fresh occasions for the Irish Parliament to secure further concessions from England.

But there arose among the Irish Protestants the conviction that legislative independence could alone secure them all that they wanted.

² Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

Events favoured them in their aspirations. The desperate complications in which England was involved, and the constantly increasing demands on her strength, led to her inability at a critical moment to protect Ireland from threatened invasion by France. Financial difficulties prevented an increase of the Irish army, and Ireland took measures to defend herself.

Associations for self-defence were formed by the Irish gentry, who enrolled their Protestant tenants. Thus sprang into being those Irish Volunteers who during the next few years were to take so important a part in the history of their country.³ They increased rapidly in numbers and improved in discipline, and quickly became a formidable element in Irish affairs. First among the results of the new circumstances thus developed was the remission by England of many of the commercial restrictions placed upon Ireland, and the grant of permission to trade with the British colonies; next was the relief of the Dissenters from the sacramental test.

The cry for legislative independence, however, grew higher. In 1780 Grattan introduced into the Irish House of Commons a declaration of Parliamentary independence, on which occasion the Government with difficulty succeeded in having the debate adjourned. A modification of Poyning's Act, which was also sought for, was defeated by the Government. The Protestant Volunteers became discontented with the slow progress of events, and in February 1782 a great meeting of delegates from the Ulster Volunteers was held at Dungannon. Mr. Lecky says of them:—

Elected by a popular constituency of 25,000 armed men, free from the borough influence and from the corruption which tainted the Parliament in Dublin, animated with a consciousness of great services performed, and with a sincere and ardent patriotism, they were undoubtedly the most faithful representatives then sitting of the opinions and wishes of the Irish Protestants.

They passed a series of resolutions, the most important being that a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. It soon became evident that the Government could not much longer resist. The crushing disasters to the English arms in America and the desperate straits in which England found herself rendered it impossible for her to oppose the Irish demands. Lord North's Government fell, and the Rockingham Ministry, including Fox and Shelburne, succeeded it.

The new Government were forced to deal at once with Irish demands. The Duke of Portland, the new Lord-Lieutenant, in his speech to the Irish House of Commons, in April 1782, said:—

³ Catholics were not yet enrolled, but they subscribed liberally towards the expense.

He had it in command to inform them that the King, being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, recommended the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

Hereupon Grattan moved an address to the King declaring that 'the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain,' 'the Kingdom of Ireland is a distinct Kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof; and there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland'; and he then set forth the demands of the Irish Parliament.

One was the repeal of the Declaratory Act of George the First, and the consequent restoration of the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords; the next was the repeal of the provision in Poyning's Act that Irish legislation should receive the sanction of the Privy Councils of Ireland and England; and the third was the alteration of the perpetual Irish Mutiny Act into a temporary Act.

In May resolutions were passed in the English Parliament pledging the Legislature to these concessions, and immediately afterwards they were formally made.

It was recognised at the time that these measures were anything but a complete settlement of the relationship between the two countries. It was intended that further ones should be adopted to determine definitely and finally the exact limits of the independence of Ireland. In an address to the King the Irish House of Commons asked

that the King would be pleased, either by communications made to his confidential servants, or through the medium of the Chief Governor of Ireland, or by Commissioners, to set on foot a treaty between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, to settle *the precise limits of the independence required*, the consideration to be given for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper for Ireland to contribute towards the general support of the Empire.

This treaty was the subject of correspondence and consideration for some time; 'but the idea was found impracticable, and with many matters of the gravest and utmost consequence left unarranged, with many obvious and important contingencies unprovided for, the Irish Parliament started on its new career. Such, then, is a concise, and I believe an accurate, account of the earlier history of the Irish Parliament; and so we come to the independent Parliament of 1782, or, as Mr. Parnell calls it, 'Grattan's Parliament.'

* The views of the English Ministry on the situation are set forth in a letter of Lord Shelburne to the Lord-Lieutenant:—

'No matter who has the merit (of the treaty), let the two kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the superintending power and supremacy to be where nature has placed it in precise and unambiguous terms.'

The constitution of the now independent Parliament was not affected by the changes I have detailed. There were still 300 members elected or nominated in the manner already described, all Protestants; there was still a purely Protestant electorate.

But its powers were immensely enlarged, and its movements no longer encumbered by the Privy Councils of Ireland and England. In all internal Irish affairs the Parliament had now exclusive control. It had power over its own constitution and over the franchise. The annual Mutiny Act gave it power over the Irish army, and it could increase or diminish the forces as it thought necessary, and thus could regulate the 'consideration to be given' (to Great Britain) 'for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper to contribute towards the general support of the Empire.'

It had control over taxation, it regulated the duties on imports for the purposes of revenue or for the protection of native industries, it fixed the bounties for the encouragement of Irish manufactures.

It had absolute control over land-ownership and the tenure of land; over education; over the measures for the maintenance of order and the preservation of the public peace. All these, and the hundreds of other matters relating to the internal condition of the country, were within its exclusive control—subject, of course, to the Royal assent as signified under the Great Seal of England. One sees at once how large and comprehensive, therefore, was the power of the Parliament in all Irish affairs; but the purely Protestant constitution of the House was a security that no violent legislation would be aimed against the established religion, and the predominance of landed interest in both Houses was a guarantee that no disturbance of the existing land system would be even tried.

It must, however, be here remarked that the actual independence of the Irish Parliament was subject to one important qualification. One indispensable essential to Irish legislation remained in the control of the English Government, and that was the manner in which the Royal assent to Irish Bills was signified. No Irish Bill could pass into law until it was returned to Ireland under the Great Seal of England. That Seal was in the custody of the Lord Chancellor of England, who was responsible to the English Government and Parliament for every use he made of it. The operation of this condition is well described by Mr. Parsons in the Irish House of Commons in 1789:—

It gives the English Parliament a kind of negative upon our laws, but by such a remote and severe action as there is no reason to fear it will ever be abused. That Parliament, having recognised our right to legislate exclusively for this kingdom, their own law, as well as their own prudence, would not suffer them to impeach their Chancellor for putting that Seal to any Irish Act, except in the single case of its tending to destroy the unity of the executive power, in which alone the connection of these kingdoms exists.

This requirement was the security the English had that the Irish Parliament could never pass a law to sever the executive or impair the connection of the two kingdoms; but it is probable, or at least possible, that the power might have been used in other cases of real gravity.

As regards external affairs, the authority or power of the Irish Parliament was by no means so clear or so real. It has been generally conceded that it might take an independent line about anything. It might exhort the King to make war when the views of England were pacific, or it might refuse to join in a war which England felt coerced to enter. It might also declare against treaties entered into by the English Government, and refuse to ratify commercial articles. It is undeniable that any of these things was within its right; but it is equally beyond question that, if their exercise in any way endangered the Empire, England would not have tolerated them. The Irish Parliament, for instance, legislated on and controlled the trade of Ireland with the colonies, but if it in any way exceeded the terms or conditions upon which England allowed such trade, such legislation would not have been allowed to have any effect.

As a matter of fact, the Irish Parliament seldom discussed foreign politics, but followed England's lead with readiness and cordiality, and on more than one occasion declared its intention to stand or fall with Great Britain. In 1793, when France declared war against England, an address to the King was moved expressing the concurrence of Parliament in his action, and informing him that he might rely upon its support.

• The truth was that the government of Ireland could not have gone on unless it followed Great Britain implicitly in matters of imperial policy.

In one important matter the new Irish Constitution was deficient—namely, the system of Ministerial responsibility. No counterpart to the English system was introduced. There were no changes of Government, as in England, consequent on an adverse vote in the House of Commons. The changes of Government that took place in Ireland were consequent on changes in England, or on the decisions of the English Cabinet, and not on the defeat of Government proposals or policy in the Irish House of Commons.

• The policy of the Government in Ireland was entirely regulated by the English Cabinet. • Successive Viceroys came over to carry out the policy decided on in England. The English Prime Minister dictated to the Viceroy, the representative of the King, what he might do, and what he might or might not say in his speeches to Parliament. He was authorised to grant concessions or oppose demands as appeared best in the eyes of the English Prime Minister—practically he was the instrument in the hands of the English Prime Minister for the

government of Ireland. Reams of correspondence in the State Paper Offices prove how close and systematic was the intercommunication. The difficulty the Viceroy had was to carry out his instructions, as he had to work through the medium of the Irish Parliament; but with the large number of close boroughs, and with a large patronage, he was more or less able to influence the action of Parliament by a shameful system of bribery and corruption.

It is now rather a profitless inquiry whether a Parliament with such a constitution and so circumstanced was independent. The real reply to the question I think is, that if the possession of the right to come to decisions on all matters of policy, imperial or national, is independence, then the Irish Parliament was independent; but if, in addition to this, the power of giving effect to those decisions is to be considered as part of independence, then the Irish Parliament was not independent.

Nor is the question, after all, of any real importance in comparison with the question why this Irish Constitution of 1782, this acme of political wisdom, whose restitution is soon to be demanded, had so short-lived an existence. 'English gold' would be the answer given by Irish Nationalists; and it is incontestable that a wholesale system of bribery was practised by the British Government to secure the Union. But no amount of English gold, or places, or peerages, could have secured the extinction of the Irish Parliament if that institution had possessed a genuine vitality or held out any hope of being the solution of that long felt problem, the government of Ireland.

The action of the Irish Parliament on two occasions is held by some to have driven the English Government to the conclusion that a separate Irish Parliament was not a workable form of government for Ireland.

The first of these occasions was in 1785—after only three years' independence—when Pitt, who was anxious to remove the restrictions that affected the trade of Ireland with England, devised a scheme which was to take the form of a treaty, and which would have placed each country on a 'favoured-nation' footing.

It was proposed to allow the importation of the produce of all other countries through Great Britain into Ireland, or through Ireland into Great Britain, without any increase of duty on that account. It was proposed as to any article produced or manufactured in Ireland or in England, where the duties were then different, on importation into either country, to reduce those duties in the kingdom where they were highest to the lower scale. And it was asked that where gross hereditary revenue in Ireland should rise above a fixed sum, the surplus should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire. These propositions passed the Irish Parliament, and were laid before the English House of Commons by Pitt. One of the articles of the proposed treaty was that the precarious grant to

Ireland of a right to trade with the British Colonies or Plantations should be made perpetual. And in the course of the debate it was objected that, Ireland being an independent kingdom, there was no security for her adopting the regulations made by Great Britain for her trade and navigation with those same Colonies. To obviate this objection, an article was proposed by Great Britain, stipulating that, so long as Ireland continued to trade with the British Colonies and Plantations, she would adopt the regulations of trade and navigation imposed by the British Parliament on British subjects in carrying on the same trade, and that whenever Ireland did not choose so to do, for so much the treaty should be at an end.

This article was resisted by the Irish Parliament in the angriest and bitterest manner, as an infringement on Irish independence, and 'an insidious attempt to reclaim the legislative supremacy of Great Britain.'

Grattan said:—

We are to agree to subscribe whatever laws the Parliament shall prescribe respecting navigation. We are to have no legislative power. Here there is an end of your free trade and of your free constitution.

The proposals were indignantly rejected, and the Irish Parliament came to a breach with the British Parliament on the important question of trade and navigation.

The second and more serious occasion on which the Irish Parliament differed from the British Parliament was on the Regency question. Towards the end of 1788 George the Third became mentally unfit to transact business, and the appointment of a Regent became necessary. The English Parliament met in December. Both parties in it agreed that the Prince of Wales should be appointed Regent, but differed as to the conditions on which the Regency should be held. Fox asserted that the Regent should, of natural right, inherit and enjoy all the rights of the sovereign. Pitt, then Prime Minister, insisted that Parliament should appoint the Regent with such limitations and restrictions on his powers as it might choose to impose. Pitt carried his point by resolutions in the House of Commons, and proceeded to introduce a Bill accordingly.

In February 1789 the Irish Parliament met. On the day after its meeting, and while the question was still under discussion in England, Grattan urged instant action, otherwise 'it would appear to the world as if the measure of another assembly was to be made the rule of their conduct.' He opposed Pitt's view of the question. Speaking in the name of the people of Ireland, he said:—

We are clear that the Prince ought and must be Regent, but we are also clear that he should be invested with the full regal power—royal plenitude of power. The idea of limitation I conceive to be an attack on the necessary power of government, an attack on the King of Ireland.

He first moved resolutions, and then an address to the Prince, inviting him to an unrestricted regency.

The Attorney-General, Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, controverted Grattan's arguments, and his speeches are of great interest, as showing what was his opinion as law officer of the Crown, and what the opinions of the Lord Chancellor and other judges whom he consulted on the real position of the Irish Constitution:—

I maintain that the Crown of Ireland and the Crown of England are inseparably and indissolubly united. Secondly, I do maintain that the Irish Parliament is perfectly and totally independent of the British Parliament; the first position is your security, the second your freedom.

He pointed out the necessity that existed for the stamp of the Great Seal on Irish legislation, and he argued that the address to the Prince could not confer on him the shadow of Royal power, that he could only be made Regent by an Act of Parliament.

Nevertheless, Grattan carried his proposals, and presented the address to the Viceroy, to submit to the Prince. The Viceroy, in reply to the request, said that,

under the impressions which he felt of public duty, and of the oath of office which he had taken, he was obliged to decline transmitting their address into Great Britain.

Grattan then moved that a competent number of members on behalf of the Irish Parliament should proceed to England, and present the address to the Prince.

Once more the Attorney-General contested the matter:—

If we persist in asserting this claim, the two countries will be committed more hotly than ever; for, if the address of both Houses can invest the Prince of Wales with Royal powers in this country, the same address could convey the same powers to Louis XVI. of France, or to his Holiness the Pope, or to the right honourable mover of this resolution. Is there a man in England who will venture to tell his Royal Highness that the address of the Lords and Commons of Ireland can confer the shadow of royalty on him? It is an act of insanity to commit the two kingdoms by pressing the resolution proposed.

The resolutions, nevertheless, were passed. Selected members of the two Houses went to London, and presented the address. In the meantime the King was recovering. The Prince was obliged to delay his final answer in consequence of the improvement in his father's health. A few days later the King's health was completely restored, and the necessity for a regency was at an end.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the action of the Irish Parliament was a violation of the spirit of a fundamental maxim of the Imperial Constitution. The whole theory and practice of the Constitution was that the executive power in both countries should be vested in one and the same person, and should be held with the same powers. And yet, in this vital question, the Parliament of Ireland

asserted its right to go its own way. It practically asserted its right to select as Regent whom it pleased, and though it selected the same person as the English Parliament, it conferred on him different powers from those the English Regent would have had. Thus the executive authority in the two countries would have been different.

I am not disposed to attach too much importance to either of these two episodes—doubtless they had their effect—more especially the latter one; but had nothing else taken place they would not have brought about the Union.

The real cause of the failure of the independent Irish Parliament of 1782 lay much deeper. It lay in the fact that it was the Parliament of the minority; the political power, the established religion, and the proprietorship of land were all in the hands of that minority. It lay still more in the fact that the Irish Parliament was not able to preserve order, or maintain the peace in Ireland, and, finally, it lay in the fact that its very existence could not have been maintained without external assistance.

I think this is to be traced as clearly as possible in the transactions and legislation of the Irish Parliament, coupled with the events that occurred in Ireland.

From the very outset of its existence 'Grattan's Parliament' was propped up by coercive legislation.

One of the arguments used in the present day against the Parliament of the United Kingdom is the number of coercion Acts it has passed to preserve order in Ireland. If this argument is worth anything, it is one which applies with infinitely greater force to the Irish Parliament of 1782—the coercion Acts passed in its short career being out of all proportion, both as regards number and severity, to those passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom.⁵

The Irish Parliament, when it gained its independence, found in existence a very stringent Act against 'tumultuous risings,' &c.

In 1783 it passed an Act against 'houghing' or hamstringing, and for giving compensation from the county to the person injured.

In 1787 it passed an Act very equivalent to the special Police Acts now in force, and another which enacted, 'If any persons, to the number of twelve, meet in an unlawful and riotous manner, and do not disperse when required by a justice of the peace, in one hour, they shall be deemed felons, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.'

In spite of these powers, however, as years went on the state of the country grew more disturbed. In 1790 the organisation of the

⁵ Over thirty coercion Acts were passed in the eighteen years of its existence, besides five Acts indemnifying persons for coercive proceedings not allowed by law. It is very remarkable that almost exact precedents for the provisions of the present Prevention of Crimes Act and Police Acts are to be found in the Acts of the Irish Parliament, e.g., the Carfew clause, the charging of police on a locality, &c.

Defenders was started. In the following year the society of United Irishmen came into notoriety. All these years, too, the question of concessions to the Roman Catholics was becoming more and more urgent, and being more and more hotly pressed.

Two letters of Mr. Pitt, hitherto I believe unpublished, will here speak for themselves, and will show plainly how the real causes of the Union were already at work.⁶

I must preface them by the remark that the sympathies of the British Cabinet were with the Protestant party in Ireland. Dundas wrote to Lord Westmorland, the Lord-Lieutenant, in January 1792:—

However much we may differ in the means, we have one common object in view—the prosperity of Ireland, and the strength of Government under a Protestant establishment.

Here is the essential part of the first of Pitt's two letters which I have referred to. It is addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, and dated the 29th of January, 1792. Referring to the action of the Cabinet on the subject of concession to the Roman Catholics, he says:—

We have thought only of what was the most likely plan to preserve the security and tranquillity of a British and Protestant interest.

In the present situation I am so far from wishing you to go farther than you propose that I really think it would be unwise to attempt it. If any (attempt) is made now or hereafter to gain more by force or menace than Parliament is disposed to give, we must and will resist it, or there is an end to all government.

As to what may be wise for the future, I still believe that, not excluding a possibility even of further concessions, if circumstances should admit of it, would be the best security for the Protestant interest. But I have no difficulty in saying to you that my opinion will never be for bringing forward any concession beyond what the public mind and the opinion of those who are the supporters of British government or its present establishment are reconciled to.

I may have my own opinion as to expediency, but I am inclined myself to follow theirs, not to attempt to force it, and, as I have said already, every tumultuous attempt to gain more than Government or Parliament may be disposed to give must always be resisted.

Any pledge, however, against anything more in future seems to me to be in every view useless and dangerous, and it is what, on such a question, no prudent government can concur in. I say nothing on the idea of resisting all concessions, because I am in hopes there is no danger of that line being taken.

If it were, I should really think it the most *fatal measure that could be contrived for the destruction ultimately of every object we wish to preserve.*⁷

The second and more important letter is dated some eleven months later. It is as follows:—

Downing Street: November 18, 1792.

DEAR WESTMORLAND,— . . . The idea of the present fermentation gradually bringing both parties to think of a union with this country has long been in my

⁶ These letters are in the Record Tower at Dublin Castle, in the Fane collection, and are both in Pitt's own handwriting.

⁷ The words in italics are underlined by Pitt.

mind. I hardly dare flatter myself with the hope of its taking place, but I believe it, though itself not easy to be accomplished, to be the only solution for other and greater difficulties.

The admission of Catholics to a share of suffrage could not then be dangerous. The Protestant interest, in point of power, property, and Church establishment, would be secure, because the decided majority of the Supreme Legislature would necessarily be Protestant; and the great ground of argument on the part of the Catholics would be done away; as compared with the rest of the Empire, they would become a minority.

You must judge when and to whom the idea can be confided. It must certainly require great delicacy and management, but I am heartily glad that it is at least in your thoughts.

Yours ever,
W. PITT.

In the following year (1793) the first of the great concessions to the Roman Catholics was made in the extension to them of the franchise. In its bosom it carried all others; for once the 40s. freeholders realised their power, the admission of Roman Catholics to seats in Parliament must sooner or later have come to pass, Parliamentary reform been carried, and the ascendancy of the Protestant interest in the Irish Parliament doomed. The real Irish party—the United Irishmen—were not willing, however, to wait for the slow working of constitutional action, and issued writs calling a really representative convention of the people at Athlone. The Parliament was obliged to take action in self-defence; and in the same year that the franchise was extended to the Roman Catholics, an Act was passed prohibiting the holding of any sort of representative convention, and, as the country was very disturbed, another Act prohibiting the importation of arms or gunpowder, or their removal without license.

It is evident to us now, and it must have been in part evident then, that the power of the independent Irish Parliament was rapidly slipping away from it.

In 1796, 'traitorous insurrections having for some time past arisen in various parts of the country,' it became 'indispensably necessary to add strength to the law,' and 'the Insurrection' Act was passed. A plea for remedial legislation was made by Sir L. Parsons on account of the poverty of the people, but it was scouted.

The Act was described as one which could not have been exceeded by the code of Draco. The administration of illegal oaths was made liable to the penalty of death. Where a witness or peace officer was murdered or maimed, a money compensation might be awarded from the county rates. Strangers might be arrested and imprisoned. In 'proclaimed' districts anybody found out of his house between sunset and sunrise, or who, if his house was visited at night by a magistrate, was not found at home, and who could not satisfactorily account for himself, might be sent by order of two

magistrates to serve on board his Majesty's fleet. Vendors of seditious papers were liable to similar punishment.

Fearfully stringent as were these provisions, things had gone too far even for them to check the rampant disorder of the country.

In 1797 a secret Committee of the House of Commons reported that they found that

the society of United Irishmen (amounting to nearly 100,000 men), under the pretext of promoting a Parliamentary reform and what they called emancipation of the Catholics, harboured a design to disunite this country from Great Britain, to overthrow the present Constitution, and to establish in its stead a republican form of government.

In the same year the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.

In 1798 power had passed from the Irish Parliament. The rebellion broke out. English militia and troops had to be sent over to quell it. Martial law was declared. After a severe struggle, and several pitched battles, costing thousands of lives, the authority of the Imperial Crown was reasserted, but the government of Ireland by an Irish Parliament was irreparably discredited and condemned.

This narrative of facts discloses sufficiently plainly the real reason why the Irish Parliament of 1782 came to an untimely end. Not alone had it proved itself incapable of maintaining order in Ireland, but it had almost involved the Empire in its fate, and so far from proving itself to be a solution of the problem of governing Ireland, it proved itself to be a source of danger to the Empire.

After this complete collapse it could not too quickly be brought to an end, and in 1800 the Union was carried, and the experiment of 'Grattan's Parliament' came to an end.

I have endeavoured to give a concise, clear, and also a fair and impartial account of the Irish Parliamentary Constitution of 1782, and I have sought to render it clearer by confining myself to it solely, and avoiding many extraneous matters.

I have endeavoured to let the facts in its career speak as much as possible for themselves, being anxious to let the people draw their own conclusions from them.

My own firm conviction is that any form of separate Parliamentary government for Ireland would be absolutely fatal to the peace, to say nothing of the welfare, of that country.

I do not believe that the democracy of England would be willing to give Ireland the power of 'boycotting' or closing her markets against English goods. Nor do I believe that the English democracy would sanction the disintegration of the Empire.

The experiment of the Constitution of 1782 was, I think, foredoomed to failure, as indeed every similar experiment must be, from the very circumstances of Ireland; for though it may be argued that an Irish Parliament now would represent the majority of the population

of Ireland, yet it must be borne in mind that in certain respects the minority is probably quite as powerful as the majority, and that both on patriotic and religious grounds it would have the active sympathy of the English people. • • •

Between absolute incorporation or union of Ireland with England and complete separation or independence there is, I am thoroughly convinced, no *lasting* arrangement possible. England must soon make up her mind which it is to be.

HENRY JEPHSON.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

MIRRORED in the pages of James Russell Lowell, as the forests and headlands are mirrored in some far-stretching lake, are the deepest and strongest thoughts and emotions of the Transatlantic mind. Yet his name is, in the minds of many Englishmen, associated chiefly with one form of literary effort, and that not the highest, though in its way unsurpassed. We propose, therefore, to draw attention, not only to *The Biglow Papers*, which have made for their author a name *sui generis*, but to those writings of graver import by which he would probably prefer to be ultimately judged.

Mr. Lowell comes of an old Massachusetts family. His grandfather, the Hon. John Lowell, was one of the greatest lawyers of that State, and was described by Mr. Everett as 'among those who enjoyed the public trust and confidence in the times which tried men's souls.' He was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and introduced the clause in the Bill of Rights which effected the abolition of slavery in that State. Washington appointed him the first judge of the United States' District Court, and at his death he was Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the United States. The father of the poet, the Rev. Charles Lowell, was for some fifty years pastor of the West Church of Boston. He graduated at Harvard College, matriculated at the University of Edinburgh, and studied divinity under Hunter, and moral philosophy under Dugald Stewart. He was the author of several works, chiefly of a theological character. The maternal ancestors of Mr. Lowell were of Danish origin, but emigrated to America from Kirkwall, in the Orkneys. Mr. Lowell was born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the stately old mansion of Elmwood, which once had the honour of sheltering Washington, and was afterwards the property of Elbridge Gerry, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Vice-President of the United States. There are abundant allusions in his works proving his deep attachment to the picturesque home of his childhood. We can linger but to quote one such passage, from 'A Day in June':—

One tall elm, this hundredth year
 Drove of our leafy Venice here,
 Who with an annual ring doth wed
 The blue Adriatic overhead,

Shadows, with his palatial mass,
The deep canals of flowing grass,
Where glow the dandelions spawse
For shadows of Italian stars.

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Mr. Lowell graduated at Harvard in 1838, being then in his twentieth year. First drawn towards the law, he was admitted to the bar, after the usual preliminary studies, but the love of letters had already become a formidable passion with him, and he surrendered the profession of the law for the more attractive, if less remunerative, one of literature. In January 1843 he began, in conjunction with Mr. Robert Carter, a literary and critical magazine, called *The Pioneer*. Three numbers appeared, and then the periodical was committed to the waters of Lethe, not from any inherent fault of its own, for it was admirably conducted, and greatly impressed the reading public of America by the able and independent tone of its criticisms. But from a business point of view it proved unremunerative. In the year following this venture, Mr. Lowell was married to Miss Maria White, of Watertown, Massachusetts. Besides being the author of many excellent translations from the German, Mrs. Lowell was a writer of poems of original merit. It was her death in 1853 which led to the publication of Mr. Longfellow's beautiful poem 'The Two Angels.' The poet pictured two angels, those of Life and Death, the former of whom knocked at his own door, and the latter at that of his bereaved friend. In 1854 Mr. Lowell delivered a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on English poetry, beginning with Chaucer and the old ballad-writers, then dealing with Pope and others, and finally coming down to Wordsworth and Tennyson. He was appointed in 1855 to the much-coveted post of Professor of Belles Lettres in Harvard College, which had been vacated by Mr. Longfellow. This appointment carries with it the privilege of a year's preliminary study and travel in Europe before entering upon its duties. Like his predecessor, Mr. Lowell made the most of this twelvemonth's sojourn in Europe. In 1856 he returned to the United States, and in the year following married Miss Frances Dunlop, niece of ex-Governor Dunlop, of Portland, Maine, whose loss also he has been just called upon to mourn. In 1863 he undertook, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, the editorial supervision of the *North American Review*. Long after he ceased to be connected with the direction of this able periodical, Mr. Lowell was a frequent and easily recognised contributor to its pages. Of our author, in the personal sense, nothing more remains to be said than that, after serving his country in a subordinate capacity, he was appointed to the important post of Minister to Great Britain,—an appointment he now relinquishes to the sincere regret of his many English friends. With regard to the

United States, it is now no uncommon, though a very creditable, thing for literary men to be advanced to high diplomatic appointments.

At the opening of his career a comparison was instituted between Mr. Lowell and his fellow-poet Whittier. But while both can touch a high note in the martial strains of freedom, and both possess descriptive powers of no common order, here, it seems to us, the comparison ends. Lowell is an energetic genius, Whittier a contemplative: not that the former is devoid of the other's noble contemplative moods, but he is at his best as the poet of action. Even when dealing with pacific subjects there is an air of pugnacity about him. He is in the realm of poetry what Mr. Bright is in that of politics. For men of peace, both are the hardest hitters of all the public men of our time. Given the same conditions, and Mr. Lowell might have been the Bright of the American Senate. His knowledge of human nature is very profound, his English is most rich and flexible, while the principles he expounds are stern and unbending. Politically he has two great leading convictions, justice and freedom. He loves his country deeply, but even the threatened infringement of those principles has filled his soul with poignant anguish and regret. When his outraged spirit found relief in scathing sarcasm, as at the time of the Mexican war, and subsequently, those who observed him closely might see the tear welling up behind the fire-flash in his eye.

In his earliest volume, *A Year's Life*, published in 1841, poems all written by the time he had reached his majority, there was more than enough to justify the prescience of those who heralded the appearance of a new poet. In the first place, there was evidence that the writer was not merely lisping numbers in an imitative sense, or because it was a pleasant thing to do. He had something to say, and he said it spontaneously. Said the critics, 'Our poet's conceptions are superior to his power of execution,' but even here the charge was somewhat unfairly pressed. It is difficult for every young Phœbus in poesy to manage his steeds. But in Lowell's case it was fortunate that the complaint was on the right side. It was not his imagination that was at fault, but his expression; consequently there was well-grounded hope of his oversetting the difficulty. His youngest work was full of noble qualities. In 'Irené' and the stanzas entitled 'Threnodia' there were passages which none but a true poet could have written. Take these lines from the latter poem:—

He seemed a cherub who had lost his way,
And wandered hither, so, his stay
With us was short, and 'twas most meet
That he should be no delver in earth's clod,
Nor need to pause and cleanse his feet
To stand before his God.

In the love-poems of this first volume there is a distinct impress of Wordsworth; though not in the ordinary way of verbal plagiarism.

The lofty sentiments which both poets expressed concerning woman were natural to both, though Lowell had evidently revelled in the descriptions of his elder brother. Do not these stanzas, where the poet is describing his love, carry some reminiscences of the English Laureate?—

Blessing she is : God made her so,
And deeds of week-day holiness
Fall from her noiseless as the snow,
Nor hath she ever chanced to know
That aught were easier than to bless.

She is most fair, and thereunto
Her life doth rightly harmonise ;
Feeling or thought that was not true
Ne'er made less beautiful the blue
Unclouded heaven of her eyes.

She is a woman : one in whom
The spring-time of her childish years
Hath never lost its fresh perfume,
Though knowing well that life hath room
For many blights and many tears.

Besides the evidence of a delicate and graceful lyrical faculty which these early poems presented, the writer gave satisfactory hostages for the deep spirit of humanity by which he was imbued. For proof of this fine cosmopolitan spirit turn to his poem 'The Fatherland,' to the splendid tribute to Hampden and Cromwell in 'A Glance behind the Curtain,' and to the 'Stanzas on Freedom.' With unflinching voice, and while still approaching manhood, Lowell nobly sang—

They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

There was enough in these utterances to show that it is of such blood that real patriots are made.

Poetically, a higher vein was struck in the next volume, *Legend of Brittany, Miscellaneous Poems and Sonnets*, published in 1844. Though there might have been still some little ground for the charge of redundancy, it was evident that the poet was rising to his capacity. Maturity of thought, a pruned imagination, and a greater swing and sweep of the verse, were the characteristics of this new volume. The leading poem, which relates how a country maiden is betrayed and murdered by a knightly lover, is treated with much beauty of language, and yet scrupulous delicacy. The portrait of the heroine Margaret is most lovingly and exquisitely drawn, and long remains upon the mind of the reader as an image of maidenly beauty. Her lover conceals the corpse behind the church altar, but the guilty presence is made known on a festival day by a voice

demanding baptism for the unborn babe in its embrace. The murderer is so appalled by the incident that he becomes filled with remorse, and ends his days in repentance. So difficult a subject requires careful handling, but the most fastidious would find no reason to complain in this respect. In a wholly different vein are the two classical poems in this volume, 'Prometheus' and 'Rhæcus.' Mr. Lowell moralises admirably upon the world-touching story of Prometheus, and sees in his great heart but a type 'of what all lofty spirits endure,' men who would fain win back their fellows 'to strength and peace through love.' All the memorial verses in this volume, to Channing, Lloyd Garrison, Kossuth, Lamartine, and others, are exceedingly fine; while the 'Incident in a Railroad Car'—relating how one spoke of Burns, and the poet deduced his general lessons for mankind therefrom—is now a cherished possession with English readers.

Mr. Lowell next essayed the treatment of an Arthurian legend in 'The Vision of Sir Launfal.' It is founded on the search for the Holy Grail. The knight is led in a dream to the true discovery, viz. that charity to the miserable, the outcast, and the suffering is the holy cup. Whether intentionally or inadvertently, in these opening verses the writer closely reproduces an idea from Wordsworth's 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality':—

Not only around our infancy
Doth heaven with all its splendours lie;
Daily, with souls that cringe and plot,
We Sinais climb and know it not.

But how admirably Mr. Lowell thus enforces the lesson of the Holy Grail, in language addressed to Sir Launfal by one whom he had assisted as a leper, but who now stands before him glorified:—

In many climes without avail,
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;
Behold, it is here—in this cup which thou
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;
This crust is my body broken for thee,
This water His blood that died on the tree;
The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
In whatso we share with another's need;
Not what we give, but what we share—
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—
Himself, his hungering neighbour, and me.

By way of perfect contrast to this passage in regard to style, and also as illustrating Mr. Lowell's close observance of nature, we will now quote a portion of the prelude to the first part of the same poem. The poet is revelling in the advent of summer:—

And what is so rare as a day in June?
 Then, if ever, come perfect days;
 Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
 And over it softly her warm ear lays:
 Whether we look or whether we listen,
 We hear life murmur, or see it glisten;
 Every clod feels a stir of might,
 An instinct within it that reaches and towers,
 And, groping blindly above it for light,
 Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers;
 The flush of life may well be seen
 Thrilling back over hills and valleys;
 The cowslip startles in meadows green,
 The buttercup catches the sun in its chalice,
 And there's never a leaf or blade too mean
 To be some happy creature's palace;
 The little bird sits at his door in the sun,
 Atitl like a blossom among the leaves,
 And lets his illumined being o'errun
 With the deluge of summer it receives;
 His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,
 And the heart in her dumb breast flutters and sings;
 He sings to the wide world, and she to her nest,—
 In the nice ear of Nature which song is the best?

There can, we think, be no question in the minds of most that the man who wrote these lines is a true poet, that he has that capacity which is the appanage of all his race, of entering into close communion with the spirit of nature, the spirit that broods over all created things. Speaking of the poets in another work, the writer himself says:—

It is they
 Who utter wisdom from the central deep,
 And, listening to the inner flow of things,
 Speak to the age out of eternity.

We cannot quit these early poems, with their myriad natural beauties, and the rich local colour they present, without some references to 'The Indian Summer Reverie,' a poem probably surpassing all others for felicitousness of language and wealth of observation. Here is a beautiful single image, 'The clouds like swans drift down the streaming atmosphere,' followed by this stanza:—

O'er yon bare knoll the pointed cedar shadows
 Drowse on the crisp, gray moss; the ploughman's call
 Creeps faint as smoke from black, fresh-furrowed meadows;
 The single crow a single caw lets fall;
 And all around me every bush and tree
 Says Autumn's here, and Winter soon will be,
 Who snows his soft, white sleep and silence over all.

A description of the marshes in spring makes one long for the rest and repose so graphically and poetically indicated:—

In Spring they lie one broad expanse of green,
 O'er which the light winds run with glimmering feet.
 Here, yellower stripes crack out the creek unseen,
 There, darker growths o'er hidden ditches meet;
 And purpler stains show where the blossoms crowd,
 As if the silent shadow of a cloud
 Hung there becalmed, with the next breath to fleet.

All round, upon the river's slippery edge,
 Witching to deeper calm the drowsy tide,
 Whispers and leans the breeze-entangling sedge;
 Through emerald glooms the lingering waters slide,
 Or, sometimes wavering, throw back the sun,
 And the stiff banks in eddies melt and run
 Of dimpling light, and with the current seem to glide.

Two more stanzas, depicting with copious imagery the effects of winter, and we must leave this fascinating poem:—

Then, every morn, the river's banks shine bright
 With smooth plate-armour, treacherous and frail,
 By the frost's clinking hammers forged at night,
 'Gainst which the lances of the sun prevail,
 Giving a pretty emblem of the day
 When guiltier arms in light shall melt away,
 And states shall move free-limbed, loosed from war's cramping mail.

And now those waterfalls, the ebbing river
 Twice every day creates on either side,
 Tinkle, as through their fresh-sparred grotts they shiver
 In grass-arched channels to the sun denied;
 High flaps in sparkling blue the far-heard crow,
 The silvered flats gleam frostily below,
 Suddenly drops the gull, and breaks the glassy tide.

But the deep pathos in some of Mr. Lowell's poems is as striking as any of his other qualities. No common note was reached in 'The First Snow-fall,' a poem written in memory of his firstborn; but of all effusions of this class he has written nothing so touching and so exquisite as 'The Changeling.' It may be a bold thing to say, but it seems to us that the pathetic and unadorned simplicity of this poem has never been surpassed by any English writer. It seems scarcely credible that its author should be our humorous friend Hosea Biglow; but what a glimpse of the man's real heart we get in it! We quote the whole, for the simple reason that the excision of one stanza would spoil the poem, and we are unwilling to take the responsibility of saying which is unworthy of the rest:—

I had a little daughter,
 And she was given to me
 To lead me gently backward
 To the Heavenly Father's knee,

That I, by the force of Nature,
Might in some dim wise divine
The depths of His infinite patience
To this wayward soul of mine.

I know not how others saw her,
But to me she was wholly fair,
And the light of the Heaven she came from
Still lingered and gleamed in her hair ;
For it was as wavy and golden,
And as many changes took,
As the shadows of sun-gilt ripples
On the yellow bed of a brook.

To what can I liken her smiling
Upon me, her kneeling lover,
How it leaped from her lips to her eyelids,
And dimpled her wholly over,
Till her outstretched hands smiled also,
And I almost seemed to see
The very heart of her mother
Sending sun through her veins to me !

She had been with us scarce a twelvemonth,
And it hardly seemed a day,
When a troop of wandering angels
Stole my little daughter away ;
Or perhaps those heavenly Zincli
But loosed the hampering strings,
And when they had opened her cage-door,
My little bird used her wings.

But they left in her stead a Changeling,
A little angel child,
That seems like her bud in full blossom,
And smiles as she never smiled :
When I awake in the morning, I see it
Where she always used to lie,
And I feel as weak as a violet
Alone 'neath the awful sky ;

As weak, yet as trustful also,
For the whole year long I see
All the wonders of faithful Nature
Still worked for the love of me ;
Winds wander, and dewa drip earthward,
Rain falls, suns rise and set,
Earth whirls, and all but to prosper
A poor little violet.

This child is not mine as the first was,
I cannot sing it to rest,
I cannot lift it up fatherly
And bless it upon my breast ;
Yet it lies in my little one's cradle,
And sits in my little one's chair,
And the light of the Heaven she's gone to
Transfigures its golden hair.

Now it is quite true that the Americans 'are reckoned a practical folk, who would rather hear about a new air-tight stove than about Plato;' and yet in many respects they are the most impressionable people under the sun. They have a peculiar relish for all works of imagination, and the number of readers of poetry and fiction in the United States far exceeds the total number of such readers in the mother country. They are quite singular, in fact, in this respect. The most popular public lecturer in the United States for nearly half a century was Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose intellect was of so strangely composite a character. No one can say that his head was not well screwed upon his shoulders, speaking in a practical sense, and yet there has probably never been an American writer with so little of earth's dross in him. In some moods he is delightfully dreamy; in others his voice is like the sound of a trumpet; in all there is the decisive presence of imagination. So when we come to Mr. Lowell, we find in him strains fit either for the busy mart of life or the quiet retirement of the woods. Man is the great object of his song, because the world must be advanced to attain the full stature of greatness; but the poet is almost equally devoted to Nature. While he has too much common-sense to be merely rhapsodical, he can be as delightfully dreamy and reflective as the old bards. Then, too, he has other claims. His ethical code is healthful and refreshing; he analyses human nature with all the magical power, if also with the tenderness, of the skilfullest of soul-physicians. He is the best of all metaphysicians, because his conclusions are based, not upon theory, but upon the heart-throbs of that humanity whose soul he endeavours to pierce.

In the year 1848 Mr. Lowell published his 'Fable for Critics,' a totally new venture on the part of his muse. The poem was really a glance at 'a few of our literary progenies,' to use Mrs. Malaprop's word, and its pointed and definite allusions will sufficiently account for its popularity. Its author is so excellent a prose critic that, had these sketches of his contemporaries appeared in the homely garb of unrhymed Saxon, we may be sure that some of the opinions expressed would have been considerably modified. But, making allowances for the exigencies of the situation, the portraits are dashed in with no small amount of skill and vigour. Edgar Allan Poe, indeed, was much annoyed by this Fable, which he described as essentially 'loose, ill conceived, and feebly executed, as well in detail as in general. Some good hits, and some sparkling witticisms, do not serve to compensate for its rambling plot (if plot it can be called), and for the want of artistic finish, so particularly noticeable throughout the work, especially in its versification.' But then it must be remembered that Poe was handled by the author with no velvety hand. The estimate of Professor Francis Bowen was much nearer the mark, which described the Fable as 'a very pleasant and

sparkling poem, abounding in flashes of brilliant satire, edged with wit enough to delight even its victims.' Mr. Griswold, while admitting the excellence of the work, thought that the caustic severity of some of its judgments might be attributed to a desire for retaliation. But this notion was surely most erroneous, for in such a nature as that of Mr. Lowell the mean sentiment of jealousy could have no place. The whole thing is not so direct, does not go so straight to the point, as Goldsmith's 'Retaliation:' and for the sake of future readers, the author would do well to cancel a good deal of its preliminary extraneous matter, and supply by way of footnote some details of the authors dealt with. The claims and peculiarities of the writers satirised will not always be present in the mind of the average reader, and the whole thing is so good that we should be sorry to see the points lost on account of their obsolescence. In the comic literature of our time Lord Beaconsfield is immediately recognised by the one curl which remains upon the aged forehead of Vivian Grey; but it would be absurd to say that this well-known curl was his lordship's only striking characteristic. Yet the fault of Mr. Lowell's portraits is that he has seized upon accidental mental characteristics in American authors—in some cases totally unrecognisable by European readers, and has dwelt upon these to the exclusion of others more essential. We are therefore not astonished to find that exception was taken to his sketches of Bryant and Dana, for example. Yet he does not shirk words of generous praise, in the majority of instances; and while he may be mistaken in some of his judgments, we may dismiss as incredible and impossible the idea that Mr. Lowell has in these sketches set down anything with 'malice aforethought:' with contemporary verse of its class, in fact, this poetic review of prominent American writers may be allowed to take high rank.

In 1869 appeared another volume of miscellaneous poetry by Mr. Lowell, entitled *Under the Willows, and other Poems*. Some of these poems were descriptive, some narrative, and others connected with the war, but there was the same conspicuous merit in all: the war poems were the most thrilling, concentrating as they did the profound emotions of a nation. There was so noble a fervour in them, and all were so distinctively elevated in tone, as to challenge for the America from which they sprang a greater affection and reverence than many in this country had been previously wont to pay her. The echoes of the great Civil War were still ringing in men's ears, but the vanquished as well as the victorious might derive much-needed lessons from these effusions, whose general tone and spirit commended them to all. Mr. Lowell is the prophet of peace: though he would not shrink from drawing the sword in a case of great necessity, he has greater joy in seeing it return to its scabbard. His happiest moments are those in which he pictures a serene and blessed future. How truly

poetical and grandly patriotic is this apostrophe at the close of the Commemorative Ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration :—

Bow down, dear Land, for thou hast found release ;
 Thy God, in these distempered days,
 Hath taught thee the sure wisdom of His ways,
 And through thine enemies hath wrought thy peace !
 Bow down in prayer and praise !
 No poorest in thy borders but may now
 Lift to the juster skies a man's enfranchised brow.
 O Beautiful ! My Country ! Ours once more !
 Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair
 O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,
 And letting thy set lips,
 Freed from Wrath's pale eclipse,
 The rosy edges of their smile lay bare,
 What words divine of lover or of poet
 Could tell our love and make thee know it,
 Among the nations bright beyond compare ?
 What were our lives without thee ?
 What all our lives to save thee ?
 We reck not what we gave thee :
 We will not dare to doubt thee,
 But ask whatever else, and we will dare !

Nor ought we to omit mention of the tribute to Lincoln in this poem. This great patriot has already been the subject of more eulogies probably than any man of his time, but the language has not always been well chosen or the ideas harmonious with their subject. Mr. Lowell does not offend in this regard ; the sturdiest Briton will go with him to the full in the character of his eulogy. The poet sings how that Nature

For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,
 And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
 Of the unexhausted West,
 With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
 Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.
 How beautiful to see
 Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
 Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead ;
 One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,
 Not lured by any cheat of birth,
 But by his clear-grained human worth ;
 And brave old wisdom of sincerity !

Here was a type of the true elder race,
 And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.

'Under the Willows' and 'Pictures from Appledore' are written in a simple yet effective descriptive vein, and 'The Voyage to Vinland' is a fine narrative, in which occurs one of the author's happiest lyrics. Those who think that Mr. Lowell scarcely did justice to some of his brethren in letters in his 'Fable for Critics' will find more than the *amende*

honorable in this volume in such poems as those addressed to Mr. Bryant and Mr. Longfellow. But the strongest utterances of all, and those which cling most closely in the memory, are the poems and ballads in which the author deals with human emotion. For an example of such take 'The Dead House,' whose pathos must find its way to any heart.

In some respects 'The Cathedral,' published in 1869, deserves to rank as the highest of all Mr. Lowell's poetical productions, and we are somewhat surprised that it has received but scant recognition in this country. It is deeply introspective, and charged with pathetic memories of the long ago. There is not a page that does not contain some striking thought. The poem reminds us greatly of that most beautiful of elegiac works, the 'In Memoriam' of Lord Tennyson; and yet the two are as dissimilar in conception as in treatment. But both are fine spiritual poems. While our own great writer has the advantage in sheer intellectual force, the note seems to us clearer and more decisive in Mr. Lowell, and he speaks as one who trod on firmer ground. The temperament of the two men naturally tinges works which have been infused with so much of their own personal feeling and sentiment. Perplexed by the vast moral and spiritual problems around him, Tennyson looks for their solution 'within the veil.' Mr. Lowell is rather happy and trustful in the present. By faith he rises above 'the smoke and stir of this dim spot.' In speculative power and absolute poetic capacity Lord Tennyson is unquestionably the superior; but Mr. Lowell (we are speaking now only of the two works we have momentarily placed in comparison) with true and agile instinct leaps to the lessons of the present from a contemplation of the past. What a triumphant uprising of the spirit there is in the final lines of 'The Cathedral,' as the poet shakes from himself the dust of doubt, and the jangling of the creeds fades in his ear—

If sometimes I must hear good men debate
Of other witness of Thyself than Thou,
As if there needed any help of ours
To nurse thy flickering life, that else, must cease,
Blown out, as 'twere a candle, by men's breath,
My soul shall not be taken in their snare,
To change her inward surety for their doubt
Muffled from sight in formal robes of proof:
While she can only feel herself through Thee,
I fear not Thy withdrawal; more I fear,
Seeing, to know Thee not, hoodwinked with dreams
Of signs and wonders, while, unnoticed, Thou
Walking Thy Garden still, commun'st with men,
Missed in the commonplace of miracle.

Peculiarly rich is this poem in what we may call single poetical thoughts—lines in which are concentrated the ideas and emotions

which have moved men, but which they have lacked the power of utterance to describe. Let us take a few of these at random. Speaking of happy days indelibly fixed in the memory, he likens them to

Words made magical by poets dead,
Wherein the music of all meaning is
The sense hath garnered or the soul divined.

Again, 'second thoughts are prose,' and 'first passion beggars all behind.' How tenderly beautiful is this recollection!—

The bird I hear sings not from yonder elm;
But the flown ecstasy my childhood heard
Is vocal in my mind, renewed by him,
Haply made sweeter by the accumulate thrill
That threads my undivided life and steals
A pathos from the years and graves between.

To one who lives thus all nature must be vocal. He is in the cathedral at Chartres, and thus he meditates:—

I gazed abashed,
Child of an age that lectures, not creates,
Plastering our swallow-nests on the awful Past,
And twittering round the works of larger men,
As we had builded what we but deface.

Then he attains a far higher level, this time of spiritual vision—

Be He nowhere else,
God is in all that liberates and lifts,
In all that humbles, sweetens, and consoles:
Blessed the natures shored on every side
With landmarks of hereditary thought!

Next all in a moment his reverie is disturbed by the intrusion of the practical age in which we live—

This age that blots out life with question-marks,
This nineteenth century with its knife and glass
That make thought physical, and thrust far off
The Heaven, so neighbourly with man of old,
To voids sparse-sown with alienated stars.

Now hear him upon science and ethics—and the warning he gives cannot be said to be superfluous:—

Science was Faith once; Faith were Science now,
Would she but lay her bows and arrows by,
And arm her with the weapons of the time.
Nothing that keeps thought out is safe from thought:
For there's no virgin-fort but self-respect,
And Truth defensive hath lost hold on God.

Prizing more than he does Plato things which he learnt at his mother's knee, the poet exclaims—

Let us be thankful when, as I do here,
 We can read Bethel on a pile of stones,
 And, seeing where God *has* been, trust in Him.

He cannot quite repress his natural sarcasm as he looks forward to
 the time when the Church of the ideal man shall be

No parlour where men issue policies
 Of life-assurance on the Eternal Mind.

'Man still rises level with the height of noblest opportunities,' and
 he deprecates all such ideas as that

Good days were shapen of themselves,
 Not of the very life-blood of men's souls.

One thought more from this work, which is as crowded with such
 things as the midnight sky is with the stars :—

Thou beautiful Old Time, now hid away
 In the Past's valley of Avilion,
 Haply, like Arthur, till thy wound be healed,
 Then to reclaim the sword and crown again !

We are unwilling to leave the graver branch of our subject, however,
 without a few more quotations, illustrating what we may call this
 thought-crystallising power, from other poems. The opening of the
 ode read at the one hundredth anniversary of the Fight at Concord
 Bridge, the 19th of April, 1875, has a ring in it like that of Swinburne,
 both as regards melody and alliterative force, and the younger bard
 might well have been proud to have written it. It is an address to
 Freedom, tender and yet impassioned.

Who cometh over the hills,
 Her garments with morning sweet,
 The dance of a thousand rills
 Making music before her feet ?
 Her presence freshens the air ;
 Sunshine steals light from her face ;
 The leaden footstep of Care
 Leaps to the tune of her pace, •
 Fairness of all that is fair,
 Grace at the heart of all grace,
 Sweetener of hut and of hall,
 Bringer of life out of naught,
 Freedom, O, fairest of all
 The daughters of Time and Thought !

But the goddess is even more than this : she is

Our sweetness, our strength, and our star,
 Our hope, our joy, and our trust,
 Who lifted us out of the dust,
 And made us whatever we are !

In another vigorous memorial poem, entitled 'Under the old Elm'—
 read at Cambridge on the hundredth anniversary of Washington's

taking command of the American army, the 3rd of July, 1775—Mr. Lowell graphically pictures the great Virginian as creating a nation when he unsheathed his sword :—

Out of that scabbard sprang, as from its womb,
Nebulous at first but hardening to a star,
Through mutual share of sunburst and of gloom,
The common faith that made us what we are.

Is it not also true, as the poet claims, that

A great man's memory is the only thing
With influence to outcast the present whim
And bind us as when here he knit our golden ring?

Phrases to be remembered, such as 'not failure, but low aim, is crime,' abound in Mr. Lowell's works. In 'The Dead House' he asks whether it is necessary to go to Paris or Rome to learn the simple lesson that 'the many make the household, but only one the home.' In 'What Rabbi Jehosha said,' and many other poems, he teaches the grandeur of Christian charity and Christian humility. In fact, he is one of the profoundest preachers (and never offensive withal) in the whole brotherhood of song. In all seasons he insists upon his cardinal lesson that

There is no wind but soweth seeds
Of a more true and open life,
Which burst, unlooked for, into high-souled deeds,
With wayside beauty rife.

On the oldest subject in the world—that of love—he has something true and pure to say :—

Love asks no evidence
To prove itself well placed : we know not whence
It gleams the straws that thatch its humble bower :
We can but say we found it in the heart,
Spring of all sweetest thoughts, arch foe of blame,
Sower of flowers in the dusty mart,
Pure, vestal of the poet's holy flame,—
This is enough, and we have done our part
If we but keep it spotless as it came.

A passage from 'Above and Below,' to demonstrate still further Mr. Lowell's command of really magnificent imagery, must be given :—

The Lord wants reapers : Oh, mount up,
Before night comes, and says—'Too late !'
Stay not for taking scrip or-cup,
The Master hungers while ye wait :
'Tis from these heights alone your eyes
The advancing spears of day can see,
Which o'er the eastern hill-tops rise,
To break your long captivity.

Lone watcher on the mountain height !
It is right precious to behold

The first long surf of climbing light
Flood all the thirsty east with gold ;
But we, who in the shadow sit,
Know also, when the day is nigh,
Seeing thy shining forehead lit
With his inspiring prophecy.

From the fifth to the last of these sixteen lines there is nothing but a *tour de force* in the way of pictorial writing. In leaving the miscellaneous poems of this writer we have only one further observation to make upon their moral aspect: notwithstanding that the aim and spirit of their author were at an early period in his career misconceived, nothing could more conclusively prove the wide catholicity and the liberality of his sentiments than the poems themselves. He may well yield them to the arbitrament of time without apology.

We now come to the series of poems which have justly earned for Mr. Lowell the distinction of being the greatest of all American humorists. Since Homer Wilbur, A.M., Pastor of the First Church in Jaalam, and (Prospective) Member of many Literary, Learned, and Scientific Societies, first edited the papers of Hosea Biglow, there has been an avalanche of American humorists, but in this case, to adopt the language of the turf, Mr. Biglow is first, and the rest (with one or two exceptions) 'nowhere.' His humour is a distinctly national creation. Yet although it is purely American in its inception, it has qualities which make it as universal as the humour of Sir John Falstaff or Don Quixote. It has been claimed, and not inaptly, that there is quite an Elizabethan flavour about it, in that it is 'audible and full of vent.' We shall not enter into the question whether a writer is justified in seizing upon local foibles and characteristics for the purpose of giving point to the edge of his satire, and driving home the lessons he desires to inculcate. That question may be regarded as already settled in the affirmative. Mr. Lowell is as completely justified in the use of his particular vehicle of satire as any other satirist whom the world has seen. The language he presses into his service may be more uncouth and less pliable than any other, but the justification for its use must be found in its effect. In this respect the author now needs no apology. His work, though not equal in conception, is as good of its kind as that of Rabelais or Cervantes or Richter. In measuring its value, the circumstances which called it into being must be remembered. The writer found the nation of which he formed a part in danger of forgetting the principles which had secured its own freedom, and he used such weapons as came to his hand for combating the evil. He did so with singular effect, and the *Biglow Papers* were received with marked favour 'from their droll and felicitous portraiture of the Yankee character and dialect, and their successful hits at the national passion for military glory. Political opponents

as well as friends laughed loud and long at the Birdofredum Sawin's letters, describing his experience in the wars, and the mishaps that he encountered before he could make his way home again.' The first series of papers which the American Hudibras issued were chiefly directed against the invasion of Mexico by the United States and the state of the Slavery Question. Although Mr. Lowell was in antagonism with the feeling of the majority of his countrymen at that time upon these matters, he did not flinch from what he deemed to be his duty, but lashed out against the popular notions with vigour. The probability is that now he has nine out of ten cultivated Americans with him. But he had the courage to be in the right when it was not so easy as it is now. The introductions of Mr. Wilbur to the various ballads have a tendency to be too long drawn out, yet he says many good things. Of course, with the pride of his race, he institutes comparisons between John and Jonathan to the advantage of the latter, but altogether we feel very friendly towards this discursive, button-holing Yankee, who is as delightfully prolix as Coleridge; but when we come to Mr. Hosea Biglow's lucubrations, we are bound to admire his courage and laugh at his humour. Some of his flying touches at the deepest questions are very droll—

What's the use o' meetin'-goin'
 Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
 Ef it's right to go a-mowin'
 Feller-men like oats an' rye?
 I dunno but wut it's pooty
 Trainin' round in bobtail coats,—
 But it's curus Christian dooty
 This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats.

Mr. Wilbur is of opinion that the first recruiting sergeant on record was that individual who is mentioned in the Book of Job as 'going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it.' Bishop Latimer thought he must have been a bishop, but to Homer the other calling appears more congenial. He reminds us that the profession of arms was always in time past judged to be that of a gentleman, but he cannot hold, with that nicely metaphysical Pomeranian Captain Vratz, that 'the scheme of salvation has been arranged with an especial eye to the necessities of the upper classes, and that God would consider a *gentleman*, and deal with him suitably to the condition and profession he had placed himself in.' But Biglow, in his antipathy to the Mexican war, has not the least reverence for that august personage, the recruiting sergeant.

Jest go home an' ask our Nancy
 Whether I'd be sech a goose
 Ez to jine ye,—guess she'd fancy
 The eternal bung wuz loose!

She wants me for home consumption,
 Let alone the hay's to mow:
 Ef you're arter folks o' gumption,
 You've a darned long row to hoe.

On the same subject Hosea tells us what Mr. Robinson thinks.
 He is dead for the war, whereupon Biglow remarks—

We kind o' thought Christ went agin war an' pillage,
 An' thet appyletts worn't the best mark of a saint;
 But John P.
 Robinson, he
 Sez this kind o' thing 's an exploded idee.
 Parson Wilbur sez *he* never heerd in his life
 Thet th' Apostles rigged out in their swallow-tail coats,
 An' marched round in front of a drum an' a fife,
 To git some on 'em office, an' some on 'em votes;
 But John P.
 Robinson, he
 Sez they didn't know everythin' down in Judee.

The poet writes very strongly against the writers of the time, who were largely responsible for fanning the popular war ideas into a flame. His 'Pious Editor's Creed,' however, is capable of a wider application, and probably will be to the end of time—

I du believe in prayer an' praise
 To him that hez the grantin'
 O' jobs—in everythin' thet pays,
 But most of all in Cantin';
 This doth my cup with marcies fill,
 This lays all thought o' sin to rest,—
 I *don't* believe in princerple,
 But O, I *du* in interest.

In short, I firmly du believe
 In Humbug generally,
 For it's a thing thet I perceive
 To have a solid vally;
 This hath my faithful shepherd been,
 In pasturs sweet hath led me,
 An' this 'll keep the people green
 To feed ez they have fed me.

There is a very amusing sketch of a candidate for the Presidency, who objects to pledges, because they are so embarrassing; if he's 'one peccooler feetur, it is a nose that won't be led,' and his political creed generally is summed up in these four lines—

Ez to my princerples, I glory
 In havin' nothin' o' the sort;
 I ain't a Whig, I ain't a Tory,
 I'm jest a candidate, in short.

There is uproarious fun in Birdosfredum Sawin's account of his experiences during the war. He thought to acquire great glory
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and profit in the Mexican campaign, and so 'Wuz fool enuff to go a-trottin' into Miss Chiff arter a drum an' fife.' He loses an arm, a leg, and an eye, and altogether his account with glory is not a refreshing one. Still he considers that the remnant of him is good enough as a candidate for the Presidency, and his reflections show much acuteness in the reading of character and the way to push his claims. One of the best pricking of shams will be found in Hosea Biglow's report of a speech by Increase D. O'Phace, Esq., 'at an extrumperry caucus,' which may be taken as a manifesto against unprincipled orators of all kinds. Many lines in this effusion, as for example the following, have already attained the widest popularity:—

A marciful Providence fashioned us holler
O' purpose that we might our principles swoller.

The sarcasm here is very pointed:—

I'm willin' a man should go tollable strong
Agin wrong in the abstract, for thet kind o' wrong
Is ollers onpop'lar, an' never gets pitied,
Because it's a crime no one never committed;
But he mustn't be hard on partickler sins,
Coz then he'll be kickin' the people's own shins.

Again:—

Constitutoents air handy to help a man in,
But arterwards don't weigh the haft of a pin.

The second series of the *Biglow Papers*, published in book form in 1867, and dealing with questions preceding and relating to the Civil War, attracted equal attention with the first. There was in them the same keen practical philosophy applied to the questions of the day. Hosea is as sarcastic as usual in his conjectural report of 'a message of Jeff Davis in Secret Session':—

We've got all the ellermunts, this very hour,
That make up a fus'-class, self-governin' power;
We've a war, an' a debt, an' a flag; an' ef this
Ain't to be indurpendunt, why, what on airth is?

But the greatest want of the South was 'plausible paper to print I O U's on.' The Honourable Preserved Doe, in his Speech in Secret-Caucus, enlightens statesmen generally as to the right rule of conduct in political matters:—

A ginooine statesman should be on his guard,
Ef he *must* hev beliefs, not to b'lieve 'em tu hard;
For ez sure ez he does, he'll be blurtin' 'em out
'Thout regardin' the natur' o' man more'n a spout,
Nor it don't ask much gumption to pick out a flaw
In a party whose leaders are loose in the jaw:
An' so in our own case I ventur' to hint
Thet we'd better not air our perceedins in print,
Nor pass resserlootions ez long ez your arm
Thet may, ez things happen to turn, do us harm;

For when you've done all your real meanin' to smother,
The darned things 'll up an' mean sunthin' or 'nother.

Mr. Carlyle would probably have gone a great way with our author in his opinion that

The right to be a cussed fool
Is safe from all devices human,
It's common (ez a gin'ral rule)
To every critter born o' woman.

We have occupied nearly the whole of our space in discussing Mr. Lowell's claims as a poet; yet, as one of his transatlantic admirers has observed, his 'prose writings are as remarkable as his poetry; the copiousness of his illustrations, the richness of his imagery, the easy flow of his sentences, the keenness of his wit, and the force and clearness of his reasoning, give to his reviews and essays a fascinating charm that would place him in the front rank of our prose writers, if he did not occupy a similar position among our poets.' It would be unpardonable did we not make some allusion to those admirable compositions which have entitled him to be regarded amongst the first of living critics. There is a terrible straining to say something new upon old-world topics among modern writers, yet Mr. Lowell has accomplished the feat. We may not always agree with him in his estimate of Dryden, for example—it is difficult to do so—but there he is, with an enviable power of analysis, and a capacity to enter into the very souls of some of our cherished literary gods, which we can but envy. His 'Shakespeare once more,' in the first series of *Among my Books*, is an illustration of what we mean. We should like to quote, but space forbids. Emerson is at times profounder, but Lowell is singularly direct in his analysis of the power of the world's sovereign poet. From the essay on Dante, also, in the second series of *Among my Books*, we had marked some score passages for quotation, but must refer the reader to the whole essay as one of the most comprehensive estimates of the great Italian poet that have ever been written. We will content ourselves with the closing passage of the criticism:—

At the Round Table of King Arthur there was left always one seat empty for him who should accomplish the adventure of the Holy Grail. It was called the perilous seat, because of the dangers he must encounter who would win it. In the company of the epic poets there was a place left for whoever should embody the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly all defeat, inwardly victorious, who should make us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ. He who should do this would indeed achieve the perilous seat, for he must combine poesy with doctrine in such cunning wise that the one lose not its beauty nor the other its severity—and Dante has done it. As he takes possession of it we seem to hear the cry he himself heard when Virgil rejoined the company of great singers, 'All honour to the loftiest of poets!'

Yet even in such noble essays as the one on Milton the writer cannot suppress his wit, but observes of the author of 'Paradise Lost'

that, 'since Dante, no one had stood on such visiting terms with Heaven.' A perfectly delightful book of happy, garrulous prose is *My Study Windows*, although it does not vie with either of its predecessors in the depth and range of pure criticism. But such papers as that 'On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners' may well be envied by living essayists for touches as genial and incisive as those of Leigh Hunt or Charles Lamb. Mr. Lowell must have been in a strait betwixt two when nature endowed him with the susceptible imagination of the poet on the one hand, and the clear judicial intellect of the critic on the other.

It may with truth be assumed that the essence of the highest poetry is the perception of the deep things of nature, humanity, and God. Though clowns jostle kings in Shakespeare, there are moments when the bard is wrapt in a divine ecstasy. These supreme moments come to every poet. They are very frequent with the subject of our article, and he who would attempt to gauge either his endowments or his general moods, by his overflowing wit, would do Mr. Lowell the greatest injustice. He is in so far the product of his times that he must take part in all the movements affecting the welfare of those who surround him. He is indignant over the curse of slavery, but, when indignation fails to move, he calls in the potent aid of ridicule. Many a tyrant has braved the wrath of his foes, but few can stand unmoved those shafts of invective and scorn which pierce them, as it were, under the fifth rib. It is as much the duty of its owner to use this talent of ridicule in the world's service, as it is the duty of a Claude to paint his divine landscapes, or a Luther to thunder forth his anathemas against vice and error. In degree, it would be as absurd to attempt to assess the poetical faculties of Shakespeare from his Touchstones and his Gobbos as to assess those of Russell Lowell from Hosea Biglow and Birdofredum Sawin. It is difficult to regard contemporary writers wholly detached from the influence of those popular ideas which surround them; and so, by the great majority of readers, it is to be feared, Mr. Lowell's genius is measured chiefly by the clever vagaries of Hosea Biglow, and his pastor, the Rev. Homer Wilbur. It has been our object partly to correct this impression by dwelling upon those serious poems of Mr. Lowell which more fully attest his genius than anything that he has written. The Elizabethan writers are placed at so great a distance from us that we can regard the developments of their genius with a free and unbiassed spirit, giving to each its due proportion. Though the time may be far distant, it must come when this will be the case with such writers as Mr. Lowell. In any case, we are convinced that no poetic note higher or deeper than his, no aspirations more finely touched towards lofty issues, no voice more powerful for truth and freedom, have hitherto come to us from across the Atlantic.

G. BARNETT SMITH.

OUR ARMIES IN INDIA.

THE question of the military forces under the Crown in India is a double one, dealing with two sets of armies subject to different conditions, the British and the native armies. But there is a further distinction. In each of the three Presidencies the military system, as it now exists, is distinct and independent. Any one therefore who speaks of the 'Indian Army' as a united force under a single command neglects two sets of distinctions, one natural, the other local and arbitrary, and the effect of which, in the minds of the highest Indian authorities, it is one of the objects of this paper to show. Besides British and native armies there are the armies of native States, of which something will be said separately.

The English Government have at their disposal two recent sources of information and advice, embodying the latest views on the subject of military reforms in India. In the first place, there is the report of the Army Commission appointed under Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, which bears internal proof of the immense care bestowed on it; and, secondly, there is what amounts to a critical review of that report, being a series of recommendations sent by Lord Ripon to the English Government, after a lengthened investigation of the measures suggested in the original report, an investigation undertaken by Lord Ripon's Government shortly after his appointment at the request of the India Office; and these recommendations in their turn were so carefully drawn up as to elicit a warm compliment from Lord Hartington in his reply. It should therefore be remembered that any of these recommendations as to military reforms made by Lord Lytton's Army Commission, and endorsed by the Government of Lord Ripon, have run the gauntlet of criticism in two separate camps politically hostile to each other; and, moreover, that they have been sifted and closely debated by the experienced professional advisers of each administration in turn, presumably unbiassed by any political considerations whatever. The principal changes in the Indian military system which have been not only suggested, but repeatedly pressed upon the Home Government, by Lord Ripon's administration are so important, and affect so vitally the constitution and administration of the armies in India, that they require all the justification that they get from such a rare combination of authority and experience. Their chief object

is to secure unity of system, unity of responsibility, unity of administration, unity of command throughout the whole Indian Empire; while maintaining the division of military labour, and the individuality of local military life, which are rendered not only advisable but necessary by the circumstances and conditions of the people and the country. Nowhere is a unity of system more essential than in India, but nowhere would centralisation of work be more fatal. Such is evidently their opinion.

Owing to the circumstances of the establishment of British rule in India, it was absolutely impossible at first to constitute one single army for India under one undivided command. The different Presidencies were isolated from each other so completely that this would have been impracticable. They were separated by wide tracts of country, and by States under native rule, many of them at that time bitterly opposed to our Government. There were no telegraphs, and no railways, and communication between the Presidencies was too uncertain and too long in transit to make unity of military administration possible.

Since then the circumstances of the country and the feelings of the people towards us have undergone a complete change. India is being crossed and recrossed by railways and telegraphs in all directions, and the next few years will see an immense development of both; and now, instead of having to run the gauntlet of hostile native States before a message or a regiment can be sent from one Presidency to another, we are being constantly met by striking proofs of their loyalty and friendship, and they are fully aware that their prosperity depends on the maintenance of the strong peaceful rule of the British Government.

This change in the circumstances of India and in the relations of native States towards the British Government has, in the opinion of nearly every Indian military authority, made the continuance of the three separate Presidential military systems artificial, unnecessary, and dangerous, and, if it is perpetuated, it will be perpetuating a disadvantage, and continuing a risk which an absolute necessity compelled our forefathers to face, but which, if they could, they would probably have been the first to avoid. We have inherited the Presidential military system, where each Presidency has its own separate army with a separate commander-in-chief, and the whole paraphernalia which surrounds him, as opposed to a departmental military system for the whole of India, in which each Presidency would be regarded, for military purposes, as a department in the Indian military service, working under one central and supreme authority, with a simplicity of design and a unity of system and of control absolutely essential to the complete efficiency of the service.

What renders the present state of things specially unsatisfactory is that, in military matters, the separate Presidential control, such as

it is, is very inefficient because it is often so remote, and acts indirectly. Formerly the armies in each of the three Presidencies were really local forces. They were rarely employed outside the Presidency to which they severally belonged, and each of the separate local governments made its own financial and other arrangements as to clothing, transport, pensions, &c., and was in direct communication with the Court of Directors, no control being exercised by the Horse Guards. But now this has undergone a complete change. All European forces in India are furnished from the British army, the armies belonging to each Presidency are constantly employed outside its borders, and so it often happens that, in matters which relate to the administration of the troops, it is not the Government of the province where they are quartered which has to be consulted but the Government of another province, and the Government of India may have to make a formal application to that of Madras or Bombay before it can move a regiment in Hyderabad or Burma.

It was in order to secure the advantages of unity and simplicity of system that Lord Ripon's Government repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, urged the importance of their proposed military reforms upon the India Office. Their recommendations were, no doubt, carefully weighed. No one who reads through the despatches on the subject could say that they were rejected hastily, or perhaps that they have even now, been rejected finally; but the fact remains that most of them, and those the most important, have been shelved, without any kind of pledge of their adoption. In the despatch of the 28th of February, 1881, to the Home Government, the recommended reforms were summarised in the following words:—

1. The Madras and Bombay armies to come under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Civil Establishments connected with those armies to come under the direct orders of the Government of India, and the military secretariats of those Presidencies to be abolished. The designation of the officers commanding those armies might conveniently be changed from 'Commander-in-Chief' to 'Lieutenant-General Commanding.'

2. The Commander-in-Chief in India to give up the direct control of the Bengal Army, but to retain his seat in the Governor-General's Council.

3. The Bengal Army to be commanded by two Lieutenant-Generals. To meet the charges for these officers, whose salaries might be the same as those of the Lieutenant-Generals Commanding in Madras and Bombay, we may say at once, in anticipation of the proposals to be hereafter submitted, that we are prepared to accept the recommendations of the Commission [Lord Lytton's Army Commission already referred to] for reducing the number of Major-Generals and other officers to an extent at least sufficient to cover the charge. We shall shortly lay a definite proposal on this head before Her Majesty's Government.

4. The Punjab Frontier Force to be maintained as a separate body, but to come under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.

The despatch concludes with a paragraph setting out the advantages which the suggested reforms would offer to the armies of Madras

and Bombay, which have hitherto been 'overshadowed by the larger body,' i.e. the Bengal army.

Hereafter

All the military forces in India will be on the same footing; all should have an equal share of the prizes of the service in peace time, and the same opportunity for distinction in war; and we may hope that a healthy feeling of emulation will take the place of the class jealousies and prejudices which have unfortunately been too often manifested in past times.

In recommending so persistently a unity of military administration for India, Lord Ripon's Government cannot be said to have done more than make an attempt to bring the military system into harmony with the law which controls it. The law laid down more than half a century ago that 'the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and *military* government of all the said territories and revenues in India shall be, and is, hereby vested in a Governor-General and Councillors, to be styled "the Governor-General of India in Council"' (3 & 4 Will. IV., c. 85, § 39).

The irony of the position is that the law invests the governor-general with a responsibility which the facts prevent him from exercising. The English public have probably very little idea what the actual state of things is. If anything serious goes wrong the governor-general is held responsible by public opinion, and no one thinks his responsibility should be diminished; on the contrary, the argument is that it should be increased by a concentration of power, and that it should be made a reality where it is a sham. Most Englishmen know, in a general sort of way, the powers with which a governor-general is invested, and would suppose that, in time of war at all events, high appointments in any section of the army in India would be made, actually as well as nominally, by the central Government, officers being selected for responsible posts from a personal knowledge of their fitness. The facts are so strange as to be hardly credible. If, as matters now stand, we had to go through another campaign in Afghanistan, in which the armies of Bengal and of Bombay took part, the central Government would be nominally responsible for the appointments of all officers, not only those in command of the Bengal troops, of whose qualifications they would have had every opportunity of judging, but also of those in command of Bombay troops, of whose merits, until tested in the field, they could know nothing except by hearsay, because they belong to a separate force under a separate commander-in-chief. In the eyes of the public the responsibility is supposed to be where it ought to be—in the hands of the Government of India, but in practice it is divided between the Governments of India, Bombay, and Madras, and by subdivision ceases to exist. The Viceroy of India would naturally turn to the commander-in-chief for advice in the matter of high appointments in the army, all military appoint-

ments in India being made on his nomination, but his knowledge would fail precisely where and when it was most needed, and the appointments would have to be made on the recommendation of those with whom the central Government is rarely brought into direct contact, and might be given to men whose very names were almost unknown at headquarters. This sort of thing has actually occurred, and under the existing system would occur again. The only other alternative is to restrict the high appointments to the officers of the one army brought into constant and continuous contact with the authorities of the Supreme Government, from whom alone a selection can be made from the personal knowledge that is so necessary when the time of trial comes. And, moreover, this confusion has been until quite recently by no means restricted to matters which are purely military. What shall be said of the chances for an effective transport service or for the organisation of a proper commissariat department, or army hospital corps, when everything is paralysed by the confusion of a divided command, a division which is constantly and effectually mischievous, because, after all, the supreme financial control must always rest with the central Government? No 'Circumlocution Office' can ever reach such perfection of confusion and delay as when you have commanders-in-chief and commissary-generals thousands of miles away from each other and from the army in the field, in the crisis of a campaign, where unity of a bad system is better than the distraction of several good ones, all at work together and destructive of each other.

Until quite recently, this was the kind of confusion which reigned supreme even in the transport and commissariat departments. It ought to be, and is farther on, thankfully recorded that reforms have been allowed here, although checked elsewhere. Apparently light in these matters is dawning on us in the far East, and we are at last beginning to learn what has required many a bitter lesson to teach us, that failure in the commissariat and transport services is more deadly to our soldiers than all the risks of war in combination, a failure which one, who knows too well what has been in the past, says deliberately has been invariable in every campaign ever yet entered on by England until the present one in the Soudan, from which there is good reason to believe better things.

No words can describe more clearly the unlimited opportunities for complication and confusion gratuitously offered in the last campaign in Afghanistan than the following quotation from the despatch from the Indian Government of the 29th of October, 1881:—

The war was carried out with all the disadvantages and with none of the advantages attendant upon the operations of allied armies. Appointments to high commands were made by one authority, while the sole responsibility for the result rested upon another. There were all the jealousies, all the delays, all the recriminations incidental to war carried out under such unfortunate conditions.

No comment is required here. What more absolute condemnation could be pronounced on the present military system of India?

The main object of the military reforms which Lord Ripon's Government so constantly and so earnestly pressed upon the attention of the authorities in England was to increase the efficiency of the army in India, and specially in case of war, by removing those disadvantages of a divided responsibility, the fatal dangers of which are only known when a crisis is actually upon us.

A few words must be added on the financial aspect of the proposed military reforms. Both Lord Lytton's Army Commission and those who reviewed it and criticised it in Lord Ripon's Government joined in recommending, as a safe method of reducing army expenditure, a reduction in the numbers of British infantry battalions and of British cavalry regiments and batteries of artillery, while maintaining, or even slightly increasing, the total number of men, by increasing the numerical strength of each battalion of infantry and of each cavalry regiment. The actual numbers to be reduced are not identical in the original report and in the recommendations made by Lord Ripon's advisers, but the general result would have been a total establishment of 62,420 European troops against the existing establishment of 62,347. The saving in expenditure by reducing the numbers of regiments in the way described was calculated at twenty lakhs (200,000*l.*) a year. On a similar principle the reorganisation of the native army in India was to involve the reduction in the number of Indian regiments, the total number of men being maintained by increasing the strength of the cadres. In this case there was a greater difference between the views of Lord Lytton's Commission and those of Lord Ripon's Government. The former had suggested a reduction of thirty regiments of infantry and ten of cavalry, the latter recommended a reduction of eighteen regiments of infantry and four of cavalry. The total establishment was to be at almost exactly the same figure as before. This change in the Indian army was agreed to and carried into effect in April 1882, and the regular Indian native army is now composed of thirty-one cavalry and 113 infantry regiments. Besides the changes proposed for the army of a purely military kind, new organisations were suggested for the commissariat, ordnance, medical, and veterinary services. The direct saving in expenditure by the adoption of all the proposed reforms connected with the army administration in India was calculated at about 550,000*l.* a year.

It is pleasant to be able to turn from a mass of recommendations which have been criticised and pigeon-holed to a record of work actually done. After more than twenty years' consideration the ordnance establishments of the three Presidencies were, at the end of 1882, amalgamated into one department, under the immediate control of a director-general of ordnance. In the same way the transport service has been entirely reorganised on a plan systematic

and elastic, so that what is deemed necessary in time of peace can be speedily expanded to meet what is found to be necessary for war; the transport service on its peace-footing being a nucleus sufficient for practical use, and also for the instruction of officers and men who are periodically sent to various centres to study it. These changes have been made with a considerable saving of expenditure, but with an increase of efficiency. No one would wish our minute army in such a country as India to run the deadly risks of a penny wise economy in the matter of its mobilisation.

In connection with the subject of transport, it is worth recording that a new system of ambulance transport has been lately introduced on the principle of providing, for a certain fixed annual sum, a percentage of transport power, in proportion to the number of troops employed, a percentage larger or smaller according to the locality in which they are stationed, those near the frontier having a largely increased proportion of ambulance transport.

The adoption of the 'station hospital' system, on the same lines as those laid down in 1878 for the medical department of the Army, may be fairly put down under the heading of 'work done,' although authorities differ very much as regards the benefit of this change for our army in England as well as for that in India. Since 1881 an 'army hospital native corps' has been founded in each of the three Presidencies. This can only, so far, be called 'work begun,' as the enlistment of these corps has not as yet been followed by the training which is essential for their efficiency. The whole commissariat service has been reorganised, and in February 1884, a 'commissariat code' was published, which embodies the recommendations of the greatest Indian authorities, assimilating the commissariat routine for the three Presidencies and bringing the whole service under one system of work.

All has been now said that can be said here on the question of reform in the administration of the army in India. A few of the most important of Lord Ripon's recommendations have been given in bare outline, and the fate that has met many of them is melancholy reading. They were criticised at home, and the criticisms were sent out to India, re-examined there, debated on, and answered; and once again the original recommendations, which were inserted in Lord Lytton's Army Commission Report, were re-endorsed by the twice-considered opinion of Lord Ripon's Government as being 'not only desirable, but absolutely essential to a proper administration of the Indian army,' and this was met by a despatch from the Secretary of State in March 1884, declining to re-open the question. Is it not possible that the question may be 're-opened' some day in a much less pacific form, and by a much less friendly 'power' than the Secretary of State? It is a serious conclusion for a home government to arrive at when it is at variance with the united judgment of men

like Sir Frederick Roberts, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Charles Macgregor, Sir Herbert Macpherson, and Sir Thomas Baker, Adjutant General for the Army in India, and of almost every military authority who has had recent experience of active military service in India.

After what has been said here there is not much probability that a charge will be brought against Lord Ripon's Government of sacrificing the efficiency of the army to any vague idea of sentimental philanthropy which some members of it may be supposed to have felt. Rightly or wrongly Lord Ripon considered that peace in India and prosperity there for all classes, natives as well as English, depended to a great extent on the efficiency of the army; and, the more he desired peace, the more justified he felt in maintaining in perfect order the army which he regarded as the guardian of the peace, and which in his hands it was; and when order had to be restored beyond our frontiers, when expeditions had to be undertaken against hostile or predatory tribes, the Government of India always acted on the principle that the most rapid, the most pacific, and the most merciful, way of dealing was to send such a force that any resistance was seen to be absolutely hopeless.

To quote one instance out of many. An expedition was made in 1881 for the purpose of punishing a particular clan, called Mahsuds, belonging to the great Waziri tribe, who inhabit the wild country in the northern Suleiman Hills between the Tochi and Gomal rivers. This tribe numbers in all more than 12,000 fighting men. In 1860, Sir Neville Chamberlain had conducted a successful expedition against them by way of punishment for twenty years' continuous raids across our frontier, and they were quieted for a time, but in 1879 the Mahsuds advanced across the frontier, made an unprovoked attack on a town, which they sacked and burnt, and then retreated with plunder to the value of 60,000 rupees. The expedition was organised in the spring of 1881, and advanced across the frontier into the Waziri territory in two columns, under the command of General Kennedy and General J. Gordon, numbering together more than 7,000 men. Demands were made from the tribes of the surrender of the property taken or for heavy compensation, and that the ringleaders should be given up, the last a demand specially odious in the eyes of the Waziris. The display, however, of such an imposing force was entirely successful. There was the minimum of fighting and the maximum of result. Five of the ringleaders were given up, and a large quantity of the crops of the marauding tribes were taken, and utilised by the troops by way of fine. Only eight of the whole expedition were killed. The attitude of the tribesmen on many occasions proved, however, that, had the expedition been insufficiently manned, the resistance would have been very serious.

The whole question of our army in India is specially one for experts in the military science of the country, its local requirements

and the peculiar work which it is called upon to perform, and all that is attempted here is to bring into more general notice the opinions of those who are most qualified to judge. Our army is there as the symbol of an authority which was not very long ago purely military, and which many in our own day say cannot be changed in its character without the destruction of our empire. It used to be said, 'You can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them,' but to repose upon the point of a bayonet would be easy compared with the task of driving home with it into the hearts of the natives of India loyalty to England; and such a task becomes more hopeless than ever as Indian natives utilise the instruction and the civilisation we give them to advance, as they have every right to do, from a state of passive obedience into one that demands the right to reason as a preliminary to the duty to obey.

Native Armies.

Public attention has lately been specially called to the position of the armies of the Indian native States, and the subject is one in which those who have the supreme power in India naturally feel a deep interest, considering that probably not less than a fourth of the whole Indian population are under native chieftains, some of them—although, no doubt, a minority—the successors of a long line of independent rulers who can trace their inheritance of power back through centuries before the name of England was heard of in India. And it is well to remember, in dealing with this subject, that our attitude towards these native States has, of late years, completely altered. Until quite recently—certainly as late as the Indian mutiny—no ruler of a native State could feel any security that his turn for annexation might not come at any moment. They must have regarded England as a power who, with or without provocation, might, and not improbably would, absorb them one after another at her own convenience. But from the time when England ceased to be aggressive and became protective, from the time when, by royal proclamation, the integrity and the independence of native States was guaranteed, and a place was assigned to them in the system of our Indian Empire, from that time forward we undertook an entirely new set of obligations towards native States, recognising their independent rights, and regarding them, not as a happy hunting ground where we could freely gratify our predatory instincts whenever they became stronger than usual, but as constituent parts of the empire, to be treated with due regard to their rulers and their inhabitants, and in such a way as would contribute to their internal order and good administration.

And it is from the point of view of internal order, as well as from that of their subordination to British rule, that we must regard the

armies of native States—'armies,' indeed, few of them are in the aggressive sense of the word. Most of them look much more formidable on paper than they would on parade, and more formidable on parade than in a campaign. Their duties are mainly those of police, but inasmuch as they have to do police duty among an armed population, they require something more efficient than the staves and the handcuffs which are considered equipment enough for a policeman in England. We have only to cross the English, or even the Irish, Channel to understand how specially Anglo-insular this way of regarding a police force is.

In the greater number of native States the armies are armed police among an armed population, whose presence might be of considerable use to us to maintain internal order locally, should the danger of external attack so seriously threaten us as to demand a concentration of large bodies of our troops, European and native, on the frontiers or beyond them; and the risk to ourselves of disarming or disbanding these bodies of armed police is by no means imaginary, although not always taken into account by those who discuss the subject. It is true that some native States, such as Gwalior, Hyderabad, Indore, perhaps Baroda, have armies exceeding both in numbers and in military training anything that can be required for police purposes, or for maintaining the dignity of the chief of the State. Some reductions might wisely be made as opportunity offers in the armies of these States, taking into account the special circumstances of each, and not attempting to include them all in any general measure, which could not possibly be framed so as to meet the various requirements of all. Where there are foreign mercenaries to any large extent, as in Hyderabad, composed of a medley of nationalities and races, including Arabs and Africans, such an element of internal confusion and disorder should be gradually extinguished, no attempt being made to reduce what are really native troops below the number fairly required to maintain the order of the State, and the dignity of its ruler.

No changes can be made successfully in which the tenure of land by military service is forgotten. In many native States the chiefs hold their lands on the same conditions as feudal lords used to hold them in England, viz., of supplying so many armed men to their ruler for the military forces; and these subordinate chiefs, who hold their land by military service, are fully alive to a sense of their own dignity and position, and know well enough that they depend entirely on the maintenance of this feudal tenure. A State containing many such chiefs as these is always in some danger of disintegration, a danger which becomes very serious if the central power is reduced below a certain point relative to that of any of the subordinate chiefs singly, or even of some of them in combination, and an army which would be out of all proportion to the requirements of a

State where military tenure of land was unknown may be necessary where it is prevalent, and acknowledged to be so even by those who are fully aware that it is a two-edged weapon, which may in certain contingencies be turned against the Supreme Government, or may, on the other hand, as has been lately seen, be loyally and spontaneously offered as a most valuable help in the defence of the empire. To meet such proofs of loyalty as these by a measure of general disarmament, a measure odious for many reasons, but specially because it would be construed as one of mistrust and of fear, would be very doubtful policy; and a general disarmament of the people, a measure in the highest degree unpopular, must necessarily be a condition precedent to the disarmament of the forces on the side of order. It is easy enough to add up long columns of figures, and point out the waste of treasure squandered every year on native armies as a useless show, or as weapons of offence. This may be granted, and still the question has to be met, fairly discussed, and cautiously answered, whether a stop can be put to this forcibly, without running a risk of alienating the loyalty and losing the friendship of those whose loyalty and friendship may be of the greatest service in the consolidation and, if need be, the defence of the empire.

It must be remembered that the confiscation of arms from such people as the natives of Indian States wounds their sense of dignity, and destroys their confidence in rulers who are compelled, for their own safety, to adopt such an unpopular measure, and, strange though it may seem to us, in many cases it touches their religious feelings, for weapons are often regarded with reverence and almost as symbols of their faith. The only satisfactory disarmament is that which is gradually but spontaneously brought about by the growth of order, the increased respect for laws which are generally understood and accepted, and a prosperity so widely diffused as to be the parent of universal contentment. This was written before the letter by Sir Lepel Griffin was published, which appeared in the *Times* of the 8th of last month, a letter which puts the case with a clearness and an authority which long experience can alone command. The whole of it might, with great advantage, be inserted here, but the following quotation will serve to show the point of view from which Sir Lepel Griffin, who says that he has been 'intimately and officially connected with' about a hundred of the ruling Princes of India, regards their relations with the British Government:—

If the Princes of India are loyal with a loyalty which would stand the severest strain, as I affirm that they are, then the armies they maintain need cause us no concern. We must accept the lessons of history; and it is no presumption to have full confidence in the friendship of those who have stood by us in good and evil fortune. Look at the black mutiny days, with the Nizam holding the Deccan quiet for us, Holkar maintaining order in Malwa, and the forces of Cashmere, Puttiala, Thind, Nabha, and Kapurthala marching with us to Delhi, their gallant

Princes at their head. Remember the late Afghan war, when the Sikh contingents did admirable and memorable service on the frontier. See to-day, when the Mahommedan States of Hyderabad and Bhopal offer their troops for service in the distant Soudan. These offers are genuine.

There is nothing at once so bold and so safe as a policy of honourable trust where honour is. Surely we have it here.

When the necessary interval of time has passed to allow of the study of Lord Ripon's work in India in its true perspective; when the results of a loyalty to equitable principles of government, accompanied by a continuous patience in the drudgery of detail, are recognised, then the following words, quoted from a letter written on the 20th of last April, by one high in the Indian Government, will be appreciated at their right value:—'What has been done' (by Lord Ripon) 'is bearing good fruit. . . . The feeling of content and loyalty which pervades the whole country, and which is our strongest safeguard against foreign aggression, is the direct outcome of his policy.'

FREDERICK W. VERNEY.

DRINK: A REJOINDER.

WHEN I wrote for the 'Liberty and Property Defence League' the paper called 'Drink,' reprinted in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, I was mainly moved to it by a sense of injustice. Alcoholic liquors have been condemned without a hearing. A love of justice, perhaps only an old habit, made me think that 'Drink' ought to have its case stated. I thought that, in some respects, I was a proper person to do so. I do not make drink, nor sell it, nor, if I may be permitted to speak of myself, take much of it; nor could my paper lose or gain me any votes.

Accordingly I wrote 'Drink.' I contended that it gave a deal of enjoyment and more than equivalent to the harm it did. That even if not, there should be no attempt to put it down by legislation. That such an attempt would be attended with mischief, and, if successful, would be unfair to moderate drinkers. I asked for charity for those who think as I do. I gave those who thought otherwise credit for honesty, ability, in short everything good but the charity I asked for. I did not call the advocates of total abstinence 'wrong-headed' nor call their opinions or practice a 'craze.' I believe that the agitation proceeds from what I heartily respect and rejoice at, a feeling of benevolence and desire to do good to one's fellow-creatures, which exist in the present age to an extent that never existed before even in this, much more in any other, country. I believe this generation is better than any that has preceded it—more benevolent, more humane, more just and right-minded. This shows itself in many ways, among others in this—that, seeing the mischief done by excess in drink, there is a desire to stop it even at a sacrifice to those who enjoy it in moderation, and by compulsion without a due consideration of the consequent injustice and mischief.

I am not without hope that I have to some extent got drink a hearing. Archdeacon Farrar has honoured 'Drink' with a 'Reply' in this Review. That shows we have something to say for ourselves. Having read it carefully, I am unconvinced. It is not enough that Archdeacon Farrar is learned and eloquent, he has not addressed himself to the matter in hand. I have spoken in favour of honest drink temperately taken. The Archdeacon answers by denouncing fraudulent adulterated drink and all drink intemperately taken. So

do I, as heartily as he does. I deprecate the unfairness and mischief of an attempt to make people sober by law. The Archdeacon hardly notices that I ask for charity for the opinion of those who think as I do. The Archdeacon gives very little if any, and that grudgingly. But the character of the reply is such that it must be examined in detail.

The Archdeacon says that 'as there are said to be three to four millions of total abstainers in England, it would be a misfortune if their position was as untenable and their practice as much to be reprehended as Lord Bramwell maintains.' Now, with all respect, I never said that nor really anything like it. If any man abstains for conscience sake, so far from reprehending him, I approve. If, as has happened, a man, thinking no harm of moderate drinking, himself enjoying wine or beer, renounced them for the sake of example to his workmen, I not only do not reprehend, I admire and respect him. If he does it for his health sake, I certainly do not reprehend him, and I approve or not according as his judgment in his particular case is right or wrong, wise or unwise, and should not call such position untenable. If consideration for humanity or health is the motive, I think the position very tenable unless it can be shown that the abstainer is making a mistake. But what the Archdeacon has forgotten to mention is that these 'total abstainers,' or a large number of them, not only totally abstain themselves, but would make others do so whose conscience, feelings, and opinion are as honest as their own, and who see and feel no harm in the moderate drinking of alcoholic liquors.

• And this brings me to the next thing to be noticed. The Archdeacon says, 'Lord Bramwell begins by saying that this cause needs no apology, because it is just and moral and in conformity with the practice of all mankind. If so, what need is there to be so much moved by those whom he evidently regards as a small and wrongheaded minority?' Was I much or at all moved? I think not. I was not conscious of it. Did I say that to drink a glass of beer was 'just or moral'? I think not. I think it neither just nor unjust, moral nor immoral, any more than is the eating of an apple. But I think it reasonable, unless the glass is followed by too many others, and I suppose even so harmless a thing as apple-eating might be carried to excess.

Nor did I, as I have said, call the total abstainers 'wrongheaded.' I gave them credit for honesty and cleverness, but thought them wrong in renouncing a harmless enjoyment, and doubly wrong in endeavouring not only to persuade but to compel others to do so.

The Archdeacon then quotes me as saying that the opponents of all drink have said, 'We are the righteous, the good, and virtuous; you are wicked, bad, vicious.' Who, asks the Archdeacon, has ever said this? and he says he never heard anything distantly approaching to such an allegation. On reading this, I sent the Archdeacon a report of a speech at a Blue Ribbon meeting at which I and drink were

spoken of. This speech certainly did, not '*distantly*, approach to such an allegation.'

I will not repeat here what was in it, as I will not help to circulate what the Archdeacon, in a letter he was kind enough to write to me, spoke of thus: 'Archdeacon Farrar sincerely hopes that remarks so disgraceful are most exceptional; they might be made by a vulgar-minded person.' 'Probably,' he says in the 'Reply,' 'for lack of education language may have been used which might constructively be pressed to so *absurd* a conclusion,' *i.e.* that we are denounced as bad while the abstainers claim to be good. Alas! 'the disgraceful remarks' which help the *absurd* conclusion, as the Archdeacon obligingly calls it, were made by a clergyman of the Established Church. Another 'Reverend,' whether of the Church or a dissenter I know not, followed in a similar strain. The speeches were very successful, being received with 'laughter,' 'shame,' 'hisses,' and other marks of approval of the speakers and disapproval of me. Now, here is a case for total abstinence. I really should recommend to these reverend gentlemen total abstinence from abuse, for they do not know how to enjoy it with moderation. The same to their auditors. I think they did 'condemn and desire to encroach upon the independent judgment and moral liberty of their neighbours.'

But to proceed with the 'Reply.' In 'Drink' I spoke of Mahomet as I think of him, not very respectfully; for I think his religion is very much the cause of the inferior condition of those who profess it. The Archdeacon says: 'It is not worth while pausing to inquire whether history will accept this description of the great Prophet of Arabia; or whether his mighty and beneficial influence in saving whole nations from the curse of intemperance does not go far to outweigh many of his errors.' Great Prophet! Well, of course, the Archdeacon does not mean he was really a prophet, an inspired person. But it is as well to use right words. If he was inspired, *cadit questio*. If not, he was an impostor or crazy. He enjoined abstinence from drink. Now, I desire to ask Archdeacon Farrar if he prefers Mahomet's teaching to the teaching which did not contain that injunction? In my paper I respectfully appealed to the Eucharist and miracle of Cana, to prove that drinking wine is not in itself wrong. The Archdeacon says I am 'fighting a chimera—no one ever said it was.' Indeed! But I ask, and again appeal to those two instances, and I might appeal to many other texts, does the Archdeacon remember who said 'I am the true vine' and who looked forward to drinking wine new in the Kingdom of Heaven? Is there anything in the New Testament which enjoins total abstinence, or is inconsistent with the moderate use of wine? and does or does not Archdeacon Farrar prefer that teaching to Mahomet's? Is Mahomet's teaching right? If it is, the Gospel teaching is wrong. Is Mahomet's teaching wrong? Then how can wrong-teaching 'outweigh many errors'? What error is

outweighed? The error of polygamy? Of course the Archdeacon will admit that is an 'error.' Is this an error outweighed? Is the 'error' which enjoins war on the infidels? But the Archdeacon has a regard for 'the Prophet.' He refers to Avicenna and Averrhoes as giving the chief impulse to philosophy, medicine, and science in the modern world, and says that Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas did not disdain to learn from the Arabic Commentators on Aristotle. As Mrs. Shandy said, 'That was an hundred years ago.' Does the Archdeacon really think that the brain-work of the Mahometans now excels that of Christians? If so, why does he not give a few instances more modern than the time of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas? I do know that Alcohol is Arabic, as are also Algebra and Alchymy, but what of it? Enough, however, of 'the great Prophet of Arabia.'

The Archdeacon says, 'I challenge the proposition that because drink gives a great deal of pleasure and enjoyment it *therefore* does an immense deal more good than harm. The two results are not *in pari materia*.' Then why compare them? I meet a thief carrying a bundle of stolen goods. If I ask him whether the load on his back or the load on his conscience is the heavier, he may properly reply that the two are not *in pari materia*. But what should we think of his logic if he straightway proceeded to demonstrate that the load on his conscience was seven times as heavy as that on his back? When Paley described the pleasure of a noble action as 'some multiple of the pleasure of eating a cheesecake,' Whewell objected that the two were not *in pari materia*. He was too good a logician to go on and contend that one was greater than the other. Not so the Archdeacon. He goes on and says: 'The good takes the form of a sensuous pleasure, a passing exhilaration; the harm takes the form of disease, pain, waste, insanity, crime, and death. The pleasure is insignificant, the harm is deadly.' Now, I did not say 'therefore.' A conclusion to the effect stated would be illogical, and, to copy the Archdeacon, 'absurd.' I said, if you sum up the good on one side and the harm on the other, the good outweighs the harm. What is the objection? that the pleasure is sensuous? So is the smell of a rose. Why is not a passing exhilaration good? what of a thrilling piece of music? True, the mischief to an individual from the excess of drink more than outweighs the good of moderate drink to an individual. But what of the pleasure of the millions who enjoy temperate drinking compared with the misery of the relative few—no doubt far too many—who drink to excess? Of what might not that be said which the Archdeacon says of drink? Men eat too much, I know. Sir William Gull has said that more harm was done by over-eating than by over-drinking. Some men read too much, others are too fond of cricket, some smoke too much. I own that the mischief of excess in these matters is not so bad as the mischief from drink, not nearly as bad; but there is

the excess, and unless the mischief from that excess outweighs the pleasures from moderate indulgence, it is temperance in the enjoyment of, not abstinence from them that should be enjoined; and the same is true of drink.' Does the Archdeacon remember what Horace says (*Sat. I. ii. 36*) about women in general, and Helen?

The Archdeacon says that 'a Christian in an age of rapid intoxicants, in a country where drinking is the worst national vice' (have we another?—what?) 'may be excused from accepting Lord Bramwell's conclusions, when he finds that centuries and millenniums ago they were rejected by Jews and pagans, who, though Jews and pagans, thought very differently from the English judge.' Innuendo, as a lawyer would say, that an English judge who did not think at least as well as Jews and Pagans did, must be a sad fellow. But let us see the evidence as to the Jews and Pagans, and their thoughts.

The Archdeacon says that some of the Rabbis believed the vine was the forbidden tree. Now, with all respect for Rabbis, I doubt if their learning has much bearing on the question in hand. I am glad to believe that their practice was never that of total abstinence. I fully admit that they know more than I do on the subject on which their opinion is quoted. Some of them thought the vine was the forbidden tree. I dare say; I suppose some thought otherwise; but even if they all thought so, it seems to me that they paid a great compliment to the vine, for no tree could be more highly spoken of than the one the fruit of which was forbidden. Does the Archdeacon think that the vine was the forbidden tree, or agree with Him who said 'I am the true vine'? And the Archdeacon should remember that the vine does not grow wine, but grapes, and it is the fault of man that grapes are put to a bad purpose, if it is bad. Should the Archdeacon say that a thing is bad which can be put to a bad purpose, I should like him to show me what cannot. And I remind the Archdeacon that he must condemn barley from which beer is made; and as more people get drunk from that than from wine, it would seem the Rabbis should have made barley the forbidden tree—except for the difficulty that it is not a tree. Then oats, and the potato, and nearly all fruits and vegetables should be condemned on this ground—even some animal matters might.

If we do not know exactly what the ancient Rabbis thought or did, we do know what those did from whose writings the Rabbis drew their inspiration. In the book of Proverbs we read, 'Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more.' In Ecclesiastes, 'Blessed art thou, O land, when thy princes eat in due season, and not for drunkenness'; Psalm civ., 'Wine that maketh glad the heart of man.' Isaiah looks forward to the day when 'In this mountain shall the Lord of hosts

make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow; of wines on the lees well refined.'

But now we come to formidable matter. The Archdeacon says the discovery of wine in the Scripture is instantly followed by a patriarch's degradation and the son's infamy, and the curse of an entire branch of the human family. In these four verses (Gen. ix. 20-24), says Rabbi Oved the Galilean, there are no less than thirteen vau, and each vau stands for a woe upon the human race. I can't deny it, nor could I if Rabbi Oved the Galilean had put the number at five thousand. I humbly own I never before heard of Rabbi Oved the Galilean, nor have I the least knowledge why a vau should stand for a woe on the human race. But, speaking under the correction of the Rabbi, Noah, who was 'drunken,' was not punished; nor was Ham, whose offence was that he did not honour his father. Poor Canaan and his posterity were cursed by Noah, because he had been drunken, and Ham disrespectful. Ham was not punished himself; so I think 'infamy' must be a strong word to apply to his conduct. I do not know what was the degradation of Noah, except that he took too much, probably finding it so good and not knowing the mischief. This also I think too strong a word; I should scruple to say that Noah was 'degraded,' though doubtless to be drunken is degrading. But a dignitary of the Church may perhaps take such a liberty with a patriarch. The curse of Canaan was Noah's only. Whether he had authority to curse I know not; but as to Canaan and his posterity, if human feeling had anything to do with the composition of Genesis, it must be remembered that the Jews had a strong temptation to make a justification of their treatment of the Canaanites. After all, it was not he who drank that was punished. Really, is the important question the Archdeacon discusses to be answered by the help of these Rabbis and vau?

The Archdeacon, having quoted the Jews, turns to the pagans. He cites Propertius, Pliny, and a Thracian king; but do either of them do more than object to 'misused wine'? We all object to this. But was any one of these pagans a total abstainer? Does the Archdeacon deny that all antiquity praised wine? He makes a solitary quotation from Propertius, which I do not understand as condemning drink in moderation, but in excess. Let me quote to the Archdeacon a passage recently sent to me out of Horace, who was a sensible fellow:—

Quid non ebrietas designat? operâ recludit;
 Spes jubet esse ratas; in proelia trudit inertem;
 Sollicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes:
 Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
 Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?

Will the Archdeacon accept Propertius as a *censor morum*? Does

he know that Cuvier said of Pliny that he was 'an author without critical judgment whose reflections have no relation to science, but display alternately either the most superstitious credulity or the declarations of a discontented philosophy which finds fault continually with mankind, with nature, and with the gods themselves'? Does the Archdeacon agree with his theology? The Thracian King, for speaking ill of Bacchus, came to a bad end, to the satisfaction of the whole population of Athens.

But if we are to have these authorities, why not quote *Æsculapius*, Hippocrates, and Galen? Galen strongly defends the practice of drinking wine, especially for old people. He says: 'Old age is cold and dry, and is to be corrected by calefacients.' One Greek quotation: Euripides says, 'Dionysus introduced among men the liquid draught of the grape, which puts an end to the sorrows of wretched mortals.' This was addressed to his Athenian audience. Will the Archdeacon consult the Rig Veda? 'This wine when drunk stimulates my head. It calls forth the ardent thought.'

The Archdeacon, after the Jews and pagans, quotes Franklin,* who advocates temperance. So do I.

The Archdeacon says that while various things exist, which he mentions, among them 'while so disproportionate an amount of alcohol is introduced,' 'it is a question perfectly open to discussion whether drink does not do infinitely more harm than good.' Certainly, but it follows that it is open to discussion whether it does, especially when there is not such a disproportionate amount of alcohol.

The Archdeacon says, speaking of me, 'perhaps he may not have tried whether abstinence, undertaken from generous motives, is not a source of even greater pleasure,' i.e. than drink. The question is somewhat personal. I answer to this extent, I have not tried it. I never had the opportunity. But, dropping the personal, I say, that if abstinence on the part of a temperate drinker would reclaim any drunkard, a man of ordinary humanity would practise it as far as considerations of enjoyment were concerned. I say nothing of myself, for this among other reasons, that I care very little for drink, and could easily renounce it. I do *not* think that 'any number of glasses of beer, or sherry, or gin, could yield a pleasure equivalent to that which we experience when we know by our abstinence we have been blessed in the power to snatch from ruin and degradation so much as even one imperilled life!' Further, I dare say, that in many cases, drink is a needless luxury, and that many would spend their money better than in its purchase. But that is not the question. There are two questions, one is whether those who can afford it should give it up—the other is, if they will not, whether they should be made to do so.

* Sin,' says the Archdeacon, 'is the worst curse of mankind. It

is the one curse of humanity of which we might absolutely cut off the entail.' Alas! the Archdeacon tempts an old lawyer to say, we should then be seised in fee simple of this sin, and have the largest possible estate in it. *

The Archdeacon makes a great, I must say a mischievous, mistake when he says, 'It is a shameful injustice that the rich should be easily able to keep public-houses from the parks and squares in which they live, while the poor are left helpless and unprotected, to their most fatal temptation.' I call this mischievous as a suggestion of ill-usage of the poor of which there is much too much inflammatory talk already. It is a mistake, because it supposes that there is some law or arrangement which causes it, when it is only the result of this, that a public-house in a square in which the rich live would not pay. What does the Archdeacon say to the injustice of shutting up the place where the poor man gets his beer, and leaving open the rich man's club?

The Archdeacon says: 'Lord Bramwell bids us trust to the good sense and improvement of mankind. Alas, we have been doing so for centuries.' He refers to the cockatrice on Amiens Cathedral, and cruelly says 'Lord Bramwell once more hangs the desecrated shield of liberty on the signboard of the gin-palace.' This is '*magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*' It is eloquent, at least I suppose so, but it is not argument. Why should the Archdeacon distrust mankind and want the aid of the law? He supposes there are three to four million total abstainers in England. How many were there fifty or twenty years ago? Yet the Archdeacon wants more law. He speaks as though it was now being asked for for the first time. Laws in restraint of drink have existed for nearly three centuries, have been broken more than any others, and have caused more offences than any others. I have tried more cases of perjury arising from them than from any other cause. I will quote what Mr. Harrop said in a lecture at Cambridge. Speaking of the time of Charles the First and of the drink legislation up to then, he said:

In the short space of twenty-four years no fewer than seven distinct Acts of Parliament were passed, each intensifying and strengthening the penalties of its predecessor, and all directed to one object, the forcible repression of drunkenness. People were not permitted to make use of taverns except under the stringent provisions I have stated; fines, degrading exposure in the public stocks, flogging, and imprisonment in the common gaols, were the punishments inflicted; an army of spies and informers was called into being; something very like inducements to perjury and malicious prosecution were held out; the King and the Parliament were of one determination in the matter; and the whole population to be dealt with was not equal to the present population of London. Am I not right in saying that never again can the policy of repression and coercion be carried out so sternly or under such favourable circumstances? And do not the facts show that under even the most favourable conditions, and after full trial, this policy was a complete failure, a failure proved again and again on the unimpeachable evidence of the very authors of that policy? As to the unintended and unforeseen results which this

policy brought about, we have, firstly, an actual increase of drunkenness; secondly, an enormous increase in the number of unlicensed and illegal ale-houses; thirdly, the degradation of our people's characters by forcing them to have recourse to mean and evasive tricks; and, fourthly, the abandonment of the business of tavern-keeping to worthless characters, because respectable people would not submit to its harassing and degrading risks. The truth of this last assertion is proved by the Act 1 Charles I., chap. iii., which prescribes the flogging of innkeepers, because they were so poor that they could not pay fines nor bear the charge of being conveyed to gaol, 'and moreover do leave a great charge of wife and children upon the parish wherein they live.'

I will not notice Edward the Fourth, the Duke of Burgundy, or Oliver Cromwell. But I will express my agreement with the good and venerated nobleman Lord Shaftesbury, that 'I see the absolute and indispensable necessity of Temperance Associations,' if he means, as I believe, temperance and not total abstinence. Nay more, if there are men who cannot drink in moderation but can totally abstain, I heartily agree that they should do the latter. As to Goethe, does the Archdeacon know that one of Goethe's characters quotes, I suppose with Goethe's approval, the following line from an old song:—

Der Wein erfreut des Menschen Herz.

The Archdeacon may like the rest of the quatrain:—

Drum gab uns Gott den Wein.
Auf! lasst bei Rebensaft und Scherz
Uns unsers Daseins freun!

Does the Archdeacon approve the life and conduct of Lacordaire whom he cites?

I have now been through the 'Reply.' Let us see where we agree and where we differ. I said that 'drink' in moderation is a source of great and harmless enjoyment. Does he deny it? No. He says it causes great mischief. Did I deny that? No. He thinks the mischief outweighs the good. I think the good outweighs the mischief. So far we differ. I say that, if not, the good may be had without the mischief. I do not understand him to deny that, if people would only be wise. I said it is unjust to deny enjoyment to A and the other letters of the alphabet down to Z, because Z abuses the means of enjoyment. Does the Archdeacon deny it? He complains of adulteration and the vile stuff that is sold as 'drink.' I did not mention that, but heartily join him, and would punish the makers and sellers as poisoners. He advocates temperance; have I said a word in favour of intemperance? No. I deprecate compulsory legislation as leading to breaches of the law. This is a subject he leaves untouched. I asked for charity and indulgence for those who think as I do. He does not say we are entitled to it. He appears to think we get as much as we deserve.

The Archdeacon has called up Mahomet, Noah, his unlucky son Canaan and all his posterity, the Rabbi Oved the Galilean, and divers other rabbis, Propertius, Pliny, a legendary Thracian king, Aristotle, Franklin, the Duke of Burgundy, Edward the Fourth, Avicenna, Averrhoes, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Oliver Cromwell, Milton, Goethe, and finishes with Lord Shaftesbury, who, I warrant, never before found himself in such company.

Is this the way to deal with the question? I say no; preach temperance, deprecate intemperance and show its mischief with all your force. Punish the mischievous drunkard. Punish those who supply drink to the man drunk already. Punish the adulterator. But respect the rights and opinions of those who do not agree with you; avoid the evils that attend on laws which have not the support of public opinion, feeling, or usage; be charitable to those who think otherwise than you do.

I have to thank a friend and correspondents for references and suggestions.

BRAMWELL.

‘THE FAITHFULL SHEPHERDESSE.’

WE must turn to Hesiod, who lived about 900 B.C., for the foundation on which Theocritus, the first of so-called pastoral poets, built. For Hesiod’s ‘Works and Days’ is a true shepherd’s calendar, written by himself as he fed his father’s flocks on the slopes of Helicon. The idylls of Theocritus, written B.C. 284-280, are, to the pastoral or bucolic poetry of earlier times, what Shakespeare’s plays are to the pre-Elizabethan drama of England. They may be said to form the basis of the whole fabric of pastoral writers from the idyll to the opera. Among those whose lines are laid on the bucolics of the Syracusan poet, foremost in point of date and literary merit stands Virgil. His eclogues, nevertheless, have lost somewhat of that fascinating realism or nature which Theocritus married to his art. The older poet creates a veritable shepherd-life; Virgil plays at shepherds. The Greek gets inside the ribs of the goatherds, and wakes into harmony their sleeping song: the Latin weaves melodious verse round marionettes. Besides the classic pastorals there is a pastoral comedy written by one Adam de Schalle, 1150, called *Le jeu de Robin et Marion*. This is a curious bit of mediævalism, and it is to be found in the MSS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale nationale*.

With the classical studies of the Renaissance came admiration of the purely literary quality of the bucolic idyll, which was now moulded into the form of the pastoral drama, the parent of the opera. The earliest I know of belongs to 1472, and is by the scholar Poliziano. It is the *Favola di Orfeo*, and was first performed at the Court of Mantua. It begins like an idyll, and ends like a tragedy. This was followed by others, including, in 1539, Tansillo’s *I due Pelligrini*; but the fully developed form was not reached till 1554, when Beccari produced his Arcadian pastoral drama, *Il Sacrificio*, first played at Ferrara. This play, which was very popular, is an example of what Polonius means by the words ‘pastoral-comical.’

Harpalus is supposed to be the first attempt at pastoral writing in our own language; we find it in a collection of ‘Songs and Sonnettes of the Earl of Surrey,’ first published in 1557, ten years after the Earl’s execution, probably written before the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt in 1541. The story of his pastoral is given in one hundred

and four lines, and is briefly to this effect. *Harpalus*, a herdsman, loves *Phylida*; *Phylida* loves another herdsman, *Corin*, who is careless of her, and indifferent to love.

How often would she flowers twine,
How often garlands make
Of cowslips and of columbine,
And all for *Corin's* sake!
But *Corin*, he had hawkes to lure
And forced more the field;
Of lovers' lawe he took no care,
For once he was begilde.

And, because *Harpalus* found himself furtbest from her thoughts, he grew pale and lean.

His clothes were blacke and also bare;
As one forlorne was he;
Upon his head always he ware
A wreath of willow-tree.

'With sighs and sorrows shrill' he told to himself his tale of trouble. His own love for her was the cause of his unhappiness. He finds that he went

First by sute to seeke
A tigre to make tame;
That settles not by thy love a leeke,
But makes thy grieve her game!

Meanwhile, *Corin* lives careless, leaping among the leaves. *Harpalus*, tired of bemoaning himself, now calls on his beasts to hearken to his complaint; he envies them their feeding and their simplicity of existence. He is determined to die the slave and thrall of the flouting *Phylida*, and begs that on his tomb shall be inscribed these lines:—

Here lieth unhappy *Harpalus*,
By cruell love now slaine;
Whom *Phylida* unjustly thus
Hath murdered with disdaine.

The Scottish pastoral, *Robin and Makyne*, composed in rivalry of *Harpalus*, was revised and amended by Allan Ramsay, the author of the *Gentle Shepherd*.

Robin and Makyne was written by Robert Henryson, a school-master of Dumferline, in 1571.

Makyne begins by making overtures, to *Robin* in the first stanza:—

I haif thee luvit baith loud and still
This twamonds twa or thre.

Robin replies that he knows nothing of love, but would like to learn what it is to love or be loved. He thinks these advances of hers are due to the weather.

A series of alternate couplets wind up with :—

Robin, my hinny, talk and smyle
Gif thou will do nae mair,
Makyne, some other man beguyle
For hameward I will fare.

And so she goes home sad, while after a brief space he is roused to the consciousness of an awakened love for her, and begs her to return. She rounds upon him :—

For of my pain thou made but play . . .

Then Robin sighs and mourns 'in dolor and in care.'

In Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* we have pastorals in Elizabethan English, curious and pretty, with direct intention to be antique, but with no more nature than Virgil. Fletcher, in *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*, uses all these writers; but, while obtaining a more dramatic form than any of his predecessors, fails, like the author of the first English tragedy, *Ferrex and Porrex*, written about 1560, from an excess of declamation and want of dramatic construction. 'The celebrated dramas of Tasso and Guarini were translated into the English language not long after their original appearance. Abraham Fraunce turned the *Aminta* (1572) of the former into English hexameters, and published his performance in 1591; and the still more celebrated *Pastor Fido* (1590) of the latter appeared in 1602 as translated by Mr. Dymock.'¹

In England the nearest approach to the Italian form of pastoral play is the *Sad Shepherd* of Ben Jonson (written before 1600), full of fresh simplicity, but wanting in that poetical grace and quaint fancy which Fletcher wove around *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*. Gay's six pastorals, called by him the *Shepherd's Week*, were written in 1714. The author professes, in the words of the poem, to have written them 'after the true, ancient guise of Theocritus,' marvelling that 'no poet in this our island of Britain hath hit on the right simple eclogue.' His object was to set before his readers a picture of country life as it appeared to him. 'Thou wilt not find my shepherds and shepherdesses idly piping on oaten reeds, but milking the kine, tying up sheaves, &c.' To the six days of the week (working days) he gives special titles: Monday, or the *Squabble*; Tuesday, or the *Ditty*; then for the following days the *Dumps*, the *Spell*, the *Dirge*, and the *Flights*. In the *Dumps* there is a refrain as in the 'Simaetha' of Theocritus (Idyll II.) :—

My plaint, ye lasses, with this burden aid,
'Tis hard so true a damsel dies a maid.

¹ Preface to *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*

So also in the *Spell*:—

With my sharp heel I three times mark the ground,
And turn me thrice around, around, around.

But compared with Theocritus, Gay's work is vulgar and unpoetical. In all its range it never really touches the true spirit of the pastoral, and is little more than a record of the labours of the day, in which love is chronicled with the rest. But Daphnis, in *Idyll VIII.*, has a verse or two which equal perhaps all other English pastoral writers in earnestness of spirit:—

Nor Pelops' realm be mine, nor piles of gold,
Nor speed fleet as the wind, but at this rock.
To sing and clasp my darling, and behold
The seas' blue reach, and many a pasturing flock.

To forest-beast the net, to bird the noose,
Winter to trees, and drought to springs is bad;
To man the sting of beauty—Mighty Zeus!—
Not only I—thou too, art woman-mad.

Among the Oriental eclogues by William Collins, published in 1742, the fourth and last is the only one that has any pretence to a dramatic form. The speakers are *Agib* and *Secander*, fugitive shepherd-brothers.

Vulgarity, it has been said, is the 'one touch of nature' which, in the present day, 'makes the whole world kin,' as shown in the non-appreciation of all that is beyond the commonplace in dramatic art, so also three centuries ago we hear of the triumphs of this same touch of nature over the art of Fletcher; for we learn that not the might of royalty, in the person of Charles the First, nor the patronage of more puissant kings (in the realm of the mind), such as Milton and other contemporary geniuses, could protect his delightful pastoral (*The Faithfull Shepherdesse*) from the condemning bray of the 'rascal many.' It was printed in 1610, and probably acted previous to that year.

In the preface to the play ² words of indignant sarcasm from Field, Beaumont, Chapman, &c. tell us how little it was understood by the mass; Ben Jonson to his friend denounces 'the wise and many-headed bench that sits upon the life and death of plays,' damning even before they have seen.

I that am glad thy innocence was thy guilt,
And wish that all the muses' blood were spilt
In such a martyrdom to vex their eyes,
To crown their murdered poem, which shall rise
A glorified work to time when fire
Or moths shall eat what all these fools admire.

² Dyce's edition.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle, a play by the two authors Beaumont and Fletcher, brought out one or two years later, met with the same rough treatment. But both these plays soon had their resurrection. *The Faithfull Shepherdesse* came into favour at the theatre about twenty years later. It was also, as might have been expected from its classical characteristics, a favourite at the Court, and in the MS. diary of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, we find an entry of a performance of the play on Monday, Twelfth Night 1634, before the King and Queen at Denmark House; and we learn that the King's players acted in the robes in which the Queen and her ladies had played 'her own pastorall' the year before. 'The scenes were fitted to the pastorall, and made by Master Inigo Jones in the great chamber 1633.'

Bacon's ideas of the requisites of a masque may well be considered in connection with the revival of this form of play. Ben Jonson realised Bacon's idea in putting certain masques on the stage, and secured for them, first, stately dancing to a song accompanied, choirs being placed one over against the other; second, scenes full of light, the colours chiefly used being white, carnation, and sea-water green; third, sweet odours coming forth at intervals in the performance.

As You Like It, pronounced by German writers the finest pastoral ever written, we played last year and again this season, in the open air (that is, the forest scenes). There are few plays that can be so adapted, and after deliberation, I have selected for our next revival *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*, which it has pleased Fletcher to call a *pastoral tragic-comedy*. To make the pastoral play dramatic, it is certain that action must often take the place of declamation. In *The Faithfull Shepherdesse* much re-arranging and adaptation has been necessary, in some parts single lines having to supply the dramatic purpose of long speeches, while some little strengthening of character has been imperative, even at the risk of writing in a few lines. It is to be regretted that many lovely passages in the original have had to be given up; for, had they been retained, dramatic force would have been more or less sacrificed, and the difficulties which attended the launch of this old seventeenth-century craft could hardly have been avoided.

The Faithfull Shepherdesse is essentially a *sketch*, and only a sketch of shepherd life, a poem

That renews the golden world,
And holds through all
The holy laws of homely pastoral,
When flowers and founts and nymphs and semi-gods,
And all the Graces find their old abodes.³

The people of whom Fletcher treats were, as he says, owners of flocks and not hirelings. More than this, in the days when the great god Pan roamed the woods of Arcady, there was to be found nothing but this shepherd life governed by a kingly rule of its own. Nor let it be supposed that these shepherd princes and their clans were like a horde of draggle-tailed modern Egyptians. They lived in a golden age literally as well as metaphorically.

The scene of *The Faithfull Shepherdess* is laid in Thessaly. We wander through an enchanted wood, haunted by all sylvan powers, goblins, wood-gods, fairies, elves, peeping fawns, and jolly satyrs. Here 'Arcadian' shepherds and shepherdesses keep holy festival in honour of their great god Pan—

That sleeping lies in a deep glade
Under a broad beech's shade.

Led by airy voices, we steal wonderingly along, flooded with sylvan symphonies from men and gods, learning of the hidden virtues of herbs and bubbling springs, of the course of the moon and stars, and of all pastoral lore influencing and adorning Arcadian life. The mystic symbolism underlying the plot of this play is one of its greatest charms. By the witchery of Fletcher's art, as the vapours of dread and darkness rise, gather, and disperse, we feel, more and more, as behind a mist veil, the actual presence of the contending powers for good and ill, which are watching and moving the loves and lives of this primitive people.

The story is chiefly concerned with the loves of *Amoret*, or *The Faithfull Shepherdess*, and *Perigot*. In following the course of their true love, which keeps to the conventional rule of not running smooth, shepherds and shepherdesses cross our path, concerned more or less with the good and evil influences which bear on the lives of the hero and heroine. These other characters in their turn present us with sketches of love conditioned differently from that which forms the central interest of the story. Before the pastoral opens we know that *Clorin*, the tallest, wisest, sweetest shepherdess of the glen, a leader of the dance, full of life and love, has crowned her swain with coronals of flowers and with a worship that triumphs over death. She has buried her love in an arbour, and dwells on the memory of this dead lover, and in a kind of spiritual ecstasy lives in communion with his spirit. She is a *Holy Shepherdess*. When the play begins, 'a rival to that virtuous love, which he embraces yet,' she finds in *Thenot*, a shepherd enamoured of her. From him she turns because of her constancy to her buried love. It is this chief and visible expression in *Clorin*, this fine constancy, which *Thenot* worships, avoiding the contemplation of it, for fear, as he says, 'the double fire should lick his life up,' for he has a longing which he

wishes her to know of, merely to deny, that he may in her denial feel the nobility of her soul.

In *Cloe, a Wanton Shepherdess*, we see the opposite of *Thenot's* love for an abstract principle; for to her, as to the *Sullen Shepherd*, the villain of the plot, the individual or characteristic excellence counts for nothing as long as he or she is not too coy, or, in other words, too troublesome. While extolling the beauty of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, Charles Lamb says: 'Nothing short of infatuation could have driven Fletcher upon mixing up with this blessedness such an ugly deformity as *Cloe, the Wanton Shepherdess*. . . . If *Cloe* was meant to set off *Clorin* by contrast, Fletcher should have known that such weeds by juxtaposition do not set off but kill sweet flowers.'⁴

In our acting adaptation of this play, the character of *Cloe* loses nothing of dramatical value by cutting out the deformities; for there can be no question that *Cloe*, though described as, and indeed representing, the *Wanton Shepherdess*, speaks lines whose gracefulness is not excelled by any in this pastoral. In her brief love scene with *Alexis* we have as good an example as the English Renaissance can give of classic idea clothed in classic form:—

Oh lend me all thy red,
Thou shame-faced morning,
When from Tithon's bed
Thou risest ever maiden!

Alexis, when the Sun shall kiss the sea,
Taking his rest by the white Thetis' side,
Meet in the holy wood where I'll abide
Thy coming shepherd.

• With these lines may be compared a passage in *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, by Henry Porter, 1599:—

Let not this thief-friend, misty veil of night,
Encroach on day, and shadow the fair light,
Whilst thou comest tardy from thy Thetis' bed,
Plushing forth golden hair and glorious red.

In *Alexis, a Wanton Shepherd*, we have the athlete in love with the dash and freedom of *Cloe*. *Daphnis, a Modest Shepherd*, affords some comic element, because he is a stranger to all conditions of love unfolded in the play. Then,

There is a shepherd dwells down by the moor,
One that doth wear himself away in loneness,
And never joys unless it be in breaking
The holy plighted troths of mutual souls.

This is the *Sullen Shepherd*, one in whom discord lives uppermost, and who exercises an evil influence over the minds of weak *Cloe* and

⁴ Lamb's *English Dramatic Poets*.

clever *Amaryllis*, a shepherdess in whose twisted nature a disappointed passion for Perigot raises a reckless and revengeful spirit only to be repented of, when she discovers the impotence of magic spells to destroy or weaken the strength of love which is rooted in a true and faithful heart. *The Satyr* is the good genius of these woods and attendant spirit on this shepherd band; we find in him, as in *Clorin*, the Holy Shepherdess—the virtuous, purifying element. The artistic value of the contrast between the bearing and expression of these two benevolent characters is especially and beautifully significant. The character of the attendant spirit in *Comus* is this satyr under another name. *The Satyr* in the third act of *The Faithfull Shepherdess* is sent by Pan to guide aright the wandering shepherds, and to protect virtue in distress. The attendant spirit has much the same office; he is sent by Jupiter to protect the virtuous against the enchantments of *Comus*. Many of the exquisite lines in *the Satyr's* speeches have been taken by Milton from Fletcher and given to the attendant spirit.

The play is curious as illustrating a passage in the life of Pan, when the God of Sheep was himself making love to Syrinx. From *the Satyr's* first speech we learn that she is to be entertained by Pan at a feast, whilst in the last scene *Amaryllis*, in her prayer, tells us that the nymph is dead.

... For her dear sake
That loves the rivers' brinks and still doth shake
In cold remembrance of thy quick pursuit!
Let me be made a reed and ever mute
Nod to the waters' fall, whilst every blast
Sings through my slender leaves.

Fletcher seems to have treated the well-worn theme of love with an invention and a uniform grace which make *The Faithfull Shepherdess* one of the most striking and beautiful plays in our language. For, whilst preserving the dignity and 'aloofness' which distinguishes the character of the classic drama—conditions which must of necessity hamper the genius of the modern playwright—he has nevertheless contrived to indicate a wonderful variety of relationship between his personages, which variety is not derived from the caprice of the author, but is based on the different effects which love produces on the human heart. The motive of the poet was presumably to translate into the language of Arcadian psychology—to resolve, so to speak, into their elements—the different phases of that passion which is common to mankind, but which in the midst of an advanced civilisation becomes corrupted, complicated, and difficult of treatment.

Foremost of the young shepherd swains, 'top of all the lusty grooms,' in all that makes for shepherd life, is *Perigot*. Full of courtesy, chief among shepherd princes, Theocritus hits at once his character in Idyll VIII. :—

As yesterday I drove my heifers by
 A girl me spying from a cavern nigh,
 Exclaimed: 'how handsome!'—*I my way pursued*
*With downcast eyes, nor made her answer rude.*⁵

'Stay, gentle *Amoret*, thou fair-browed maid, thy shepherd prays thee, stay!' are *Perigot's* first words on entering, and indicate the relationship which subsisted between him and *Amoret*, before the play opens. In the old pastoral times shepherds were married by interchange of gifts and general announcement, not by other external rite or ceremony. And this is illustrated in the first act when *Perigot* makes tryst with *Amoret* in the holy grove.

Only my intent
 To draw you hither was to plight our troths
 With ceremonious tying of our souls.
 For to this holy wood is consecrate
 A virtuous well, about whose flow'ry banks
 The nimble-footed fairies dance their rounds
 By the pale moonshine, dipping oftentimes
 Their stolen children, so to make them free
 From dying flesh and dull mortality.
 By this fair fount has many a shepherd sworn
 And given away his freedom, many a troth
 Been plight, which neither envy nor old time
 Could ever break, with many a fond kiss given
 In hope of coming happiness.
 By this fresh fountain many a blushing maid
 Hath crown'd the head of her long-loved shepherd
 With gaudy flowers; whilst he happy sung
 Lays of his love and dear captivity.

The bud unfolds in the trembling delight with which *Amoret* receives *Perigot's* firm attachment, and it is on the quality of her wondering love for him that the firmness, simplicity, and singleness of purpose which characterise his love depends. To *Perigot* there is the unspeakable joy of watching the opening leaves and of seeing the waves of light tingeing them with deeper colour. *Amoret's* sweet nature is developed by the sunshine of his love. They are in the very hey-day of happiness when the first act closes.

In the second act the curtain rises with the gathering mists of the glen.

Damps and vapours fly apace,
 Hovering o'er the wanton face
 Of these pastures.

Amaryllis, love-stricken for *Perigot*, and disappointed in her passion, reveals to her accomplice, the *Sullen Shepherd*, the cruel design by which she hopes to gain *Perigot*, and so part the lovers for ever. She tells him:—

⁵ Chapman's metrical translation of Theocritus.

This happy pair soon meet their love to tell
 In this high grove close by this mystic well,
 Whose power can change the form of any creature,
 Being thrice dipped, into what feature
 Or shape 'twould please the letter-down to crave.

She further instructs him as to the manner of carrying out the spell, and gives him the formula left her by the wise woman her grandame. The charmed lie is accomplished. The real *Amoret* comes to the tryst, and is set in a wrong path while the false one bides his coming. The guileless *Perigot* comes and meets, as he believes, his *Amoret*; for the outward semblance is the same 'clothes, features, voice and hue,' but he has to learn that the soul of his beloved is flown. That all he had loved 'beyond what tongue could tell'—her purity, her untainted thought—have changed to their exact contraries. The trusting simplicity of his boy-love is crushed, and the world for him totters to its foundations. In a momentary impulse of despair he would destroy himself or her, but the wily *Amaryllis* escapes through the wood, is met by her accomplice, and is by him restored to her own shape. Meanwhile, the true and gentle *Amoret* appearing on the scene, *Perigot*, in brooding despair, casts her from him. She swoons; the *Sullen Shepherd*, having determined their love shall be crossed, flings her into the well. The river-gods sing the lovely song:—

Do not fear to put thy feet
 Naked in the river sweet;
 Think not leech, or newt, or toad
 Will bite thy foot where thou hast trod.
 Nor let the water rising high
 As thou wad'st through it make thee cry
 Or sob, for thou shalt rescued be,
 And not a wave shall trouble thee!

The second act closes with her rescue by the fountain's god. And now the third act opens, but the mist-veil between the lovers still hangs as close as ever. *Perigot's* simplicity and inexperience have served him sorrow. He sounds the depths of desolation without any real cause. Now, to him 'brambles shall bear violets, and all nature shall lose her use in contraries.' For he has failed wherein so many fail in faith. The very spells he has believed in have not helped to lighten his gloom. They have not helped him to pierce the disguise of *Amaryllis*, nor have they suggested to his distraught brain the possibility that, if his love has been momentarily obsessed, yet the spirit of evil will leave her, and so must he keep his soul in patience the while. His brain becomes a maze, a tangle of hopeless conjectures, without silken clue to show him the way. In the great moment of his desolated passion, he has called on the 'bitter north wind' to blast his flocks; now they stray forgotten on the bleak hills. He wanders forth, losing himself in labyrinthine paths, his blind footsteps

meandering further and further from the light. He broods by wells and pine-fringed mountains. Like Endymion—

• Brain-sick shepherd-prince

... for many days

Has he been wandering in uncertain ways.
Through wilderness of woods and mossed oaks,
Counting his woe-worn minutes by the strokes
Of the lone wood-cutter, and listening still
Hour after hour to each lush-leaved rill. . . .

When the repentant *Amaryllis*, staying his hand in the act of taking his own life, tells him 'his love untainted stands,' and assures him of the truth and goodness of his *Amoret*—yet she is all too late to stay the poor scattered wits. Vain are the pleading words of his *Faithfull Shepherdess* :—

I'm now the same I ever was, as kind and free;
And can forgive before you ask of me.

Perigot sees her and hears her, as he sees and hears all things now, through the vapours of dazzled sense. So he totters laughingly and stumbles tearfully over odd snatches of little externals and after-memories, her 'Apollo's hair,' her 'robe and buskins,' her 'painted hook,' passing from childishness to frenzy, when to his racked mind she appears as a false image, a shade in the likeness of *Amoret*, whom he believes to be in heaven. Then in his wildness does he avenge this fancied wrong on the memory of his lost love by attempting to take her life. But as the bewildered boy 'pours out his sad sprite like running water,' the god of shepherds in pity hears and sends the honest satyr to light his mist-way feet out of the shadow. Fauns and flowers bear in upon his bewildered brain nature's quieting influences. He sinks to rest, hushed by lullaby song—soft unseen sound of leaves divine :—

Care-charming sleep, thou easer of all woes,
Brother to death, sweetly thyself dispose
On this afflicted boy; fall like a cloud
In gentle showers; give nothing that is loud
Or painful to his slumbers; easy, light,
And as a purling stream, thou son of night
Pass by his troubled senses; sing his pain
Like hollow murmuring wind or rippling rain.
Into this shepherd gently, gently slide,
And kiss him into slumbers like a bride.

When, from sleep as of a god, *Perigot* awakens, the cloud has passed, leaving but shattered shadows of the locks of Typhon. In the lingering of its parting day, in its dim twilight vagueness, in the subsequent gloom of its impenetrable darkness, and in the wavy day-break of its returning consciousness, the shepherd-boy's craze is most

touchingly told. The grandame's spells are impotent, as those of Hecaté and all her crew, to disjoin that which was of Heaven's fastening. 'Jars, jealousies, strifes, *like a thick scurf o'er life,*' have been raised and must now cease; for the gods have sworn their love shall not be crossed. To the arbour of *the Holy Shepherdess* the wounded *Amoret* has been led by the befriending satyr, when under *Clorin's* skill her body's pain is cured and her bruised spirit restored. On the blessed threshold of the holy bower the lovers meet, and those errant shepherds and shepherdesses who have gone astray are hither brought, tended and healed of all their ills. Now once again the woods in answering echo ring triumphant praise to PAN.

JANEY SEVILLA CAMPBELL.

LETTERS FROM A PRIVATE SOLDIER
IN EGYPT.

[The subjoined letters were written by a private in the 11th Hussars, and were offered to this Review without the writer's knowledge—his assent being subsequently obtained.—EDITOR.]

Cairo : March 1, 1883.

MY DEAR MOTHER,—It is with a feeling of thankfulness that I write this to you from this horrible country, because I expected never to hold a pen in my hand again ; indeed, only a week ago I thought so, and I also think you would have thought so too had you seen me in the Citadel Hospital, Cairo. I was one out of many who, not being of a strong constitution, suffered from those two prevalent diseases here, dysentery and enteric fever, each of which is sufficient to lay you under six feet of earth, only I suppose God in His mercy thought fit to inflict me with both, but thought fit to save me (after showing me His power) from an early death, and to (I hope) see you all again in the course of time. My dear mother, I knew well before I came out here that I could not stand the climate, which has killed many stronger than myself, but of course I enlisted for a soldier, and *it is a soldier's duty* to bear all these things without a murmur, because when you enlist it is the same as marriage, you have to take it 'for better, for worse,' so to speak. As soon as I got out here from England, of course (a great many being sick) the work was very hard for us, three or four horses to one man ; and the day after I came out here I was attacked with diarrhœa, which grew very bad, and I very weak. However, seeing the amount of work to be done, I didn't report myself sick until I found my inside getting sore, and I began to throw off blood, and then I knew I was only doing myself and my family justice by reporting myself sick, for I knew dysentery was on me.

The doctor gave me two or three astringent medicines to bind me, but he should have sent me straight to hospital. I went to my work again, but was little able to do it. Four days after, I fainted whilst at midday stables (our stables here is the open desert, with the full blaze

of the sun upon you from *eleven o'clock till one*, and no shelter except that of your helmet), and the sergeant-major sent me up to the hospital-tent (because you know we are under canvas here), and the doctor was sent for, who took my temperature—96°. He sent me into Cairo next morning, to the Citadel Hospital, where I was treated for enteric fever and dysentery, the only cure for which is starvation. I ate nothing for *eighteen days*, and was unable to move a finger for eight or ten days after; all I was allowed to take was weak tea and water, and occasionally a little milk. At the end of eighteen days the doctor took pity on me, and ordered me chicken diet. Then I began to pull up a bit, and he gradually rose my diet till I got this much for a day's grub: Two chickens, eight ounces of brandy, three-quarters of a pound of bread, two pints of milk, one pint of arrowroot, and six ounces of rice. Besides that, when the doctor would leave the ward I would ask Sister Annie, my nurse, to let me get up (for I was then allowed ~~to~~ sit up on my bed for half an hour daily, and on no occasion to stand), and then I would get one of the orderlies of the Army Hospital Corps to go and get me some bread, and I would eat, besides my *allowance*, three or four pounds of bread, and then ask him to go for more again at night. You may laugh; but think of those eighteen days on cold tea. I can assure you that as soon as I had eaten one meal I was ready for the next.

One day last week, General Sir Archibald Alison visited us, and it so happened that he chose my doctor to take him round the wards and show him some particular cases. I, being but a bag of bones, attracted his attention, and the two of them came and sat down on my bed, the doctor having assured him that all danger of infection was gone. The General took up my diet sheet and, looking at it, said to the doctor, 'And do you mean to say that he eats all this in one day?' The doctor referred him to the sister, who was close by, and she told him to ask me; and I said, 'General, I eat all that and as much again.' 'Indeed,' said the General, 'why that's more than I eat in four days.' He looked at my fat(?) face, and said, 'Well, I believe you—you look as if you could manage three times as much, and I hope your kind doctor won't forbid you eating it.' He then wished me 'good-bye' and went off to the next ward. The next day the doctor came in and increased my diet to a quart of beef-tea, and that I had till I left the hospital.

Where I am writing this is half-a-mile from camp, and I'll have to walk that in the dark, and it's rather dangerous, although I have my sword with me for safety. I hope that you are all quite well yourselves. I am getting quite fat and red again. There is talk of our shifting into barracks at Cairo, because this does not agree with the men, although it agrees with the horses. Must now wish you good-bye for the present.

From your affectionate son.

Cairo: Easter Monday, 1883.

My dear Mother,—I received your kind letter on Saturday evening. I was just being discharged from the Harem Hospital, where I have been (since I last wrote) for a week, with slow fever. I was very ill, but was rapidly cured with that *only* cure in this country, starvation, or very near it. I thank God, though, that I am again strong and hearty as ever. Fever out here is as common as flea-bites, only, of course, *every* poor soul does not come off scot-free, as I have both times. The doctor said that I went sick just in time, or it might have resulted differently. I saw three men die with it on three successive days, but brought it on themselves through drink. I saw a Highlander brought in insensible at eight o'clock, and he died at nine. He drank a bottle of cognac straight off. I saw one of the 49th (Berks) brought in at four o'clock, and he was dead at a quarter past four. He drank two bottles of cognac for a wager of half-a-crown. He won the wager, but was dead twenty minutes after the wager was laid. Another I saw die of consumption. So that teetotalism is the best policy out here, or look out.

Last Monday night I lay helpless in my bed, waiting for my chum to come and see me. I wanted a drink of milk, which I had beside me, and I waited for him to come and give it to me (I wouldn't trouble the sister, as she was waiting on worse cases than mine: her title is Lady Norman), and I watched the door for three hours and he didn't come, and I lay almost mad with thirst all that night, but I couldn't reach it myself, and so I did without it. However, I got over that, and am none the worse.

I am accumulating curiosities by the dozen. I have now a bar of iron from the window where Arabi Pasha was confined before his trial. The window is only eight yards from my stable here. I have also a very large lizard which I found under my bed, but it is dead now. There is a horrible plague of flies here, and you cannot open your mouth to eat but two or three sail down with the food. You must excuse my scrawl, as I am getting out of practice with the pen. At present 'the sword is mightier than the pen.'

Cairo: July 9, 1883.

Dear Mother,—It is some time since I last wrote to you, but I have been ill again in hospital for twenty days with another slow fever. I cannot tell what will be the end of it, and I dare not think. The doctor said, 'You have been drinking;' and I told him I was a teetotaller, but he would not believe me. At one time my case was thought to be serious, but I kept my spirits up, as the chaplain told me to do, and I got the better of it. The weather here is unbearable, it is so hot; and the water from the Nile is like castor-oil, and you know what *that* is like to drink. I had two doses of castor-oil in hospital, and the first nearly killed me; it took nearly all the flesh

off me, and I was weak as a chicken. The doctor ordered me water-melon, ice, milk, and chicken-broth, and three pints of lemonade a day; quinine and iron for medicine. Should I get another attack I shall in all probability be sent home. But the water and the heat are the cause of it.

El Wordan, Egypt: August 2, 1883.

Dear Mother,—Received your letter this morning; I was very pleased to get it, and am thought to be one of the lucky few who got any.

We are out under canvas again, on the desert; and goodness knows where we shall go next. We have been what we call 'cholera dodging.' We left Abbassiyeh (Cairo) on the morning of the 25th of July, on account of the epidemic breaking out there, but thank God it has now ceased. Three of our men were taken off in one day, and we shifted, all in a hurry, to about seven miles north of here. We got no breakfast before we went; and, there not being sufficient horses for every man, some of us had to walk six miles to Boulac station, where we had to wait until the mounted party came up; and then all the flurry and fatigue of getting horses and baggage into the train, and the sun pouring down with a terrible heat on us, and no water to be got except hot from the canal, and if you drink much of that before it is filtered it will bring on dysentery rapidly; but we have nothing else to drink, so that we snatch even at that. Four hours in a coal-truck in the heat of the day, and nothing to eat or drink, and no shelter from the sun except your helmet, and the train going about twelve or fourteen miles an hour! By the time we reached our destination (far out in the desert) we were nearly done up. I was made a prisoner at the time for disobeying an order which I received to go and carry some heavy cloaks. I was scarcely able to lift a foot, much less cloaks; and, getting a surly order to do it, I refused, and was fined four days' pay, with four days' confinement. The same night two corporals and a private were selected by King Cholera, and the poor fellows were sewn up as they were, in three blankets, and carried away by mule carts far into the desert. Those of the regiment who cared to, followed, and three holes were dug in the sand, and they were put into them; it was about eleven o'clock at night (8.30 P.M., in England), with one solitary candle to light them, and the vultures hovering above, waiting until the men should be gone. Dear mother, might it not have selected me? But my time had not then come, nor yet. Two days afterwards, it took another young fellow, who lived not far from your own home. The next day there was another victim to it, and then it took our much-beloved surgeon himself, who died nobly in the fearless execution of his duty. Oh, mother, I was as sorry as if it had been you or my brother, because I reckon this man has saved my life more than once in this terrible country; and not only my life, but also those of my fellow-

creatures. His servant was with him during his short illness, which only lasts for an hour or two, but he knew he was going, because he said to his servant, 'Ledward, I know I am going; take this ring (a diamond one) and send it to my brother, and this gold one to my mother.' They were two splendid rings. He gave his servant for himself all the money he had about him (14*l.*), with part of which I bought this paper and stamp. Lastly, it took my own chum, who contracted it whilst waiting on another cholera victim. The doctor was sewn up in a blanket and dragged away by a mule-cart, and buried in a hole with a private soldier; so that you see cholera makes no distinction of personages, and high and low are buried together without distinction, for there is none above another. Before the last death occurred we shifted camp to here, and here we are to remain until sixteen days shall elapse without a death, except it be from sunstroke or from natural causes. However, it has now left the camp, and we are safe once more; but I would rather be in Old England with all its frosts and snows. I would have written before, but it was forbidden, for fear of importation of the epidemic.* I know you all must have been in a dreadful state when you read of 'Outbreak amongst British Troops;' but it is all gone now.

You know a great deal more of Egyptian news at home than what we do ourselves, because we get English papers about ten days after you have read them, and *then* we learn all the news.

I am burning brown as a cocoa-nut. There are two scorpions fighting on the sand in front of me, as I am writing. I enclose a little sand¹ from the desert in this letter, for you to see, and we eat a lot of it every day in our food. Must now conclude, &c.

To be continued.

Cairo: December 31, 1883.

Back again at Cairo. It is some time since I last wrote, but we have shifted back into our old quarters, and *shifting* takes a deal of time, and the labour and fatigue causes sickness. However, we had no deaths this time. The cholera is all over now, and sickness is decreasing wonderfully.

I have just returned from a long march, with thirty-seven other men; two died on the way from exhaustion, and bad water. We have been for nearly three months escorting Captain Maxwell up towards the Soudan, where he has gone on Baker Pasha's staff. We got nearly into Kordofan, when we received an order that the regiment was about to proceed home, and we were to return with all possible speed, which we did; but owing to the intense heat and filthy water we could not make as quick progress as we should have liked; but it did not matter, for, when we got in here, we found that the order to return to England had been countermanded some time. We were to have embarked on the 5th of December, and we did not come in till

¹ The sand above mentioned is transparent, and of a flinty nature, about the size of ordinary gunpowder.

two days before Christmas, and a nice come in it was ; all the while as we marched through Cairo the rain fell in torrents, and we were drenched. The 'Black Watch' were in the citadel and gave us a cheer as we passed, as did also the officers and civilian tourists at Shepheard's Hotel as we passed it. Our horses and accoutrements were taken from us as we came in, and we had the rest of the day and the next in bed, and we felt just fresh for Christmas Day, and the greater part of us thoroughly enjoyed ourselves, the officers having provided the troops with a good Christmas dinner. I have lost about twenty pounds of flesh, but, considering all, I think I got over it pretty well. I feel all right myself, but six of us have gone in hospital since we came back.

As far as I can see, there is no chance of coming home until the Soudan affair is settled. The captain we escorted was a sergeant in our regiment who volunteered into the Egyptian army, was given the rank of captain, and presented by the Khedive with the fourth class of the order of the Medjidie (a very pretty star worn on the breast), and, being in my troop, I volunteered with the others to escort him to the Soudan, but, as you see, we were not able to finish it on account of our being called back.

January 18, 1884.

Getting much fatter now ; they have been giving us extra food in order to make us up again.

There is a poor fellow lying down opposite me crying. He has just received a black-edged letter to say his father is dead, and it must seem more sad to him when he hears the singing and shouting and clatter around him, and to think there is no one to comfort or sympathise with him. He is but eighteen years of age, and joined us in Ireland.

Cairo : February 17, 1884.

Time is precious now. By the time this letter reaches you we shall be before the enemy. I am glad that the time has arrived by which I hope to show that I am a soldier, though a very young one, for we are not going to let the Mahdi beat us. There are 100,000 of the enemy, and 28,000 of us, so the chances are four to one against us ; but we are well-trained men, and they are poor undisciplined heathens. We start in the morning *viâ* the Red Sea. I shall take the white scarf you gave me. I had it all through the cholera, and I will take it now. Good-bye for the present.

Trinkitat : March 4, 1884.

Just a line to tell you that I am quite safe and unscathed, though it was a hard fight, I can tell you, and the odds were five to one against us, the enemy numbering five times as many as we did ; but we did not turn and run away. Will send more particulars in my next.

Suakim: March 11, 1884.

Still alive and kicking, but we have not done with these people yet. Osman Digna swears that he will hold Suakim, if it is only for five minutes. We march in the early morning to Fort Sartorius, where we shall remain entrenched until we obtain some sight of the enemy, who are hiding some seventeen miles away in the mountains. Of course we cannot get into the mountains, but we can drive them out of it with a couple of Krupp guns. We hope to get another general engagement like we had at Teb, but we expect to meet about thirty thousand of them. This is a curious old town, if you can call it a town. We reckon to finish the whole affair in another eight days, and then we might stand a chance of going home. I will write again after the engagement.

Cairo: Good Friday 1884.

Just been to church and heard service. We have been back only a few days from the Soudan. We chased Osman Digna into the mountains about ten miles, but we could not entice him out on to the open plain. Cavalry is no good to fight in among rocks and ravines. We found out his camp, but as soon as Osman sees us near him he bolts for his life. He is altogether too artful for us. After the battle of Tamanieb we went into his forts and blew up the whole of his stores and ammunition which he had concealed there under the ground. We all had spears and knives which we took from the enemy after the battles, but the commanding officer took them all away, as he said, until we should get home, but I don't suppose we shall ever get them again, because they will be sent to the Tower of London as trophies.

We took nearly six days to come up the Red Sea. My chum was taken ill at Handuk with dysentery and fever, which he brought on himself, because when we got to Handuk we were parched with thirst, having marched seventeen miles through the heat of the day, and we found five wells there; but when we went to drink the water we found it salt, or nearly so, and one well had black water in it, which he went to, and drank about half a gallon right off. I said to him, 'Fred, you will be ill before morning through that.' True enough, the same evening I had the task of putting him on a stretcher in an ambulance waggon, and he was taken to the base hospital, an almost hopeless case. However, I heard no more of him until at Suakim I was told that the doctors had given him over. I was more grieved than if it had been my own brother, because, being constantly with him, we are like brothers, and I was not allowed to see him. Well, we arrived at Abbassiyeh (Cairo) about midnight, and the Essex regiment (56th) gave us a 'spread,' and I was hungry and cold, I can tell you; but no sooner had I commenced, than one of our men who had not been to the front came up to me and told me

that my chum had been buried at Suez the day before. I was like one paralysed. I went out of the room and cried like a child, I was so grieved; and the worst of it was, he had sent me a message to go to him, but I wasn't allowed to see him. I went to my barrack room and tried to sleep, but I passed a miserable night, and all next day I was the same. I couldn't eat or drink. Well, I went to bed the second night, and the trumpeter had just sounded 'lights out,' when I felt some one touch me on the shoulder, and I looked out from under the blanket, and who should I see but my own chum, fully armed and equipped, as he had been on the campaign! I thought I was dreaming. It was him right enough. He had just recovered, and been discharged from the Citadel Hospital; and his first thought was to come in and see me and how I was at that late hour, 10.15 P.M. I told him to get to bed as quickly as he could, or else he would catch cold, and probably bring on a relapse, which is very dangerous. The next day I explained matters to him, and I went straight to the fellow who had told me on the previous night about his death, and I taught him the reason why he should not play practical jokes, and at such unseasonable times. However, my friend is all right again now, and I hope he will continue so. We are just getting our accoutrements a bit ship-shape again.

It is very hot here, but not so by ten degrees as it is in the Soudan. I have still the old white scarf, mother; it served me throughout the campaign. Some nights it served for a blanket, and sometimes for a scarf when I should be on outlying picquet at night; and it was a pillow for the first man wounded at El Teb, and four of us carried him from the front down to the base hospital, a distance of ten miles, on a stretcher, and two miles of that was deep mire. I lost my boots and spurs in it and then my socks. We were seven hours carrying him, and when we got there we were given a drink of water for our pains, and my feet were cut with glass and sharp stones and sand; and, would you believe it, they sent us off without any breakfast in the morning, we four, and I had to walk bare-footed to Teb; and when we got there the cavalry brigade were just starting the march to Tokar, so I rode to the relief of Tokar with an empty belly, a dry tongue, and my bare feet in the stirrups, and covered an inch thick with greasy mud from the bog, and that's how I marched to the relief of Tokar.

Cairo: Easter Sunday 1884.

Dear Friends,—You were no doubt glad to know that I was safe and sound after our some hard struggle, for I can assure you that it was a near tie at times. For instance, when we charged at El Teb we had to come back through them again. Well, we came back, and back again a *third* time through them. We were the leading squadron (the regiment being formed up in squadron column), and our commanding officer galloped us still on, the consequence being we were cut off from the

main body and surrounded by some 700 or 800 of the enemy, who thought that they had us. However, one of the squadron scouts, whose duty it was to inform the squadron leader of any danger, told the officer that we were cut off and surrounded. 'The —— we are!' exclaimed that gentleman: 'Troops, right-about wheel!' and every man gripped his sword as though his life were in his hand, and we went back again through the black beggars. It was five minutes' hard riding, but we did it, and lost only two men out of one hundred and twenty, whilst I suppose every man of ours made his mark in one or two of them, the reason of our success being that our squadron had English horses, and all the rest of the regiment had Arabs. A charge of English horses is not to be withstood, on account of their weight and great speed, but some of the Arab horses are like little Cairo donkeys, thus offering facility to the enemy. However, it's over now for the time being, but I fear from rumour that we shall remain here until about September, when, I think, in all probability we shall be the doomed wretches of an expedition to Khartoum, *viâ* Berber, for the purpose of meeting and settling Mr. Mahdi, if he will allow us. I must now conclude, as I feel sick, and must get to bed, although it is only half-past one.

Harem Hospital, Abbassiyeh: May 3, 1884.

I have been down for the last fortnight with enteric fever, but the fever left me two days ago, but quite helpless—helpless as a child. At one time there was great danger, the temperature running up to 106°, which is as high as has been known. I kept 106° for two days, and then it sank to 105°, and kept a gradual descent until the day before yesterday, when it reached 98°, which is normal. I am under a very clever doctor, and a very 'kind one.' He brought me a pretty Japanese fan.

I am living on four lemons, two oranges, one pound and a quarter of ice, eight ounces of brandy, four pints of beef-tea, and as much milk as I want, and a milk diet. I ate a piece of bread and strawberry-jam yesterday, the first I have eaten since the 14th of April; and yet I am not hungry. You should see my old lantern jaws. I don't know how much flesh I have lost, but it is a great deal. It is trying my strength to sit up writing this, because I am very weak. I have to be fed from a feeding-cup.

Merawi, Soudan, March 21, 1885.

My dear Mother,—I have just received two letters from you, one dated January 25 and the other February 9, all mails having been delayed at Korosko until the departure of the convoy which was to bring us up provision to Abu Hamed, but which luckily did not happen, or I imagine we (Brackenbury's column) should have been in a curious position, for I think that had we gone up as far as Abu Hamed we should undoubtedly have got the worst of it, for Wad

Gama, the Sheik of Monassir, was there with an overwhelming number of men, and would evidently have got the better of at least us Hussars. I don't think that the officers who were in charge of us could see that, they being nearly all infantry officers, and consequently understanding but little of the cavalryman's horse and his powers of endurance. Had we gone to Abu Hamed we should all have perished, for our horses were done up, and could not have galloped one hundred yards had retreat proved to be necessary. On February 24 we got a sudden order to return in speed to Merawi, which we did, not before, however, about twenty of us went up with Colonel Butler and staff and reconnoitred to within a couple of miles of Abu Hamed, which was a move fraught with no little danger, for had the enemy noticed us we should have stood but a poor chance, because all the infantry had retired at least five or six hours before us. We, however, got back safely, and accomplished the return journey in about a week. We found Stewart's ill-fated steamer on our road up, high and dry on a rock in a narrow channel on the right of the river, close to Boni Island. We are now at Merawi, thirty miles south of Korti, holding this place as an advanced post ensuring the safety of troops at Korti, and northwards at least from any party which may come down the Nile. There are here the Black Watch, fifty of the Camel Corps, two guns, and our solitary troop. This is a very healthy place, but a great many are sickening from the sun, fever, dysentery, and various other ailments, but I remain at present a model of health and hope of it. I have not had a single day's illness on the whole campaign to my recollection. We have lost our poor doctor, Surgeon Turner, who sickened of dysentery and died in three days of it. He was much loved by men of our regiment, he was so kind and sedulously attentive to the sick, and spared not even personal expense for their comfort. He attended me for some time when I was down with sunstroke and enteric fever. I am much put out to see that you are so ill again, but I suppose that it is the will of One greater than you or I, but I live in the hope of seeing you again in the flesh; but if otherwise, you will know that there is at least one sorrowing heart, although there is 5,000 miles between us.

We are in all probability staying here on detachment until August, so the rumour goes; at any rate the campaign is practically at a standstill until the intensely hot summer months have passed. We have been fairly lucky ourselves, inasmuch as our total loss has not exceeded three—I mean our regiment. I learn that we have lost eight gallant fellows at Suakim, who were cut off by the enemy, much blame being attached to a certain officer, whom I am ashamed to name. We are building ourselves mud huts on the bank of this unfortunate river. Lord Wolseley and Sir Redvers Buller inspected us on Wednesday last, when his lordship spoke highly of the gallantry of all troops in general, but especially of the 19th, whose smartness and

excellence of work proved itself wherever it went. He enlarged on our detachment especially, who went through peculiar dangers in many ways, especially scouting. I must now conclude with very best love, as the mail leaves here in five minutes.

P.S.—We get no papers here.

Good Friday, 1885, Merawi, Soudan.

My dear Brother,—This is in answer to yours of March 4, 1885. I am glad to hear from you, as it is so scarce a thing, owing, as you say, to pressure of business; and to find that you are enjoying good health, again to which I can say amen. My correspondence this mail is somewhat weighty, owing to a receipt of six letters and a *Mercury* of Valentine's Day, in which I read with some interest the account of our little, though important, battle of Kerbeka. I see also that, as usual, through all our three campaigns, the poor public-forgotten 19th Hussars has no mention, excepting that it captured the enemy's camp before their position was taken, with twenty banners, of which twenty I am the possessor of one. The account of General Earle's death is somewhat exaggerated. The real thing is this. After the whole of the position was taken, Earle went up the rocks to inspect a small hut (mud) in which some rebels were suspected to be secreted. He was warned not to do so, but he poked his head in at the hole used for a window, put it out again, and beckoned to some one below. Again he put his head in at the fatal window, and as he withdrew it and looked around again, the muzzle of a rifle was placed close to the back of the General's head, and the vagabond inside blew his brains out, the charge coming out at the front of his helmet; the fellow then threw the rifle at him. The man was brought out of the house by Major Slade, of the Intelligence Department, and was instantly cut into a hundred pieces. There was another house found with a horse and camel, and inside were twenty-six men and their store of ammunition, and the whole lot were burnt alive in the house, and blown to atoms by the continuous exploding ammunition; the horse and camel were also burnt to a cinder; so that really, you see, the General met with his death through inadvertence. He was a brave man, and deserves all credit. When our column marched out on that eventful Pancake Day we Hussars scouted away in front of all; next came the poor General leading the infantry, amongst whom was Colonel Eyre, of the Staffordshire Regiment, notable in that he rose from the ranks; and when the General gave the order to charge the enemy, Eyre was the first up the hill, and turning round he shouted, 'Come on, you men of Staffordshire; I'll take this point or die in the attempt;' upon which the men rushed up the hill and took it gallantly, and bayoneted every Arab in it; but the brave old Colonel was shot down. We knew that the two regiments who accompanied us that

morning were tried and experienced men, and therefore had great faith in ultimate conquest. Our little party of cavalry went on, shooting and capturing the fugitives, who made for the hills, but few reached them. At one time I was sent to the top of a pile of rocks to reconnoitre the surrounding country, when, casually looking round, I beheld to my horror an Arab spearman lying concealed in a cleft of the rock. My first impulse was to raise my carbine and send his soul to that place where all good niggers go, but on second thought I lowered it again, thinking he might be useful for information, &c. So I disarmed him and sent him down the rocks to my comrades below, who took him prisoner. That day I found two old *Tower* rifles (flintlocks)—however they got up here; two banners, one of which I am keeping, and several knives of all descriptions, and spears, &c. &c.

I am the recipient of six letters, as I told you: one from mother, one from yourself, one from George, one from Alice, one from Tom Gregory, who addresses me as Corporal, and one from my chum, who is in Abbassiyeh, and concerning whom I have written to mother before. He was not able to come up with the regiment, owing to sickness. Our work here in Merawi is somewhat stiff, owing to the small number of men stationed here. The Black Watch only numbers about five hundred, and indeed the whole of us, all arms, do not number a thousand. We are well defended from a sudden rush of the enemy (who may come here from across the desert at any moment) by two forts, and three rows of wire entanglements which surround the camp. One fort is a little redoubt away to the north-east of the camp, and christened Fort St. Andrew, in honour of the patron saint of Scotland, the 42nd (Black Watch) having built it themselves. At this juncture I must confine my remarks, although I could send you much more.

WILLIAM H. SAUNDERS,
G Troop, 19th Hussars.

MINING INSPECTION A SHAM.

BY A MINER.

NOWADAYS it is quite unnecessary to preface an article on mining matters with a dissertation on the magnitude of England's coal industry. The important part coal plays has long been recognised; various laws dealing especially with mines and miners have been enacted, and it is worthy of note that these acts have done much to improve mines, and render more tolerable the miner's hard and dangerous life. Much has been done; more remains to do; and in the immediate future there is a probability that the House of Commons will be asked to consider various measures dealing with matters affecting miners generally.

The peril attendant on underground employment is well known, the rate of mortality among miners being terrible to contemplate. Only a short time ago Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., stated that since 1861 no fewer than 46,000 lives had been lost in coal mines alone. These figures represent only the actual loss of life. How many tens of thousands more were crushed and crippled for life? and how many more must have died slowly and miserably through habitually inhaling one or other of the several noxious gases met with in our coal mines? It may be asked here if mining operations, perilous as they are admitted to be, do not necessitate great loss of life? To this the present writer would say, that though immunity from fatal accidents cannot be expected in coal mines, still nothing like the present sacrifice of life would occur if mines were worked as they ought to be, and if mining inspection were as perfect as many people think it. So long ago as 1850 the Government acknowledged that the mine owners could not be trusted with the lives of their workmen. The necessity of mines being inspected by men chosen especially for the purpose was admitted, and the Coal Mines Inspection Act of 1850 was passed. That inspection of the most thorough kind is necessary in mines will not now be denied; and that the present system is altogether unworthy of the name is the writer's purpose to show.

That the public cherish a belief in the perfection of the present system is easily understood. The inspection of mines costs this

country something over 25,000*l.* a year, and the Home Secretary has about eight-and-twenty inspectors at his disposal. Fourteen of these inspectors have special districts assigned to them, and an assistant to help them to carry out their duties. Their salaries range from 1,100*l.* to 300*l.* a year, and each inspector furnishes the Home Secretary with an annual report. These yearly reports are very elaborate documents, containing much information as to the number of miners and mines at work in each district, the amount of coal raised, the loss of life incurred, inspections made, inquests attended, and lastly come long lists of miners fined for petty offences, such as falling asleep in the mine and taking empty tobacco pipes there. One cannot wade through these reports without having impressed upon him the amount of time requisite for their elaboration. That these reports have a value will not be denied, but the miners naturally think that report writing is not mine inspection, nor a satisfactory equivalent thereof. In these reports is set down the work of each inspector with almost diary-like fidelity, and, strangely enough, the evidence of the hollowness of mining inspection is furnished by the inspectors themselves. According to these reports the inspectors visit the mines often, but only after a fatal accident has occurred. On receiving intelligence of a disaster, the inspector goes to inspect the scene, and thus inspection begins only when death renders it imperative. Mining inspection is useless save as a preventive influence, and to-day it has none of that power, for the inspectors wait until explosion, fall of roof, or other calamity calls them down the mine.

For many years miners have cried out for more inspectors and better inspection, and to-day their cries are more vehement than ever. That miners are unanimous in their condemnation of the present system is beyond dispute, and surely they are entitled to speak on the matter. Only a month or two ago a deputation of miners waited on the Home Secretary, to call his attention to the deficiencies of the system under consideration, and several of the members of that deputation adduced remarkable evidence in support of their views. When miners can work twenty and thirty years in the mines, and never see an inspector there, the value of the present system of inspection becomes more than doubtful. The writer has been a pitman for nearly a score of years, and most of that time has been passed in the employ of two firms, yet he has never seen an inspector underground—nor aboveground either. And the writer's experience is by no means remarkable. Miners who have worked in the mines for half a century without seeing an inspector are not very rare. In fact, the miner who has set eyes on an inspector possesses a remarkable experience. The mere mention of 'mine inspector' or 'mine inspection' in any gathering of miners is sufficient to evoke cries of indignation and derision. Those who are behind the scenes can best watch the actors. The miners are behind

the scenes, and what inspection does and fails to do they alone know. To work in an explosive atmosphere is commonplace, and insecure roof and roads are too ordinary to be greatly noticed. 'Tis only when the gas explodes and burns some one to a cinder, or the roof crashes down and crushes some poor wretch shapeless, that the inspector comes on the scene: There he generally stays just long enough to hear a garbled account of the accident and its origin from the mine officials; then he decamps, to return again—when another disaster occurs.

It may be objected here that any miner may refuse to work in an unsafe place. True. But refusal would often mean dismissal, and invariably entail a monetary loss. And it is a fact that miners are so used to working in unsafe places, that a little extra danger is preferable to dismissal or loss of work. Again, it may be objected that, although the inspectors are unaware of the existence of these dangerous places, any miner could lay the knowledge before them by letter. Not one miner in a hundred knows an inspector's address; perhaps a less percentage of them are able to write, and of the few pitmen able to handle a pen, a very few indeed are daring enough to do so. Rightly or wrongly, miners generally entertain the belief that mine owners, and inspectors are in collusion. The writer holds a contrary opinion, but certain it is that there are stories floating about concerning men who, having ventured to call the inspector's attention to certain mines, were afterwards unable to obtain work in that district.

It must be admitted that the work of mining inspection is quite disproportionate to the number of inspectors, it being an utter impossibility for them to carry out the work they are supposed to do. According to the latest available returns there were in 1883 no less than 3,707 mines at work. To inspect these mines there were fourteen inspectors and twelve sub-inspectors. This would average about 286 mines to each district where there was an inspector and an assistant inspector, leaving 143 mines for each of the two districts where the inspectors have no assistants. We will deal with the districts having inspectors and assistant inspectors, as they are the districts of coal mines. Now it will be an easy matter to show that all the work of inspection must necessarily fall on to the shoulders of the sub-inspectors alone, for plenty of other work claims the attention of their superiors, the inspectors. During the year 1883 there were 1,054 fatal accidents, and consequently a similar number of inquests which the inspectors had to attend. On an average each inspector would have to attend about eighty-five inquests, and as such inquiries often extend over two and three days, nearly two-thirds of a year would be consumed by them alone. Then, again, an inspector is supposed to visit the scene of every fatal accident in his district, and to do this would require at least one hundred days more, for it is often neces-

sary to visit the place where an accident has happened more than once. Thus, only a small portion of the year would be left to each inspector, and that time would probably be barely sufficient to enable them to gather the materials for and write their very elaborate reports.

Thus the real work of mining inspection would be left to the sub-inspectors, and each of these inspectors would have 286 mines to inspect. Mining inspection is useless unless it is thorough. It is of no use to examine the pit shaft, furnace, or fan; it is the airways and working places which need inspection. And the more remote the place from the shaft the greater the need of inspection, for in the far-away corners of the mine the ventilating current is weak, the atmosphere is often highly charged with 'fire-damp,' and there it is that great explosions have their origin. How long would it take each sub-inspector to examine the 286 mines in his district? Let us see. In many mines the workings extend over large areas, and to inspect one of the largest of these thoroughly would require at least two or three days, and the smallest would need not less than a day. That this estimate is a moderate one no practical miner will deny; and it may be fairly assumed that at least a year would be required to visit in turn the 286 mines. Thus, supposing the sub-inspectors devoted themselves assiduously to mining inspection alone, working each day with clock-like regularity, each mine could be visited only once in a year. But the inspectors themselves admit that this is impossible. Very often the sub-inspector has to visit the scene of some fatal accident, his chief being engaged elsewhere on similar business, or attending an inquest, and there is great reason to believe that mining inspection only follows on the heels of disaster.

So long ago as 1850 miners believed that only practical miners were capable of inspecting mines in a thorough and efficient manner. This belief was made known in petitions presented to the House of Commons many years ago, and it is held to-day as firmly as ever. That the majority of the present inspectors are unfitted for mining inspection in its *real* sense will hardly be denied. That many of them are well qualified to attend inquests and draw up elaborate reports the writer is prepared to admit. But, as we have already intimated, the drawing up of reports, no matter however elaborate, is not mining inspection; and miners believe that the *real* inspection of mines is a matter of more vital importance than is the collaboration of statistics. A mine inspectorship would be anything but an easy position to fill if mine inspection were as real as it is sham. To descend two or three mines a week, crawl along low and tortuous tunnels for several miles, examining the air roads and working places, would be work of the most arduous nature. This would be inspection, and nothing short of it would be honest or worthy of the name. But besides work of a vigorous nature, mining inspection demands skill

of a thorough and practical kind. An inspector ought to possess something more than book-lore and the knowledge gleaned in a mining school from teachers who have never worked in a mine; and serving an apprenticeship in a colliery office, and going down a mine for an hour each day for a year, is scarcely a sufficient qualification for the office. Every mine inspector ought to be acquainted with all the details of mining, should have passed not less than five years in underground work, and be able to pass an examination similar to that for mining managers. The writer believes that working miners capable of passing such an examination as the one indicated would make mine inspectors of the most reliable and efficient kind. Few of the present inspectors would submit to the drudgery honest mining inspection would entail on them. Miners would do so readily, because the work of inspection would be much less arduous and better paid than hewing coal or blasting rock.

The present system of appointing mine inspectors is far from satisfactory. The power of selecting inspectors is vested in the Home Secretary of the day, and such being the case, it is not to be expected that the best men receive the appointments when vacant. When an inspectorship becomes vacant, there will be numerous applications; and very likely the Home Secretary knows none of the applicants personally. What follows is plain. The candidate who possesses the highest recommendation, or, in other words, the most influential friends, receives the appointment. That this system is capable of improvement will hardly be disputed. The competitive system in use in the Civil Service might be adopted with advantage. The manner in which mine inspectors are appointed is not justified by results, and no system can be satisfactory which permits influence to take precedence of ability. The competitive system may not be perfect, but there seems to be no readier method of testing men. But however mine inspectors may be selected in the future, one thing should be kept in view, viz. practical knowledge of mines on the part of every applicant.

It is often pointed out by those people who desire no change in the present system of inspection, that the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1872 empowers each pit-set of miners to select two of their number to inspect the mine periodically, and report thereon. 'Tis true the law permits this, but unfortunately the miners are seldom able to avail themselves of it. The inspection of mines by miners is possible only in those districts where there are strong Trades Unions. In the first place, the men chosen for the work of inspection need paying for their labour, and this would not be possible in a district without a Miners' Union, for non-union men would certainly refuse to contribute money for such a purpose. But the payment of these temporary inspectors is the least of the difficulties in the way of the miners themselves inspecting the mines, for we find that even in those districts possessing

powerful unions, the privilege granted by the Act of 1872 is generally ignored. That this should be done may appear remarkable, but the reason why is easy to find. Suppose two miners made an inspection of a mine and reported unfavourably on its condition, hiding nothing, and exposing everything needing exposure; is it not certain that the manager or owners of that mine would get rid of those two men as soon as possible? and it is very probable that there would be no more work for them in that coal field. If the two miners selected to inspect the mine happened to have 'good places,' it is not probable that they would risk losing them by making an unfavourable report, no matter how bad the state of the mine might be. Thus, it appears that the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1872, where it applies to miners themselves inspecting the mines, is valueless, because it is impracticable.

The old saying, 'Make the best of a bad job,' is greatly respected in mines. Whenever an accident occurs there is always a tendency to hush up unpleasant matters. 'It can't be mended now,' and 'It's no use making things worse,' is whispered about; and when the inspector arrives on the scene, he gets to know just what the officials choose to tell him, and nothing more. Of course everybody is exculpated save the deceased. If the accident is due to a fall of roof, there is sure to be plenty of props strewn about the place when the inspector comes; or if an explosion has burnt a few poor fellows to death, every official in the mine, from manager to 'fireman,' assures the inspector, and afterwards the coroner and jury, that 'fire-damp' was never seen in that part of the mine. But there is too often a different tale to be heard from the miners working near the spot where the disaster happened, by a careful inquirer. Away from the pit the miners speak freely, and one hears that there was always a scarcity of props in the mine where Jack Jones was killed by a fall of roof; and 'gas' had been seen in Bob Smith's 'place' many a day before it exploded and scorched him to a cinder.

And the composition of the juries who sit on mining accidents is not calculated to elucidate any knotty point or throw light on the disasters. It cannot be expected that a jury composed of petty shopkeepers, such as small grocers, tailors, and shoemakers, can understand much of mining matters, and much of the evidence must be Greek to them. The inquiry is seldom thorough, and the verdict invariably the same, viz. 'accidental death,' and no one to blame save the dead. A jury composed of pitmen would be better able to conduct these inquiries, and their verdicts would not always be the same. As it is, the relatives of the deceased are satisfied to have the inquiry closed as speedily as convenient, and there is scarcely ever any attempt to prove that death was the result of defective plant or negligence on the part of some official. The Employers' Liability Act is a dead enactment to miners, since they have been forced to contract out of

it, and there is nothing to be gained by obtaining a verdict other than 'accidental death.'

It is a well-known fact, and, moreover, one that is generally admitted, that many of the mines now working are gaseous ones. Yet, according to the reports daily issued by managers, underlookers, and 'firemen,' 'gas' is very rarely found in these gaseous mines. That 'gas' or 'fire-damp,' as it is termed, is always present in these mines there is not the slightest doubt. But it is one of the unwritten laws obtaining among mine officials that discoveries of 'fire-damp' are not to figure in the reports. The special duty of the 'fireman' is to examine the mine during the absence of the miners, and this work is usually done at night. Each morning the 'fireman' writes out his report, in which he is supposed to state the actual condition of the mine at the time he last examined it. It is not very probable that a mine is exactly the same night after night for years, but the reports of the 'fireman' never change, even to the extent of a word. Every 'fireman' has his report committed to memory, and, no matter what comes or goes, the report varies not. The writer speaks from actual experience when he says that he knows of cases where 'firemen' have met with large volumes of 'fire-damp,' yet the fact was never set down in their reports. Nay, he even knows of several instances where the reports were written before an inspection of the mine had been made. A friend of ours, a 'fireman,' was once imprudent enough to report the discovery of 'fire-damp,' and he was severely reprimanded for doing so. It may be added that he had to write out a better report.

A word or two may be said here regarding underlookers and 'firemen.' The safety of a mine depends to a great extent on these officials, for although the manager is the responsible head, the practical management of the mine devolves on these individuals. The manager probably manages half a dozen mines, and he visits each mine perhaps once a week, though there are managers who do not go down a pit once in a month, and the underlookers and 'firemen' have to be present in the mines each day. An underlooker is next in authority to the manager, and his duty is to engage miners, see that the ventilation is all right, and that all the lesser officials attend to their respective duties. The special nature of the 'fireman's' work has already been noticed, and it will be seen that to discharge the duties of underlooker and 'fireman' in a thorough and efficient manner much intelligence and practical knowledge is needed. One would naturally think that only able miners would be selected to fill these positions, but experience proves the contrary. The special study of mine managers is to raise coal as cheaply as possible, and each manager reduces managemental expenses so far as lies in his power; consequently, cheapness in officials takes the precedence of ability. The average wage of underlookers appears to be about

thirty-two shillings a week, and 'firemen' get a few shillings a week less, and such salaries are not likely to attract able men. Clever miners can earn more money by sinking shafts, driving tunnels, and similar work. An individual's salary is not a bad test of his ability, and a more efficient class of mine officials will come to the front when better salaries are offered. Considering the amount of influence underlookers and 'firemen' have on the management of mines, it seems remarkable that they have not to pass an examination to show they are capable of carrying out the duties of their positions. Every mine takes its complexion from its managerial staff: able officials and safe mines, dangerous mines and inefficient officials seem to be the rule. When a miner engages to work at a colliery he places his life in the hands of those who manage that mine, and yet he has no guarantee that the officials are fitted for their duties, nor is there recompense for him or his should he be maimed or killed through the negligence or inefficiency of officials. Why should not underlookers and 'firemen' hold certificates like mine managers, such certificates to be obtained only by passing a suitable examination? The idea is easy of accomplishment, and beneficial results are almost certain.

The manner in which mine managers are manufactured is not quite so satisfactory as is desirable. For the last few years the mining schools of the country have been turning out mine managers by the hundred, and it would appear that there is a very large body of efficient men waiting for vacancies. But a large proportion of the men holding certificates of competency are certainly unfitted for the management of dangerous mines. Mining schools are very valuable, but the theoretical knowledge obtained there is not sufficient equipment for a mine manager. Many of the applicants for mine manager's certificates are young men who have little practical knowledge of mines, and they cannot make very efficient managers. A youth of twenty-one may become an applicant for a certificate of competency, provided that he has occupied a stool in a colliery office for five years, and has had a year's practical mining. To carry out the latter stipulation an hour a day is generally deemed sufficient. That a lad just entering the twenties can manage mines efficiently will not be affirmed by anyone who understands the matter. Then why are certificates granted to such persons? No one under twenty-five or thirty ought to hold such certificate, and in the examinations for mine managers much greater prominence ought to be given to practical mining than is the case at present.

In bringing this paper to a conclusion the writer ventures to offer a few suggestions to those who may have to do with the reform of mining inspection. In each district there should be a senior inspector, as at present, and his special duties should be to attend inquests and collect all necessary statistics. Each of the senior or

district inspectors ought to have four assistants, and to each assistant should be allotted one-fourth of the mines in the district. These sub-inspectors would devote their time to thorough inspection, and when practicable should be chosen from working miners. Efficient sub-inspectors could be obtained at 200*l.* a year each, and thus the extra cost would not be great. Such a system as the one indicated could hardly fail to produce good results; that it should be tried is the wish of many.

J. M. FOSTER.

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT.

EVERY additional question of a popular nature which comes before the country undoubtedly proves the statement that the platform and the press decide their fate rather than Parliamentary discussion and divisions. This was never more true of any subject than it is of that of the enfranchisement of leaseholders. The Bill having this object in view has not been in print for more than fifteen months, yet to-day it occupies a foremost place among the questions for the future, and there is scarcely a candidate in the borough divisions who will not have to discuss this subject and make his views known upon it at the next general election. And should there be, as in all probability there will be, a large Liberal and Radical majority out of which to form the next Government, it is almost certain that the subject of leases and ground-rents will have to be dealt with by the responsible authorities.

When I introduced my Bill in the early part of the session of 1884, there was scarcely a score of members of the House of Commons who took the trouble to read the proposals in a serious manner; yet in the March of that year, on the motion for the second reading of the measure, I obtained 104 supporters, with only 168 voting against it. Thus a question of nearly first-rate importance to the community rapidly advanced in two months to a position scarcely ever before attained in a similar time by any other Parliamentary proposal, and certainly by none affecting, as this does, the burning question of land monopoly.

The main features of the Bill are extremely simple and easily grasped. It proposes that any person having an unexpired lease of twenty years and upwards of any house or cottage and garden not exceeding three acres in extent, shall have the right to purchase the fee simple of the property by a process in the County Court, and it also provides that the leaseholders of places of worship shall have the same rights in this respect as householders. The legal machinery is simple and inexpensive, as the object is to bring the advantages of the measure within the reach of the owners of cottages.

During the present session no Parliamentary action on this subject has been possible, the Government having secured the right of placing its own measures as the first orders of the day on those days usually occupied by private members; thus my Bill, for which I had obtained

the first place on the 4th of March, was forced out of position by the Seats Bill. On a subsequent occasion, having obtained the first place for a motion on the same subject, in going into committee it was again displaced by the Government in order to give precedence to urgent legislation.

But while the question is thus blocked and obstructed by Government measures, it is rapidly ripening outside the House itself.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes will do much towards promoting the passing of the Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill. As a member of that Commission I lost few opportunities of questioning capable witnesses as to the policy of leaseholds. I thus obtained much valuable guidance for future action, although some of the most important witnesses for this purpose were either freeholders or agents for freehold estates; and thus if they were compelled by force of logic to admit anything detrimental to the leasehold system, these admissions were often strongly qualified by subsequent statements. This was not surprising, and indeed is what one might expect; but if nothing more had been done, one paragraph in the Report would be of the utmost value to the supporters of this proposal, where the Commissioners discuss the relation between the freeholders of the property and the tenants residing upon it. The paragraph on page 22 of the Report says—

The freeholder of a building estate appears to be in practice not the responsible owner of the property for sanitary purposes. The terms of the leases provide that the tenant shall keep the house in repair, but the stringent conditions of the leases fall into disuse; the difficulty of personal supervision of the property is apt to grow greater, and the relations between the ground landlord and the tenant who occupies the house grow less and less. The multiplicity of interests involved in a single house, and the number of hands through which the rent has to pass, causes the greatest doubt as to who is the person who ought to be called upon to execute repairs, or to look after the condition of the premises. This is especially the case when building has taken place for which no trace of sanction can be found on the part of the ground landlord; the erections under such circumstances being often crowded on gardens or courts, the preservation of which would have been for the sanitary benefit of the existing houses.

To those of us who heard all the evidence of experienced witnesses, this paragraph means much more than is shown upon the face of it.

Old properties, with leases of various lengths, would appear to be found grossly neglected and mismanaged. Leases which expired, it may be ten or fifteen years, before other leases in the immediate neighbourhood are then re-let to what is known as the 'house-jobber' or 'farmer,' under conditions which neither party to them expects to be enforced, in order that the ground landlord may have a large area falling into his hands at one time, thus presumably enabling him to dispose of it when the time comes for such other purposes as circumstances may offer. The consequence is, that such property will, in all probability, continue during the term of the lease

in the worst possible condition for residential purposes. The freeholder has no interest beyond obtaining the ground rents, he has no legal responsibility as to the sanitary condition in which these places are allowed to exist by the middleman. The chief interest of the middleman is to obtain the greatest possible profit he can wring out of the pressing exigencies of the poorest classes of the community. He and other similar owners are very often the most active and influential members of the local government authority, whose duty it should be to enforce the sanitary regulations. Fellow-feeling and kindred interests would appear to ally themselves on the side of leaving things alone. Thus the ground landlord gets his ground rents, the middleman his profit, and the wretched tenants are the chief victims of this divided and vicious system.

If this were the only case against the leasehold system as applied to residential property, it would, in my opinion, be sufficiently strong to call for interference by the law. It is scarcely possible to estimate the importance of clean and healthy dwellings in an industrial nation, the prosperity of which mainly depends upon the health and vigour of the population. Yet we have in most of our great towns, and especially in the metropolis, large families of men, women, and children crowded together, often in single rooms, several families on one floor, and the same thing repeated from cellars to attics, and, as is clearly proved by the paragraph quoted from the Commissioners' Report, the working of the leasehold system, by its subdivision of responsibilities and conflicting interests, produces the extraordinary result, that it is difficult, and in many cases impossible, to enforce, not only the common laws of decency, but the legal enactments for sanitary purposes.

Any system capable of such evils to the community should be an impossibility, especially in an overcrowded country, and one would have thought that the Commission appointed for the purpose of exposing the evils of overcrowding, and suggesting remedies for its amelioration, would have unanimously inserted a strong recommendation for the abolition of the leasehold system.

The experience gained by the inquiries made by the Royal Commission considerably strengthened my already strong opinion against the present system of leasing land, and I proposed a paragraph to be inserted in the Report, stating

that the prevailing system of building leases is conducive to bad building, to deterioration of property towards the close of the lease, and to a want of interest on the part of the occupier in the house he inhabits; and that legislation favourable to the acquisition on favourable terms of the freehold interest on the part of the leaseholder would conduce greatly to the improvement of the dwellings of the people of this country.

There were strong objections on the part of several of the Commissioners to the insertion of so definite a suggestion, and the para-

graph then took the form of a Supplementary Report, which was signed by Cardinal Manning, Lord Carrington, Sir George Harrison (Lord Provost of Edinburgh), the Honourable E. Lyulph Stanley, Mr. Dyer Gray, Mr. Torrens, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. George Godwin, and Mr. Samuel Morley.

We have thus an extraordinary result ; that a minority report bears the signature of ten to seven of the Commissioners, and there are the best reasons for believing that other members of it were strongly favourable to the proposal. If anything was wanting to hasten the passage of the Bill in the House of Commons, surely such a strong expression of opinion as is here made by a majority of the Commission is of the utmost value and importance, and cannot possibly be ignored by the next Parliament when, with an unprejudiced mind, it commences the work marked out for it by the new democracy.

One of the great arguments used by the opponents of this proposal is, that it would certainly stop the letting of land by landowners for building purposes. It seems scarcely possible that a statesman of the first rank should have no stronger arguments against the Bill than the one here quoted. What are the facts? Are we seriously asked to believe that landowners at the present time dispose of their property for the special purpose of accommodating growing populations, and that the motive of profit does not enter into the transaction?

Let us examine whether this is likely to be so. Take a field immediately abutting upon the present boundary lines of a suburban population. At the most liberal estimate it would not be worth more than 8*l.* or 10*l.* per acre, and it is much to be doubted whether any could be found worth even so much as this. The owner lets it for building purposes, and I have before me a statement supplied by a most experienced and successful builder in one of the metropolitan suburbs, in which he gives me some cases of estates, one of eight acres, another of seven and a half acres, and another of four acres respectively. The two former estates have 25 houses to an acre, and the latter 20. The ground rent of each house on the first two estates is 9*l.* per annum, making a total of 225*l.* an acre. The ground rent on the four-acre estate is 10*l.* per house, or 200*l.* per acre a year. Estates laid out for similar houses in the same neighbourhood have from 30 to 35 houses an acre, with ground rents of from 6*l.* to 7*l.* each. Yet we are asked to believe theories which mean, if they mean anything, that the question of profit is not in the mind of the landowner, and that he gives up his grazing ground to be turned into building land simply to oblige the community in the matter of permitting dwellings to be erected upon it, although he obtains more than 200*l.* per acre for ground that is not worth more than 10*l.* in its original state. Not only is an enormous increase of about 2,000 per cent. made on his present annual income from the land, but it is covered with valuable property which is for ever his own, and until the time when it again falls com-

pletely into his hands, the community is, by the terms of the lease, keeping the property in the best repair possible, maintaining the roads, lighting it with gas, supplying it with water and protecting it by the police, in order to hand it over in good condition without a penny cost to the receiver of the ground rents. Out of this 200*l.* per acre received yearly in return for a privilege granted to builders and to buyers for taking care of his property, he does not contribute a single farthing to local charges or rates of any description whatever. A more cunningly devised scheme, legalised by law, for accumulating wealth out of the labour and enterprise of the community was never devised by man, and the more closely one examines into this system of confiscation and robbery, mixed up with the evasion of duties and responsibilities, the more one is amazed that the industrial orders and commercial classes of this country should have permitted such a system to grow up, or tolerate its existence for so long a time. It really reduces the producers of the nation to the position of appearing to be the slaves of the landowner ; labouring, saving, toiling, gathering and reaping, that a large portion of the fruits of their industry may be handed over to a class which receives all, ventures nothing, discharges no duties, and accepts no responsibility.

Another argument which has been urged by very high and competent authorities against the Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill, is that without a controlling authority over a building estate by an individual, the residents on an estate might be so annoyed by the erection of various kinds of buildings, that their existence might become intolerable. It is scarcely possible to conceive how a greater evil could be devised for a quietly disposed family, than to be compelled to live in a terrace of houses, built upon the system and with the materials and workmanship employed on many London estates. The annoyances, the lifelong misery to which one can be subjected by neighbours with irregular habits, can only be fully understood by those who have experienced them. However, this personal experience has not been the lot of those who use these arguments.

In the debate in the House of Commons on the occasion of the motion for the second reading of my Bill, the Attorney-General said—

Let them take the case of Belgrave Square, with leases which had twenty years to run. Under this Bill a leaseholder might come in and say, 'I am going to enfranchise,' and the property would pass away from the landlord at the end of twenty years. Then the leaseholder would probably sell it at the Auction Mart totally unrestrained by any covenant, and therefore not only the landlord, but also every person living on the estate, might be annoyed at finding that house converted into a hotel or a tallow-chandler's manufactory. In this way the whole of the surrounding property would be deteriorated.

The Attorney-General here supplied an argument, which, coming from so great and distinguished an authority, has been readily seized

upon by a great many people as a reason for doubting the wisdom of the Bill. Unfortunately, no reply that I could make to this objection can be expected to have much weight against the Attorney-General's statement; but, as a matter of fact, I had in my speech already anticipated such an objection, and given instances where, under the present local regulations, freeholders could not erect, in a neighbourhood already in use for residential purposes, buildings for business purposes at their pleasure, and that if the present law with regard to restrictions of this nature was not strong enough, it would be the duty of Parliament to make it stronger, and to protect residents against annoyances of the kind described, or of a similar nature.

Within a month of the debate in Parliament, the Foreign Office issued a circular of inquiry to Her Majesty's representatives abroad as to the system of tenure of dwelling-houses in the countries in which they reside. Their report (Commercial, No. 36, 1884) has now been issued, but it would occupy too much space to thoroughly analyse the statements from the various consuls that are given in reply to the inquiries addressed to them by Lord Granville; sufficient for the present to state that the leasehold system as practised in England with regard to house building, is practically unknown in Europe. It is not, however, wholly unknown in France, and in one or two other countries, but for all practical purposes it might be safely stated to scarcely exist at all. And the fear expressed by the Attorney-General as to the annoyances that might result from an uncontrolled individual ownership of single houses is met in every country by municipal regulations which secure private residences from danger or annoyances in the erection of other buildings in their immediate vicinity.

As a sample of the municipal laws regulating buildings in residential neighbourhoods, I here give an extract from the report made from Vienna. Mr. Victor Drummond says:

If a purchaser acts in accordance with the municipal building and sanitary laws, there are no means to prevent him in any way from carrying out what he considers necessary in regard to his property. Should the neighbours be, however, in danger from the bad construction of the purchaser's houses, the building laws in the first place, and secondly the prescription of public law, would afford to them the necessary protection and means of indemnification in cases of damage to their property.

Mr. Macdonell, in his report as to the tenure of house property in Bavaria, after giving a quantity of most useful information, says:

As a proof of the extent to which everything in Bavaria favours the principle of separate ownership of landed property (even in miniature) may be mentioned the so-called 'Herbergen,' or working men's dwellings, in Munich and its suburbs, in which different floors of the same house are owned by different people.

Again, as to municipal regulations, Sir John Walsham, speaking
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of the regulations in France as to the control over the usage of property, says :

For instance, if a purchaser shall have covenanted or agreed to use a house as a private dwelling-house only, and shall subsequently turn it into a shop, the tribunals would, on application from one or more of the neighbours, at once summarily order the shop to be closed, and damages to be paid in case any detriment had been caused through the infringement of the covenant.

I forbear to make more numerous extracts, as both with regard to the tenure of land and the municipal regulations regarding the erection of buildings, the systems are so generally alike that no useful purpose could be served by increasing the quotations from the various countries. It is therefore clearly shown that if Austria, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and other countries are capable of protecting their people against injuries and annoyances in their residences, it is not impossible for England, the home of municipal government, to make stringent regulations for the same purpose.

I cannot imagine that the landowners of this country can for a moment expect that the present monopoly in landed property will be tolerated by a new Parliament, and especially the monopoly of urban landed property. The proposals contained in my Bill are reasonable, and especially just towards the present owner. If there is one thing more certain than another with regard to this question, it is that the Bill will not grow more liberal towards the landowners. I am already besieged by vast numbers of people to reduce the twenty years' limit in the matter of the right of purchase. A considerable number of leaseholders urge that the twenty years' limit should be reduced to fifteen, ten, or even five years. And so strong and widespread is this feeling becoming, that some amendment in this direction, when next it is introduced, will probably have to be made in the measure.

Landlords are proverbially unwise; had they voluntarily shared in the burdens of local taxation and discharged other duties morally incumbent upon them towards the leaseholder and the tenant, they might have gone on for many years to come in the enjoyment of their present legal privileges. That opportunity has passed. There are wise men among them who have already to a greater or lesser extent voluntarily adopted the principles of the Bill. Notably is this the case with the Duke of Devonshire, Sir John St. Aubyn, and Mr. Heneage, as well as on some parts of the Duchy of Cornwall Estate, where arrangements have been made enabling the leaseholders by purchase to become the freeholders. I fear, however, that the wise foresight shown by these great owners will not be generally adopted by their class. The change will be resisted so long as it is possible, and then the conditions favourable to themselves which might have been obtained under other circumstances will be impossible. Are they wise in thus challenging the might and power of the people, and

ultimately having to submit to terms which they themselves will have little influence in determining?

It would appear that there is ever present with the landowners an evil spirit, advising and directing them to a resistance which they cannot maintain, and which may prove fatal to them. They cannot too soon realise the changes which will assuredly be made in the land laws of Great Britain. If met fairly and in good faith, the democracy will be reasonable and just; if dared to their utmost, all experience teaches us that the terms dictated will certainly not be such as they otherwise might be.

A great political force has been enlisted in support of this measure by the inclusion of places of worship in the Bill. There have been numerous recent evidences that the Nonconformists of the country are awakening to the importance of the proposal for enabling them to purchase the fee simple of their chapels. Outrageous terms for the right of erecting chapels, and for the renewal of leases, have sown the seed of a great and deep-seated sense of injustice among the Nonconformist religious communities, which would not otherwise have been aroused in support of my Bill; and we may now reckon with tolerably sure confidence that at the next election these congregations, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land, and reaching in many cases into the most remote districts, will insist upon such legislation as will protect their sacred altars from the extortionate hands of property owners, and from the power which sometimes makes a renewal of the leases of these places an impossibility, or as an alternative offers lifelong financial embarrassment, consequent upon the terms imposed.

HENRY BROADHURST.

THE CRIMES ACT.

By a strange fatality two successive Governments have recently put such a period to the special legislation to which they felt compelled to resort for maintaining or restoring order in Ireland, as to coincide with the expiration of a Parliament. No one can forget the last occurrence of this kind, and the experience of 1880 renders it almost impossible that any Government should now fall back on the law as it stood for the latter half of that terrible year; though there is this remarkable difference between the two cases, that the Act which expired in 1880 was so mild in its character as to be coercion only in name, whereas that now under discussion is the most severe since Lord Grey's Act in 1833.

However we may differ as to the policy of special criminal enactments, we must all agree as to the grievous results of such coincidences. They inevitably lead to hasty temporary measures or equally crude experiments in the opposite direction, and in the end too much or too little is demanded, and the pendulum swings from one extreme to the other.

It is only natural under such circumstances that party tactics should become a dominant factor in the decision, and that suggestions should be made for tiding over the difficulty, such as the re-enactment for one year of the Act in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, or (as some think preferable) the passing of an Act empowering the Government after the expiration of the Act to revive it without further reference to Parliament by an Order in Council.

If it is hoped by such means to avoid a struggle with Mr. Parnell and his followers, I should be profoundly sceptical of any such result. And though there is great plausibility in the argument of reserving the whole question for the decision of the new Parliament and the reformed constituencies, it seems to me a conclusive answer that the discussion of such a subject as a side issue at a general election would be both mischievous and misleading, and that though Parliament and the country should of course control the administration of such an Act, the responsibility for initiating it should rest on the Government, who alone have the means of deciding on the particular provisions that are essential.

Though fully aware that I have no call to speak on a question of party tactics, I may perhaps be allowed, as one who has lived in one of the most disturbed counties through these troublous times, to offer an opinion as to the principles on which such legislation should be based.

Perhaps it can hardly be treated as a foregone conclusion that the ordinary law requires reinforcement or modification, though I do not know that any responsible statesman has gone so far as to state the contrary.¹ But it is hinted not obscurely, in more than one quarter, that the latter is the true policy. It is after all the first question that meets us, and one brilliant example of the success of such an experiment is sometimes quoted as decisive. From 1835 to 1840, under the Government of Lord Melbourne, Ireland was administered without any exceptional legislation, but with marked success, and in strong contrast to the previous period of Lord Grey's ministry, when agrarian crime was rampant under a stringent Coercion Act. If the ordinary law was sufficient in 1835, why not also in 1885?

The essential differences between the two situations seem to be these:—

First and foremost, there was practically no systematic agitation between 1835 and 1840.

There is a remarkable correspondence² between O'Connell, Lord Meath, and Lord Cloncurry, in January 1831, just before the final scenes of the Tithe War, in which O'Connell professes his alarm at the state of the country, and his anxiety to find a *modus vivendi* with the Government, which would enable him to stop all agitation, and join Lord Grey in promoting Reform and the redress of Irish grievances, exclusive of Repeal. The letters almost read like extracts from more recent negotiations. But, like the latter, they were abortive, and O'Connell resumed his agitation, the result being a stringent Coercion Act on the one hand, and the Tithe Commutation Act on the other. The perusal of these letters leaves no doubt on one's mind that O'Connell was fully aware what edged tools he was playing with in his agitation, and that he was occasionally visited by scruples as to the means he employed.

But in 1835 the Tithe difficulty was settled, Catholic Emancipation and Reform were both passed, and O'Connell determined to give the Whig Government a chance. And fortunately for them he had the power as well as the will. He could not only call spirits from the vasty deep of Irish disaffection; not only did they come when he called, but they also returned whence they came at his words. Can anyone count on Mr. Parnell's exercising similar influence? Is it not notorious that on the one occasion when he endeavoured to

¹ Written before Mr. Morley's notice was given on the 21st of May.

² Cloncurry's *Recollections*, pp. 424-8.

assert such a power, after the Phoenix Park murders, the chief result was to endanger his own person and expose him to the disapproval of his own family? Who can now guarantee that, in the event of a relaxation of the criminal law, agitation and agrarian crime will be effectually discouraged? If such a result can be effected now, why was it not effected in 1880?

But the ordinary law had another signal advantage in 1835 besides the goodwill of O'Connell (which, experience proved to Lord Melbourne, was in other respects rather a doubtful advantage).³ The Government had the good fortune to secure an Under-Secretary of rare administrative power, and still rarer powers of sympathy, in Thomas Drummond. Drummond was virtually the ruler of the country. He reorganised the police; he infused new life into the magistracy by the introduction of the stipendiary element and resolutely excluding party spirit from the bench. At the same time he showed an interest in the material development of the country which would have produced positive good (and not merely prevented mischief) if the Tory party had not overthrown his schemes.⁴

But there is even yet another difference. Drummond was not subjected to the ceaseless and microscopic criticism of Parliament. The ordinary law even now might effect much more than it does, but that magistrates and Government officers generally are afraid to take the responsibility of independent action. The centralised system of the constabulary resulted in everything being referred through the various grades to headquarters in Dublin, and a similar control has generally been exercised over the resident magistrates. When Parliament exercises constant and minute inspection of every act of administration, the Government not unnaturally wish to have precise legislative instructions what they are to do. I believe that a less rigid system would work better, but it could only be by giving a larger discretion and more responsibility to those on the spot.

We must remember also that the Jury Laws have been revolutionised since those days by Lord O'Hagan's Act, and though no one proposes to reverse the policy of that Act, it was universally admitted before Lord Lansdowne's Committee that some modification was required in times of public excitement and agrarian agitation.

On the whole, then, it seems quite impossible to reason from the analogy of 1835 to the present time, or to maintain that no modification of the criminal law is ever to be proposed. But, if this be admitted, are there any principles to guide us as to the nature of the change?

³ On the Queen's accession O'Connell wrote a letter to the Irish people full of praise of Lord Melbourne's Government. Lord Melbourne's remark was, 'His love is only less injurious than his enmity. Such letters from him do us harm in England—I know not whether they do us good in Ireland.'—*Torrens's Melbourne*, vol. ii. p. 240.

⁴ Lord Morpeth's Railway Bill, 1839.

From the Liberal point of view, three principles naturally suggest themselves. *First*, to demand only what is really essential, and nothing merely because it *may* be useful or convenient to the authorities. *Second*, to avoid temporary measures of exceptional severity. *Third*, to seek when possible a remedy which may be applicable to the United Kingdom and not to Ireland alone.

Coming to particulars, the Act divides itself roughly into five parts.

1. Trial by a commission of judges instead of a jury.
2. Special juries and change of venue.
3. Summary jurisdiction in cases of intimidation, &c.
4. Examination of witnesses without a defendant.
5. Suppression of newspapers and public meetings.
6. Tax for extra police; tax for murder, &c.

Nobody is likely to propose to re-enact (1), which has never been resorted to. And it is the opinion of many competent and experienced persons that, even if it was necessary to dispense with juries, it would be better to appoint a special tribunal *ad hoc* outside the judicial bench. The newspaper clause is not likely to be insisted on; if we were seriously to attempt to regulate the teachings of the press some much more summary power would be necessary, such as the seizure of plant, &c., which was effected, I think, in 1866.

Public meetings are a more difficult matter, and if Lord Spencer thinks it important to retain the power of preventing them, it could hardly be refused after the experience of 1880-1, though I confess I should infinitely prefer permitting meetings (unless immediately dangerous to public peace or to the safety of individuals) and prosecuting speakers who incited to intimidation.

The police and murder taxes are relied upon most confidently by some, and have no doubt proved a most effective deterrent in certain cases where all the holdings are small. But where there is any admixture of large farms on the one hand and labourers without land on the other the tax (at best but rough and ready justice) is apt to work absolute injustice. Unfortunately you must start with the assumption that peaceably-disposed citizens must be protected and will not protect themselves, and any instrument by which you may hope to drive them into supporting law and order will often break in your hand. It would, I am satisfied, be most dangerous to rely much on such provisions.

The provisions as to special juries and change of venue I understand exist in principle under the common law both in England and Ireland, and it is inconceivable how any objection can be maintained to these being made operative, nor can I see why they should not be extended to the United Kingdom as a permanent amendment of the law. As regards venue, no one can argue that a man has a constitutional right to be tried by those of his own county or parish; it might

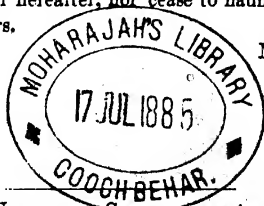
next be demanded that the jury should consist of his nearest relations. And as to the selection of jurors, the practice most objected to by Mr. Parnell and his friends is the ancient common law right of the Crown to challenge jurors or make them 'stand by,' which has nothing whatever to do with the Crimes Act, and which corresponds to the prisoner's absolute right of challenge, both being common to England and Ireland.

The power to examine witnesses without a defendant being charged is another provision which has been recommended by high authorities in England as a permanent amendment of the law of the United Kingdom. The discovery of the Phoenix Park murderers would have been impossible without this clause, which embodies one of the leading principles of the procedure specially provided for the investigation of the Sheffield Trades Union outrages.

But perhaps not the least important clause is that giving a summary jurisdiction in cases of intimidation, &c., while at the same time it is one almost less open to objection than any other in the bill. It is in fact merely an extension of the summary jurisdiction of resident magistrates, specially fenced round with safeguards for protecting the accused, and I never remember to have heard of any specific complaint being made in Parliament of the way in which the power has been exercised. Cases under it can only be dealt with by two resident magistrates, one of whom must be of 'sufficient legal knowledge' to satisfy the Lord Lieutenant, and neither of whom may have taken any part in getting up the case for the prosecution. The evidence must be all taken down verbatim in writing, and no penalty exceeding one month can be inflicted without appeal to Quarter Sessions: Can this be called coercion?

The fact is, I am convinced, that none of the three provisions I have last enumerated, namely (2), (3), and (4), can by any possibility press unduly on peaceful well-disposed citizens, and if they could only be permanently grafted on the existing law, the violent oscillations of the last few years might be avoided in the future.

But I fear it may be said that any permanent settlement is impossible at the present juncture. A moribund, not to say a decrepit, Parliament longs to end its days in peace. Vain hope! From such responsibilities there is no escape, and if you fly from them they will spare you neither here nor hereafter, nor cease to haunt you because they pursue your successors.



MONTEAGLE.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.

